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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA — *Archives of Asian Art*
AAH — *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ACASA — *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*
ActaO — *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen
ActaOH — *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ADMG — *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
AION — *Annali dell'Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli*
AJA — *American Journal of Archaeology*
AMI — *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
ArOr — *Archiv Orientální*
ASIAR — *Annual Reports* (Archaeological Survey of India)
BEFEO — *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*
BMC — *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*
BMFEA — *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*
BMMA — *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
BSO(A)S — *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
CAH — *Cambridge Ancient History*
CAJ — *Central Asiatic Journal*
CHC — *Cambridge History of China*
CHInd — *Cambridge History of India*
CHIr — *Cambridge History of Iran*
CIInd — *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CIIr — *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*
CIS — *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
CRAI — *Comptes rendus des séances* (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres)
EW — *East and West*
HJAS — *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
HR — *History of Religions*
IIJ — *Indo-Iranian Journal*
IsmeoRepMem — *Reports and Memoirs* (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia)
JA — *Journal Asiatique*

JAH — *Journal of Asian History*
JAOS — *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JAS — *Journal of Asian Studies*
JASB — *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JESHO — *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JGJRI — *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*
JIABS — *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*
JISOA — *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*
JNES — *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
JUPHS — *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh* (formerly: *United Provinces*) *Historical Society*
KSIA — *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta Arheologii*
MASI — *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
MCB — *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*
MDAFA — *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*
MIA — *Materialy i issledovanija po Arheologii SSSR*
MTB — *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko*
NTS — *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*
OLZ — *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
PSAS — *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*
REI — *Revue des Études Islamiques*
RHR — *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
RSO — *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SA — *Sovetskaja Arheologija*
SAS — *South Asian Studies*
SOR — *Serie Orientale Roma* (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)
TOCS — *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*
TP — *T'oung Pao*
TPS — *Transactions of the Philological Society*
VDI — *Vestnik drevnej istorii*
WZKM — *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
WZKS — *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie*
ZAS — *Zentralasiatische Studien*
ZDMG — *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Material Sources of Middle Sabaean Royal Power

by ANDREY KOROTAYEV

It does not appear possible to find any convincing evidence for the existence of anything like a regular system of central taxation in the Middle (1) Sabaean cultural-political area (SCPA throughout) (2).

We have a lot of data about the probable candidate for this position, the tithe which was regularly gathered in favour of the Middle Sabaean 'federal' deity, *'LMQH b‘l 'WM*, 'Almaqah, the master of Awwām' (Er 22 §1; Ja 656, 17; Na NAG 11 [= Er 25], 9 etc.). Taking into consideration that this deity was venerated by almost all the inhabitants of the SCPA (and not simply by the members of 1-2-3 tribes), this candidature apparently appears to be not completely implausible.

---

(1) In this paper the history of ancient South Arabia is considered to be divided in three main periods:

a. the Ancient Period (the 1st millennium B.C.). The Ancient Period can be subdivided into two sub-periods: Ancient Sub-Period I (the Earliest Sub-Period, the Sub-period of the *mukarribs* of Saba', roughly speaking the first half of the 1st millennium B.C.) and Ancient Sub-Period II (roughly speaking the Sub-Period of the traditional kings of Saba', the second half of the 1st millennium B.C.).

b. The Middle Period (the 1st-4th centuries A.D., roughly speaking the period of the kings of Saba' and dhū-Raydān).

c. The Late ('Monotheistic') Period (the end of the 4th century-the 6th century A.D., roughly speaking the period of the kings with the long royal titles).

While using the period names derived from the respective monarchical titles it is necessary to take into consideration the following points:

a. the *mukarribs* of Saba' seem to have been the kings of Saba' at the same time (the title of *mukarrib* was much more important than the royal one in the Ancient Period, and those with the former title would not usually mention the latter).

b. 'The Sub-Period of the traditional kings of Saba'' is not relevant for the South Arabian history as a whole, because in this Sub-Period the Sabaean kings, who seem to have lost the *mukarrib* title by that time, were not dominant in South Arabia.

c. During the period of the kings of Saba' and dhū-Raydān a considerable number of Mārib kings had the title 'king of Saba'' (without 'and dhū-Raydān'); yet the 1st-3rd centuries A.D. of the Sabaean (and Himyarite) history could be called in this way because during this period there was usually at least one king (if not two) with this title: the Sabaean monarch in Mārib could be 'the king of Saba'', yet the Himyarite ruler in Ẓafār would always be 'the king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān'.

d. 'The Period of the kings with the long titles' starts almost a century before the Monotheistic Period.

(2) It seems possible to maintain the same with respect to the local taxation as well; yet this must be considered as a subject for a special study.

The main counter-argument which causes us to reject the hypothesis that the tithe paid to Awwām was a hidden form of central taxation is as follows: this tithe could also be paid in a form of one's statue dedicated to Almaqah, the lord of Awwām (Er 26 §1; Ja 615, 9; 617, 4; 650, 4-5; Na NAG 11 (= Er 25), 9 etc.), i.e. its recipient was the temple and not the state.

The absence of evidence of any regular central taxation does not look really fortuitous, as the Centre of the Middle Sabaean political system appears not to have needed really any regular taxation at all. There was a considerable number of the alternative sources which provided the Sabaean royal power with sufficient amounts of the energy and matter.

a. *Military Service*

The most important source which provided the royal centre with the manpower as well as the necessary material resources for the maintenance of the Sabaean (3) military forces was military service which the subjects of the Sabaean kings were obliged to render to royal power (4). The evidence for this specific kind of taxation is abundant. There are dozens of the references to the service (s^2w^c) which the Middle Sabaeans provided to their kings, participating in different campaigns undertaken by the Middle Sabaean royal power (5).

---

(3) It is necessary to mention that the Sabaeans (SB') were only one of the *shaᶜbs*, 'tribes', belonging to the Sabaean cultural-political. The members of all the other *shaᶜbs* (like Ḥāshid, Balīl, Ghaymān, Ṣirwāḥ etc.) of this area are never denoted as 'Sabaeans' (*'SB'N*) in the original texts. So to distinguish the 'Sabaeans', the inhabitants of the area most of whom were not Sabaeans and who would have been never denoted as such in the inscriptions, and the Sabaeans proper (the members of *shaᶜb* Saba' who would be denoted as Sabaeans, *SB'*, *'SB'N* in the inscriptions) it might be reasonable to designate the former as 'Sabaeans' (in inverted commas) and the latter as Sabaeans (without inverted commas). Hence, for example, 'the Sabaean clans' would mean 'clans affiliated to *shaᶜb* Saba'', like ḤZFRM, GDNM, ᶜṮKLN, MQRM etc.; whereas 'the "Sabaean" clans' will denote all the clans of this area including non-Sabaen clans of Ḥumlān, Ḥāshid, Ṣirwāḥ, Ghaymān etc. 'The Sabaean Lowlands' (with respect to the Middle Period) would mean the part of the interior Yemeni Lowlands mainly populated by the Sabaeans, the areas of Mārib, Nashq and Nashān, whereas 'the "Sabaean" Highlands' denote the region of the Yemeni Highlands mainly populated by non-Sabaeans, but constituting an integral part of the Sabaean cultural-political area. Yet as such a convention does not exist at present I have to continue the current tradition of denoting all the inhabitants of the Sabaean cultural-political area as Sabaeans.

(4) Incidently, military service instead of paying taxes is a phenomenon well known to e.g. early Islamic Middle East (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 2662, 2665 etc.).

(5) Incidently the rendering of s^2w^c as 'accompany' proposed by Beeston for the Hadramitic inscriptions from ᶜUqlah (Beeston 1939) seems to be possible for the most Middle Sabaic cases as well, in addition to the fact that it is quite acceptable on the etymological grounds — cf. e.g. Arabic *shāyaᶜ*, 'to follow *someone*'. In some cases it even gives a better meaning than 'do service, perform due service obligations *for overlord* etc.' of the *Sabaic Dictionary* (Beeston et. al. 1982: 135-36). E.g. in Ja 612 its

There are two main categories of the Middle Sabaean population who mention systematically their military service for the kings.

Firstly the *qayls* refer to their royal military service very often (Er 13 §2, §14; Er 19, 13-14; Ja 623, 5-6; 629, 4-6; 631, 7-8, 10-11; 632, 4-5; 649, 8-9, 15-16, 24-25; 650, 20-21, 26-27; 658, 8-10; Ry 538, 11-14 etc.) (6). Ordinary tribesmen would normally provide their military service to their *qayls* (C 2, 10-12; 79, 7-10; 140 = DJE 24; Gr 15, 6-14; Ja 564, 8-9; see also C 349, 4-7; 350, 10-12; Ja 561 bis, 6-10; 578, 31; 616, 22; 631, 3-8, 23-24, 25-28, 29, 31-34; 644, 4-25; 649, 13-14, 22-23 etc.). Yet as the *qayls* had to serve the kings with their *sba^{c}bs* (7), in this way the Sabaean kings managed to accumulate the military potential of all the tribes of the SCPA. As

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author, *maqtawī*, 'personal assistant' of Nasha'karib Yu'min Yuharḥib, the king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān (lines 1-5) mentions that he *s/9./b' w-s^2w^cn 'qwln w-bmsn ^{c}dy 'rḍ(10.) ḤḎRMT*. It is rather problematic that the *maqtawī* of the king could serve anybody else but the king himself. Yet 'to accompany' renders a satisfactory meaning: 'he took part in the campaign and accompanied the *qayls* and the army to Hadramawt' (i.e. he took part together with the *qayls* and the army in the campaign against Hadramawt). Biella's rendering of *s^2w^c* as 'furnish aid or service' (Biella 1982: 513) also provides a satisfactory meaning in this case. Certainly all these renderings do not exclude each other. In fact, 'to accompany the king (in war)' is practically the same as 'to do (military) service' for the king.

(6) In addition to the numerous cases when *qayls* mention directly their, and their tribes', service (*s^2w^c*) in the military forces under the command of the king, there are as many references to the situations when the *qayls*, together with their *sba^{c}bs* which would act as distinct military units in such cases, fulfilled the orders of the kings to undertake certain military operations within the royal strategic plans (e.g. Ja 601, 4-12; 6092 [= NaNAG 7], 4-12; 616, 10-15; 643, 23-25; 644, 15-25 etc.). In any case it is completely evident that the tribal levies played an extremely important role in all the wars waged by the Middle 'Sabaean' kings.

(7) As has been demonstrated by Robin, the Middle Sabaic notion of *sba^{c}b* designated in different contexts quite different types of collectivities which constituted a certain structural hierarchy (Robin 1979: 2-3; 1982a, I: 71-77; 1982b: 22-25). *Sba^{c}bs* of the first order (from the top = *sba^{c}bs*1) were quite amorphous ethno-cultural entities lacking any political centralization if they were not identical with *sba^{c}bs* of the second order (= *sba^{c}b*2). Each of such communities cohered because of its common tribal name, common tribal deity, some other common cultural features like 'tribal' calendar, eponym etc. Such ethno-cultural entities occupied territories of several thousand square kilometres each. Robin denotes these formations as '*confédérations*' (Robin 1979: 2-3; 1982a, I: 71-72; 1982b: 22-23), but it is also quite possible to speak here about the tribe as an ethnic unit (Malinowski's 'tribe-nation' — Malinowski 1947: 252-58). *Sba^{c}b*1 may consist of several *sba^{c}bs*2. *Sba^{c}bs*2 were considerably more politically centralized entities occupying territories of several hundreds square kilometres and headed by the *qayls* (Robin 1979: 2-3; 1982; I: 71-93; 1982a: 22-24). Sometimes *sba^{c}bs* 2 and 1 were identical [the most evident examples are Ma'dhin (M'ḎNM) and Ghaymān ĠYMN]. *Sba^{c}bs*2 are most often denoted as 'tribes' [*tribu*, *Stamm*, *plemya*: Rhodokanakis 1927: 119; Hartmann 1909 (1978): 216-17; Lundin 1971: 205, 221, 232, 236; Beeston 1972: 258; Robin 1982, I: 71-77 etc.]; this designation seems to be quite correct, if one considers tribe as a political, but not an ethnical unit, i.e. 'tribe-state' as distinct from 'tribe-nation' according to Malinowski (Malinowski 1947: 259-61). Equally the *sba^{c}b*2 conforms completely to the definition of chiefdom understood as 'an intermediate form of political structure that already has a centralized administration and a hereditary hierarchy of rulers and nobility, where social and property inequality is present, but that still lacks a formal and all the more legalized apparatus of coercion' (Vasilev 1980: 182; for the theory of chiefdom see for example Earle 1987). Finally each *sba^{c}b*2 usually included

a result in military contexts the term $s^{2c}b$ would acquire a special meaning, 'tribal levy'. In such contexts e.g. $s^{2c}bn$ *ḤS*^{2}*DM* would not mean *sba*^{c}*b2* Ḥāshid as a whole, but the tribal levy of this *sba*^{c}*b* acting as a distinct military unit within the armed forces of the Sabaean kings (e.g. Ja 561 bis, 6-10) (8).

The other important group of persons who mention extensively their military service to the kings is attested in the numerous dedicatory inscriptions from the main Sabaean religious centre, Awwām, the temple of Almaqah near Mārib (Er 12; Ja 587; 590 = AM 847 = NAM 1622 [CIAS II 39.11/o2 N3]; 635; 636; 637; 640 = AM 850 = NAM 2463 [CIAS II 39.11/o2 N5]; 641; 656; R 4842; see also Ja 565 etc.). These persons indicate normally neither their titles (9), nor their tribal affiliation. They do not mention any patron deities of the non-Sabaean tribes of the SCPA (like T'LB or ḤGRM QḤMM) (10). The only terrestrial lords they mention are the kings; they never mention as such any qaylite and other clans, or non-royal persons (11). Hence the general impression is that those persons are the Sabaean (or Fayshanites), i.e. the members of two main royal tribes, two main tribes which were dependent directly on royal power.

Certainly the Sabaean also served in the royal regular army (*ẖms*), the fact which is evidenced by such designations of the regular army of the Sabaean kings as *ẖms(n) SB'*, 'the army — the Sabaeans' (12), or *ẖms SB'*, 'the army of the Sabaeans' (13). Yet

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several *sba*^{c}*bs* of the third, lowest, order (*sba*^{c}*bs3*) occupying territories of several dozens square kilometres. *Sba*^{c}*bs* of this order were quite compact autonomous territorial entities with a marked central settlement (*hgr*) which usually gave its name to a whole *sba*^{c}*b3*. *Sba*^{c}*b3* could be designated as 'local community', but it may be also considered as 'section' of tribe (cf. for example: Evans-Pritchard 1940 [1967]: 139-47), or 'sub-tribe'.

(8) For the other *sba*^{c}*bs* attested in the same meaning see Ja 577, 16; 631, 3-8, 23-24, 25-28, 29, 31-34 (incidentally that is an extremely rare case when a 'Sabaean' tribal levy acts on its own and not under the order of the Sabaean kings): 644, 15, 21, 24; 649, 13-14, 22-23; Ry 533, 16-19; 538, 29-32 etc. E.g. 644, 15 mentions *tqdmn* $s^{2c}bn$ *GYMN b-ʿm* $s^{2c}bn$ *S*^{2}*DDM*, 'the attack of the tribal levy Ghaymān against the tribal levy Shadād' (when the Ghaymānite tribal levy suppressed the rebellion of the Shadadite tribal levy in Mārib in early 2nd century A.D.); or Ry 533, 16-19: *t'wl RBBM 'ḤṮR w-'SDM 'S*^{c}*D/17./w-*s^{2c}*b-hmy BKLM rbʿn ḏ-RYDT bn hyt s/18./b'tn b-wfym w-mbrgm w-sbym ḏ-brḍw-hm/19./w*, 'R.A. and A.A. and their tribal levy Bakīl, the "quarter of Raydah", returned from this campaign in safety with enemy casualties and captives enough to satisfy them'.

(9) Though I would add to this group some persons whose only title is *mqtwy X mlk SB'* (*w-ḏ-RYDN*), 'personal assistant of X, the king of Saba' (and dhū-Raydān)', e.g. Er 21.

(10) It was quite normal to mention such deities for the non-Sabaeans making their dedications to Awwām (Er 4 §2; 5 §7; 14 §5; Ja 561 bis, 24; 562, 19-20; 598, 6-7; 601, 20; 602, 20; 626, 22-23; 644, 29; 747, 20; 777, 3 etc.).

(11) Let alone the affiliation of some of those persons to the well-known Sabaean clans (e.g. Ja 565; 637), or the references to the authors' possessions in the Sabaean mainland (e.g. Ja 656, 8-11).

(12) E.g. C 334, 3; 347, 5 etc.

(13) E.g. Ja 651, 30. The special relation between the Sabaeans and the royal army might be also reflected by the fact that this army would be called *ẖms mlk SB'*, 'the army of the king of the Sabaeans', even during the reign of the kings with the title *mlk SB' w-ḏ-RYDN* (e.g. Ja 629, 10: 643, 24).

the regular army appears to have had special sources of its financing (see below). But in addition to the military service in the royal regular army the Sabaeans also provided the royal power with their tribal levy, *s*^{2c}*bn SB'* (*KHLN*) which constituted a very important part of the royal military forces (14), see Ja 660, 14-15; 740, 7 etc. (15).

b. '*Lands of the Army*' (*'rḍt ẖmsn*)

'rḍt ẖmsn, 'the lands of the army', are mentioned by the authors of Ja 647, the royal *maqtawīs*, 'personal assistants', in the following context (lines 25-30): ***kl syt bwsyw 'mr'-hmw 'mlkn b-kl syt bwsy-hmw b-ml't***[16] ***sb***^{c}***t ẖryftm w-b-kl mqwlt-hmw w-syt-hmw*** *b-MRB w-ṢN*^{c}*W w-b-NS*^{2}*QM w-NS*^{2}*N* ***w-b-kl mqblt w-mr***^{c}***d-hmw b-'rḍt ẖmsn b-d***^{c}***tn w-sqyn***, 'all assignments which their lords, the kings assigned to them in all assignments which they assigned to them during the period of seven years and in all their duties [as *qayls* (17)] and their assignments in Mārib and Ṣan^{c}ā' and in Nashq and Nashān and in all [the assignments concerning] leased lands and their crops in the lands of the army grown both with and without artificial irrigation'.

This passage leads one to suppose that there were certain lands (most probably in the areas of Mārib, Ṣan^{c}ā', Nashq and Nashān) (18) which were granted on lease by special royal officials; and the rent received from these lands is most likely to have been used for the maintenance of the regular army (*ḫms*). This appears very probably to be the way in which royal power managed to cover effectively what was apparently the most significant item of its expenses.

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(14) As usual the name of the tribal levy is identical with the name of the tribe itself (Er 24 §2; Ja 653, 1; 735, 1; 851, 1; R 3910, 2; Sh 7/1; 8/3; 18/1 etc.).

(15) Yet it is necessary to state that the important role of the Sabaean tribal levy is mainly attested for the 4th century A.D. when it was extensively used by the Himyarite kings in their campaigns aiming at the final subjugation of Hadramawt (C 397, 7; Er 31; 32 [= Shreyer-Geukens]; Ja 656, 15-16; 660, 14-15; 662, 13-14; Sh 32 etc.). Incidentally I do not see in this practice any evidence for the considerable degree of the political autonomy allegedly enjoyed by the civil community of Marib, the Sabaeans, at the time of these inscriptions (Lundin 1969: 57; Loundine 1973); to my mind this practice rather points to the effective subjugation of the Sabaean community by the Himyarite kings who widely exploited its military potential in their own interests in the 4th century A.D. The general evidence certainly suggests that the actual level of the autonomy of the Sabaean civil community was significantly reduced by the Himyarite kings after their conquest of the SCPA (see below).

(16) ***mg't*** in Jamme's version (1962: 149); yet as it is shown by J. Ryckmans ***ml't***, 'period' is more likely here (1966: 486).

(17) Incidentally, this passage shows that the Himyarite kings after their conquest of the SCPA used to appoint ***qayls*** (unlike the Sabaean kings) at least within the territories of the tribes Saba' and Fayshān which were traditionally directly dependent on the royal power. It is not really surprising taking into consideration the well-attested fact that the Himyarite-Radmanite CPA was always more politically centralized than the Sabaean one (Bāfaqīh, Robin 1980: 15; 1981: 338; R 4230 A, 2-3; B, 2-3; Korotaev 1990a: 112), and that after the conquest of the SCPA the Himyarite kings tried to centralize politically this area as well (Er 37, 10-23; Ja 651; 671 + 788, 10-14; R 3910; Sh 31 etc.).

(18) Populated mainly by the Sabaeans and Fayshanites who were always in special relations with the royal power.

Certainly it should be taken into consideration that 'the lands of the army' are mentioned only once, in the period after the Himyarite conquest of the Sabaean cultural-political area. Thus, one cannot be confident that this was an original Sabaean practice. One cannot exclude the probability that this practice was introduced by the Himyarites, it would be quite logical for them taking into consideration the general direction of Himyarite policy in the newly conquered SCPA (19).

c. *Royal Clients*

Judging by the number of the inscriptions installed by the Middle Sabaean royal clients (20) their number was really significant and it is most likely to have exceeded that of the clients of any of the qaylite clans. Hence, one would expect that the revenues the kings got in the form of the personal rent paid to them by their clients (21) must also have been significant and its general amount is most likely to have exceeded that of any of the qaylite clans (22).

(19) Er 37, 10-23; Ja 647, 25-30; 651; 671 + 788, 10-14; R 3910 etc.

(20) C 397; 398; 399; 531; 534; 535; 544; Er 16 = M. Bayḥān 7; Fa 102 = M. Bayḥān 9; Ja 570; 694; 723; 784; 812; 2112 (= CIAS II 39.11/o2 N7); 2125 (= CIAS II 39.11/o8 N1); 2223; R 4142; 4188; 4636; YM 350 (CIAS I 39.11/o6 N5) etc.

(21) It should be taken into consideration that it was not a mere exploitation of the royal clients by their patrons, the kings, as the protection the royal clients received in return appears to have been also very significant (see e.g. C 398). The hypothesis that the clients paid certain personal rent to their patrons can be deduced on the basis of the following facts: according to C 435 (from Mārib area) Banū ’ᶜZZ buy a certain 'house' (clan community) *ḏ-YNᶜM* of clients (*’dm*) with their agricultural lands (*bytn w-gbltn* — lines 2-3) from Banū KS^{2}ḤT. Thus, at least in the Lowlands whole cliental clan communities could be bought and sold, which implies that clients paid certain personal rent to their patrons (otherwise it is difficult to find plausible reasons for the buying of the cliental communities). Similar conclusions can be deduced from the fact that the clan communities of the royal clients could be granted by the kings to the aristocratic clans whose support they sought (C 69; Fa 3; 76; Ja 592, 3-6; R 4134 etc.). Incidentally, the recipients appear to have been very happy to receive such grants — at least the authors of Ja 592 explicitly thank the Sabaean 'national' deity, Almaqah, for such a grant made for them by the kings (lines 3-6), which also implies that to have clients must have been quite profitable in the Middle Sabaean cultural-political area (let alone such things as the very probable growth of the clan's prestige and influence with the growth of the number of its clients etc.).

(22) Naturally, there are no grounds to equate the personal rent paid by the royal clients to their patrons, the kings, with the state taxation.

d. *Royal Lands*

The presence of the royal lands is well attested for the Ancient Period (e.g. C 604, 2; Ja 541; R 3946; 4085). For the Middle Period the fact that royal power retained certain land possessions (even in the territories of the non-Sabaean tribes) seems to be illustrated by the practice of the royal grants (*watfs*) when the Sabaean kings granted certain land possessions to the tribes and their leaders, *qayls* (C 599; R 4646 /?/; Ry 522 /?/ etc.), no doubt with the object of securing their support. Hence, one would suppose that royal power must have continued getting some revenues from the royal lands in the Middle Period. Yet this very practice of royal land-grants must have significantly reduced the actual extent of royal land possessions.

e. *'Reciprocal Assistance' at the Kingdom Level*

As *qayls* were supposed to help their tribesmen when they undertook significant construction, the kings seem to have had similar obligations before their direct subjects (i.e. first of all before the Sabaeans and the *qayls*: C 1, 4-6; R 4713 = Na NNSQ 70 = Ja 496, 2; Ry 540, 1-2; see also C 40, 4; 41, 4; Er 40 [from the South]; Gl 1197, 3-4; R 4106, 1; Ry 404, 2-4 etc.). Qaylite help evidently implied that the tribesmen would help their *qayls* when they would construct their castles, irrigation structures etc. (In certain cases the tribesmen could expect to get an assistance from their *qayls* (23). Yet in such cases *qayls* could also expect to get significant 'help' [*rd*'] from their subjects (24). That leads one to the supposition that the direct subjects of the kings (i.e. the *qayls*, Sabaeans and the royal clients) must have had similar obligations before the kings (though we have very little direct evidence for that) (25); in the case of the relative imbalance of these relations it might be another source of the energy and matter for the central administrative sub-system (26).

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(23) See for example C 339; 339 bis; R 4031; 4649; 4706; Ja 2871 and dozens of other cases.

(24) The most characteristic examples come from the South (the Himyarite-Radmanite CPA) — C 41; Er 40; Ja 2867 etc. In the North (SCPA proper) such examples are not abundant (C 172 + 241, 4; Ja 496 = Na NNSQ 70 = R 4713, 3; Ga 6, 3 /?/ etc.), yet it should be taken into consideration that by now a very few full-scale qaylite construction inscriptions from the North are known (which is quite a fortuitous phenomenon to my mind).

(25) This probability seems to be attested by R 4775, 4, with serious reservations.

(26) Yet due to the absence of any direct evidence one could suppose the contrary with the same grounds: it cannot be excluded that the Royal Power gave more than received in this way.

f. *Booty*

Beeston has drawn attention to the fact that 'as the Arabic lexicographers tell us (under the heading *rbʿ*), pre-Islamic practice was to allot one quarter to the leader, leaving only three quarters instead of the Islamic four-fifths for general distribution. As we learn from J.586 (27), Sabaean practice in this matter matched that described by the lexicographers: one quarter of the booty was allocated to the king as commander-in-chief' (Beeston 1976: 14-15).

The Middle Sabaeans were almost permanently engaged in wars which usually took place in the territories of their enemies and the Sabaeans often managed to capture considerable amounts of booty as a result of e.g. the sacking of such rich cities as Shabwah, the ancient Hadrami capital, Qana', the thriving Hadrami port, or Qaryat Dhāt Kāhil, the Kindite capital (Er 13; Fa 75; 102; Ja 632; 634; 635; 636; 637; Ry 533 etc.). Hence, one would suppose that this was a source of significant, though not entirely regular, revenue for royal power.

g. *Original Qaylite Possessions*

All the Middle Sabaean kings whose origins we know were powerful *qayls* before their accession to the throne. The Middle Sabaean kings seem to have often retained special relations with their original tribes (28). Hence, one would suppose that the kings might retain at their disposal the huge revenues received by their original qyalite *bayts* (29).

* * *

In any case it is likely that the Middle Sabaean kings had a sufficient number of sources of material revenues which provided the necessary amounts of 'matter and energy' for the governing sub-system of the SCPA (i.e. the royal power); the system could exist without the establishing of any developed artificial system of the regular central taxation, or the appropriation of the main part of the tithe, collected by the 'central' temple, for the needs of the central government (30).

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(27) This inscription mentions that Almaqah granted to one of its authors with 50 other warriors *brǵ 'LZ'D ḏ-RBḤM w-ḏ-bn 'sd-hw 'ḥd w-ḫmsy bḍʿm w-yhqḏw rbk-hmw w-ḫṣq-hmw ḏ-trbʿ mr'y-hmw* (lines 21-23), 'to kill 'LZ'D dhū-RBḤM and 51 of his warriors in hand-to-hand battle, and they captured their riding animals and their baggage-train which their two lords [i.e. the kings Ilsharaḥ Yaḥḍib and Ya'zil Bayyin — see lines 4-6] took as their share of a quarter [of the booty]'. A slightly puzzling fact is that this phenomenon is mentioned only once in all known Sabaic inscriptions and this makes one hesitate to conclude that it was general practice; e.g. it might have been introduced in the SCPA during the reign of the two above-mentioned kings when the SCPA seems to have reached the highest degree of its political centralization attested in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

(28) E.g. Er 12 § 1-2; though they apparently lost their original clan affiliation after the accession to the throne.

(29) See e.g. C 605 bis, 4 /?/.

SIGLA OF THE INSCRIPTIONS CITED

AM = Aden Museum - Corpus 1986; Höfner 1961
C = CIH - Corpus 1889-1908, 1911, 1929.
CIAS = Corpus 1977, 1986.
DJE = Deutsche Jemen-Expedition - Müller 1974
Er = Eryānī 1973; Robin 1987; Bron 1992
Fa - Inscriptions discovered by A. Fakhry - Fakhry 1952
Ga - Garbini 1970; 1973
Gl - Inscriptions form E. Glaser's collection - Schaffer 1972
Gr - Inscriptions discovered by P.A. Gryaznevich - Piotrovskij 1978
Ja - Jamme 1954; 1955; 1962; 1972; 1976; Doe & Jamme 1968
M. Bayḥān - Bron 1988
NAM = National Aden Museum - Corpus 1986
Na NAG - Nāmī 1954; 1958
Na NNSQ - Nāmī 1943
R = RÉS - Répertoire 1929; 1935; 1950
Ry - Ryckmans 1949; 1954; 1955; 1956; 1957
Sh - Sharafaddīn 1967
Schreyer-Geukens [= Er 32] - Müller 1981
YM = Yemen Museum (Ṣanᶜā') - Corpus 1977

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(30) Yet it should be maintained that the Middle Sabaean inscriptions seem to tend to portray a society which is likely to appear more archaic than it was in reality. For example, these inscriptions never mention craftsmen (as well as crafts) and traders (as well as trade), though both quite developed crafts and trade were no doubt present in Pre-Islamic Yemen (see for example Piotrovskij 1985: 138-40). It is not surprising at all taking into consideration the well-known fact that such occupations are regarded as somehow unworthy in many archaic societies. The inscriptions seem to mention only 'worthy' types of the human activities: warfare, religion, agriculture; the collecting (or payment) of taxes is most unlikely to be in such a list (it is not relevant for the temple tithe the payment of which must have been considered as something quite 'worthy' — see below). Thus the Middle 'Sabaean' inscriptions seem to portray the society as it must have been from the point of view of the 'Sabaeans' (some 'pure' society of warriors and agriculturalists without such an 'undecent' things as for example trade). Hence I would not be completely surprised if the recently discovered documents on wood (which have much less solemn more everyday nature — see for example Bauer, Akopyan & Lundin 1990; Beeston 1989) provided evidence for the existence of certain state taxation in the Middle Sabaean cultural-political area, though I would insist that this political system could do without any regular state taxation.

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K.P. -1273

A Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance Survey in Southeast Jordan (Region of Wādī Bāyir)

by JACQUELINE GYSENS CALZINI
with a contribution by GIUSEPPE RUFFO

Introduction

A first mission of IsMEO in the region of Bāyir (southeast Jordan) (Fig. 1), in collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of Yarmouk University (Jordan), with kind permission of the Direction of Antiquities of Jordan, took place from 6 June to 6 July 1993. Our program of research is promoted and financed by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General Direction of Cultural Relations as part of a Cultural Agreement between the Republic of Italy and the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan (1992-1995) and by Yarmouk University (Jordan) (1). The present 1993 expedition was organized by IsMEO and this writer, program director, and by Dr Fawwaz al-Khraysheh, head of Epigraphy section, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Yarmouk University (IAAY), in order to follow up research in the region of Bāyir, which was prepared by several visits and short surveys (Mendenhall 1988; Calzini Gysens 1993; F. al-Khraysheh 1994). In fact, the IAAY promoted between 1988 and 1990 a series of expeditions in the Eastern desert, as current exercitations for students in Semitic epigraphy, to which this writer was kindly invited. The importance of the first results confirmed the necessity to proceed on a more intensive and systematic basis. The aim of the 1990 mission was to start this program: More than 80 graffiti in Early North Arabian (Thamudic or South Safaitic script) have been collected and at the same time four Greek and one Latin inscriptions (2). The epigraphic survey was completed by visits to the known archaeological sites in the region. Our largely speculative perceptions of Bāyir's ancient past were slowly being tested. The Gulf war of 1991 interrupted our program. In 1993, the epigraphic and archaeological survey was to resume under a joint Jordan and Italian field direction and full sharing of responsibilities and budget. The 1993 survey added several new sites with Early North Arabian (Thamudic/Safaitic), Nabatean and Greek graffiti to those previously recorded. The epigraphic survey team consisted of twelve members, seven of whom made up the scientific staff: Dr Fawwaz al-Khraysheh, Mr M. Ababneh, Mr A. Adjlouni, Mr H. Hayajneh (epigraphists, IAAY), Mr G. Ruffo (topographer and photographer, IsMEO) and this writer. During the second part of our stay we were joined by Prof. L. Marino of Florence University and his assistants — architects Miss O. Dinelli, Mr M. Greco, Mr S. Guidotti and Mr R. Sabelli. They drew a new and detailed plan of the surface evidence of structures belonging to the so-called fort or *qaṣr* Bāyir. Their contribution was to reveal one of the most interesting results of the 1993 campaign.

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(1) The members of our survey party were hospitably received by the commander of the Police Post of Bāyir, who gave us kind permission to plant our tents and to use the camp's facilities.

(2) The publication of these inscriptions is forthcoming.

The 1993 mission had three purposes: 1) to establish a map of all surface evidence of archaeological remains in the surveyed area of the Eastern desert, 2) to collect systematically all epigraphical material to be discovered in the surveyed areas, 3) to draw a detailed plan of the actual situation of the ruins on the site of the *qaṣr* Bāyir, preliminary for future research and excavation (scheduled for the 1994-1995 season).

Several objectives were set by the survey team in order to accomplish as much as possible of the program in the short time available. Our first objective was to establish a grid system covering the area around the fort in a range of 15 km in order to record and to overview the extant sites presenting epigraphical material or archaeological remains. Only those structures presenting such elements were taken into account. A collection of surface artifacts was made in two cases (from the area of the fort and from site 14). Only diagnostic sherds or artifacts were selected for dating purposes. Preliminary observations were made on sites within their environmental context and distribution patterns. Criteria were set for the continuity of the survey program. This first Mission of IsMEO in southeast Jordan was carried out in three weeks, one-third of this time being spent on administrative duties and travel. Vehicles and protracted walking were used during the survey. The survey methods resulted efficient and correct but rather elaborate and will hopefully in the future be facilitated with the aid of a G.P.S. instrument. USGS Quadrangle maps were used. A total of twelve sites with epigraphical material (sites 1-12), and two new archaeological sites (sites 14, 15) were discovered (Fig. 2). The plan of the remaining ruins of the *qaṣr* Bāyir has been completed.

Preliminary Environmental Considerations (by G. Ruffo)

The North Arabian Desert Plateau is represented by a moonlike landscape crossed by narrowed wadis. The surveyed area is located between two large basins. Wādi Bāyir and Wādī es-Si'r in the District of Ma'an; these *wudyān* lead toward the depression of Wādī Sirḥān located at the current border with Saudi Arabia. In this region the mountain ridge following the natural morphology gradually descends from an altitude of 800 m to 200 m above the sea-level (Fig. 3).

The continuous erosion of the geological formations in the region has isolated large and rounded mounds. The surface of the territory is characterized by a layer

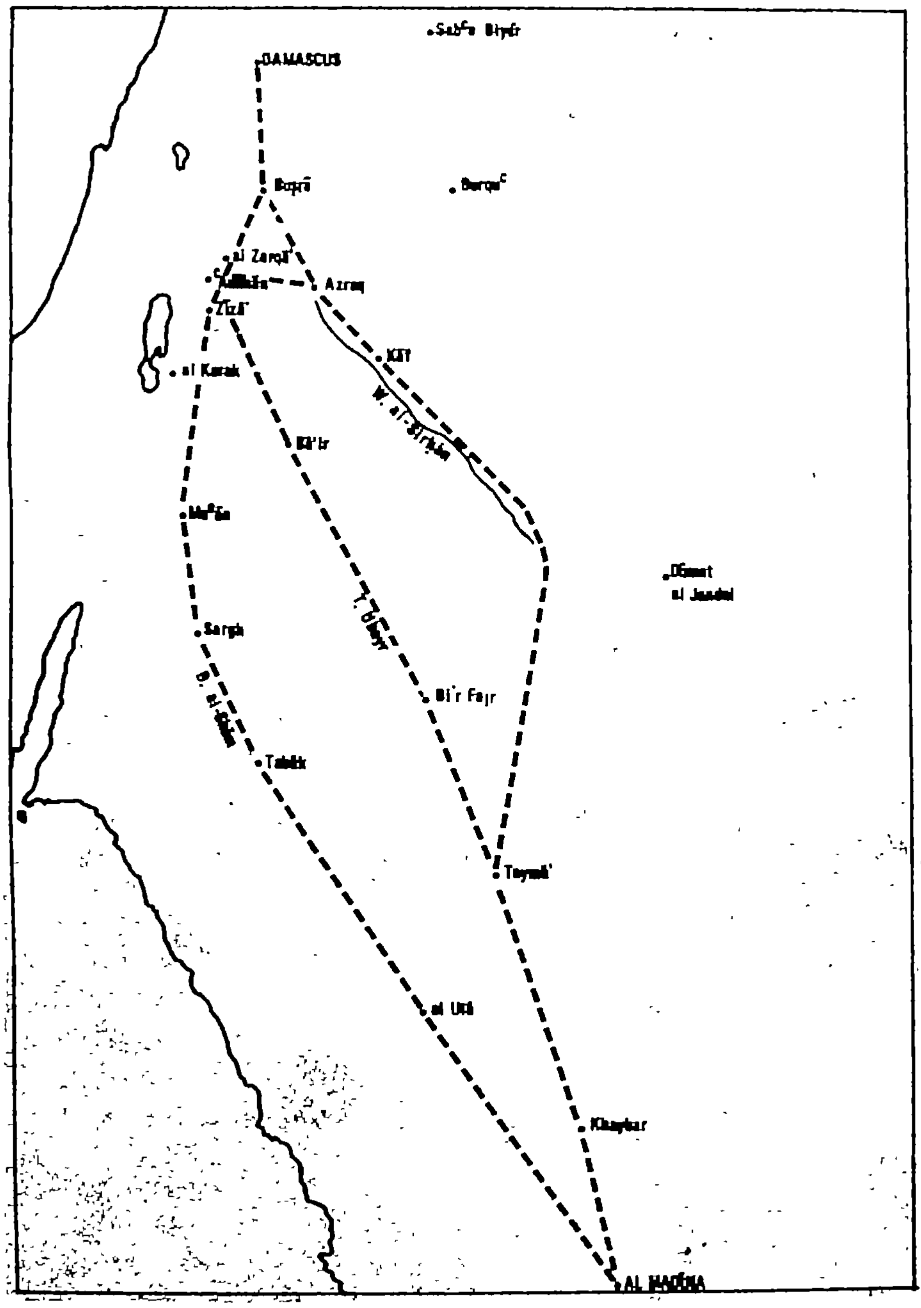

Fig. 1 - Bāyir. Sketch-map of alternative itineraries in the eastern desert. (After King 1987: 85).

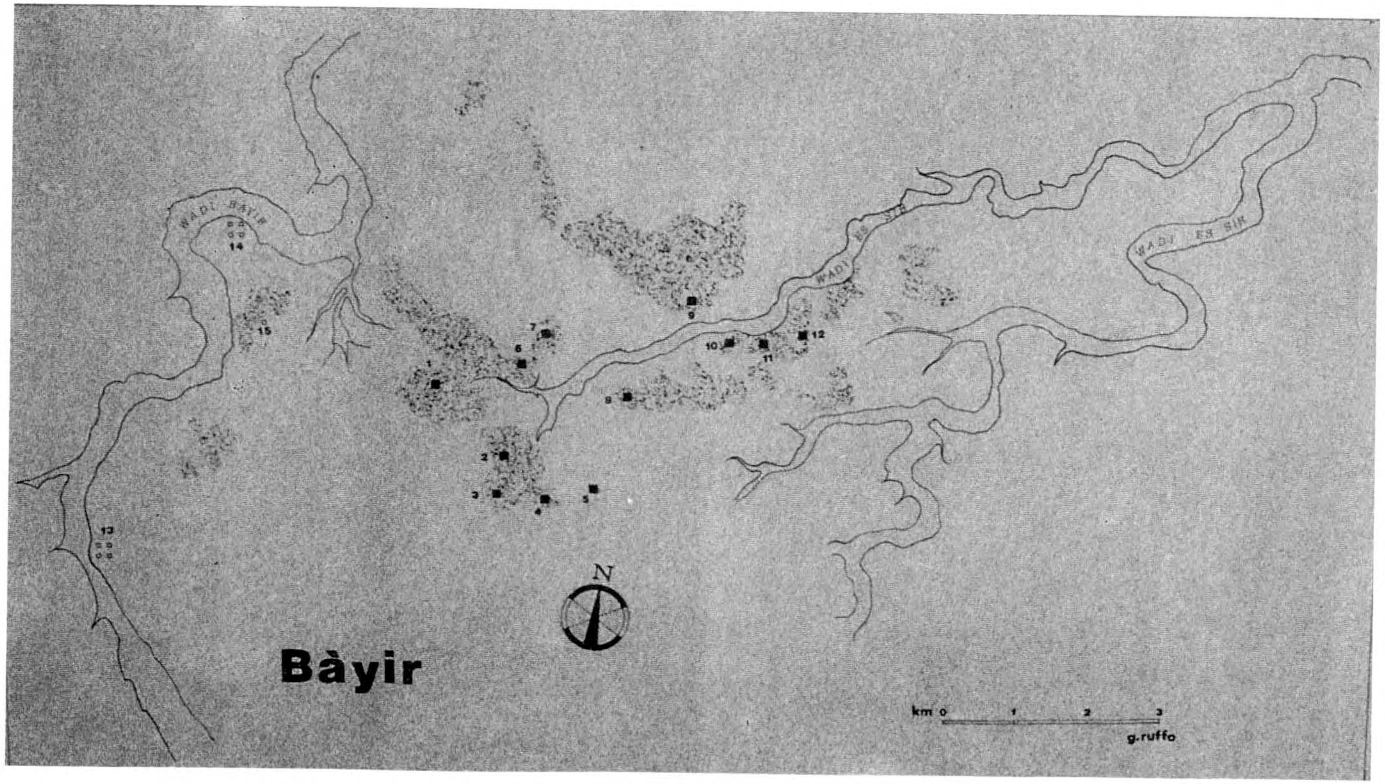

Fig. 2 - Sketch-map of the area of the epigraphical survey. (Drawing by G. Ruffo).

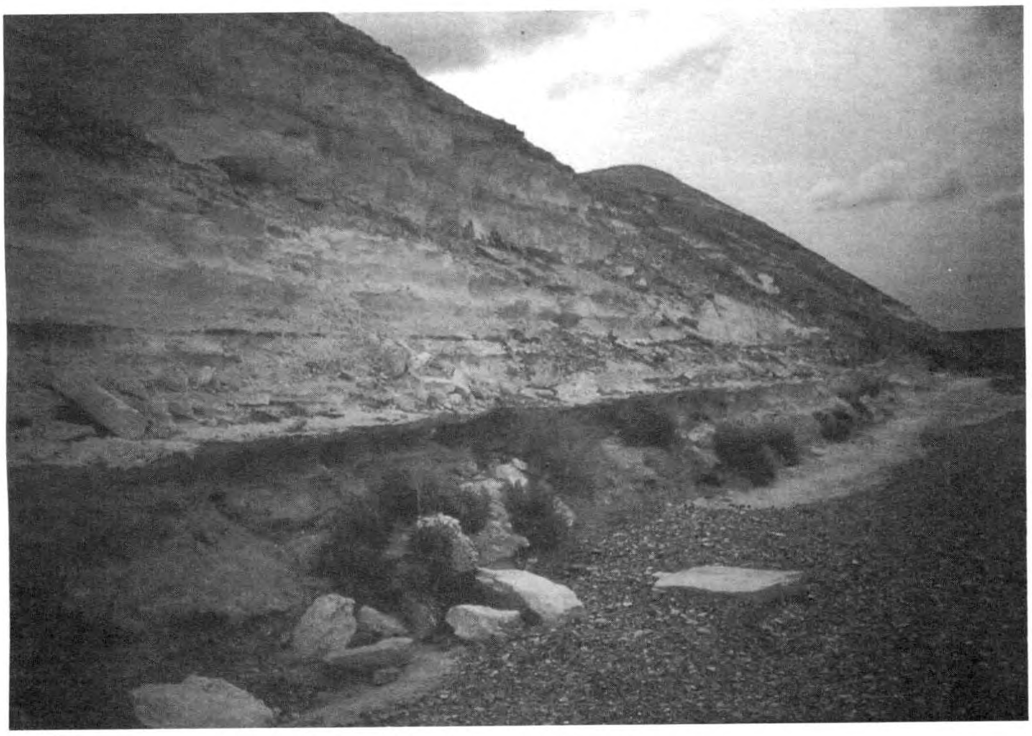

Fig. 3 - The landscape: calcareous formations.

of scattered flintstones, siliceous rocks, constantly clipped by direct sun exposure. These rock fragments present typical dark-brown conchoid fractures with very sharp edges produced by heat and time. The geological stratigraphy observed and analysed in a preliminary identification during our field survey was one of eroded hillsides made of sedimentary limestone and rock formations alternating with chert layer stratifications (Fig. 3). The scattered hard debris of siliceous fragments laying on the ground are a result of the erosion of limestone rocks. This process has several causes: mainly wind blowing for several months, which transports sand and violent water erosion during the rainy season. According to Rolston & Rollefson (1982) the age of these rocky formations corresponds to the sea deposits of the Tertiary, Paleocene and Eocene periods. We found among these rocks, especially in the limestone beddings at the base of the foundations, marine invertebrate fossils. They consist mainly of echinoids, mollusks and other imprints of marine invertebrates as well as ripple marks. It seems strange that Rolston & Rollefson (1982), analysing sediments from this area, found them sterile. Ongoing studies will try to give a more specific stratigraphic framework.

Geological and environmental investigation based on geoarchaeological data

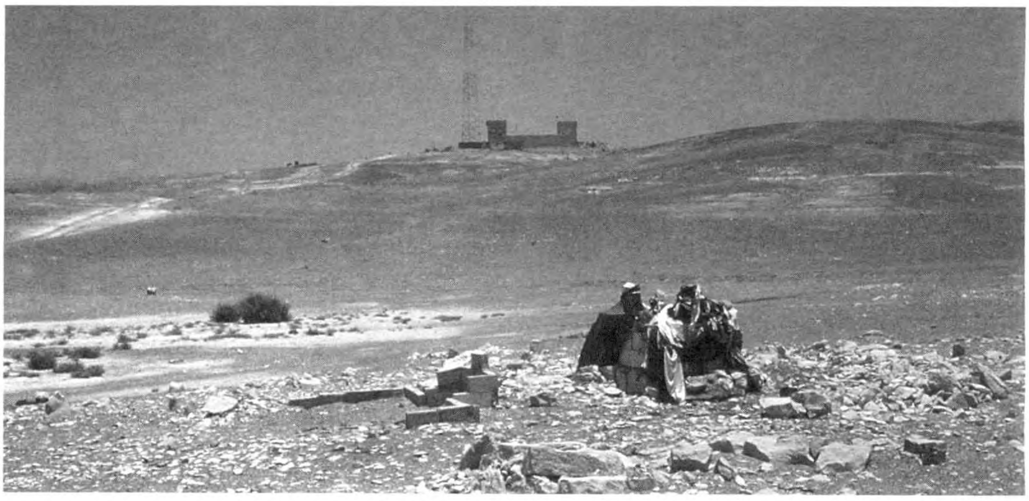

Fig. 4 - Qaṣr Bāyir. Police post Bāyir and the 'saint's' tomb.

supports and integrates our site understanding and will make it possible to formulate a more accurate description of the ancient landscapes and the environmental patterns.

The results of the surface archaeological and epigraphic survey have been registered using the usual relief method on a measured map. The petroglyphs discovered in the Northeast of the Wādī Bāyir area were triangled, noted and drawn during the exploration. Twelve sites with epigraphical remains have thus been located, principally on the higher points of the Wādī es-Si'r, a tributary of the Wādī Bāyir. Only one of the twelve sites was already indicated on the map made by the Ministry of Economy and U.S. Agency for International Development of Jordan, 1:50,000 (sheet Bāyir no. 3351 IV and Wādī es-Si'r no. 3351 I) with the mention 'cairn': our site 8. In total the mission explored an area of 100 km^2. Our sketch-map site no. 13 refers to the ancient ruins of the fort of Bāyir and its wells. The expansion in the area of a Bedouin grayeyard is to be noted. At about 5 km north from site 13, near the right bank of the Wādī Bāyir three podium-like, ancient rectangular structures situated on a small elevation were discovered (site 14). Furthermore we found an open limestone quarry on a side-top hill which seems having been abandoned in Antiquity (site 15). In fact, the stone blocks cut into parallelepipeds by the usual method of drilling a line of holes in the compact sedimentary rock layer, were still in-situ. Some of the blocks just cut from the terrace had been literally left on the ground.

In the course of the survey, the mission visited the ancient large water reservoir with its artificial channel capturing Wādī Bāyir's surface water (near site 14). During the dry season periods, water resources in the region consist of spring water captured from the three wells situated on site 13, now at 20 m below the level of the Wādī

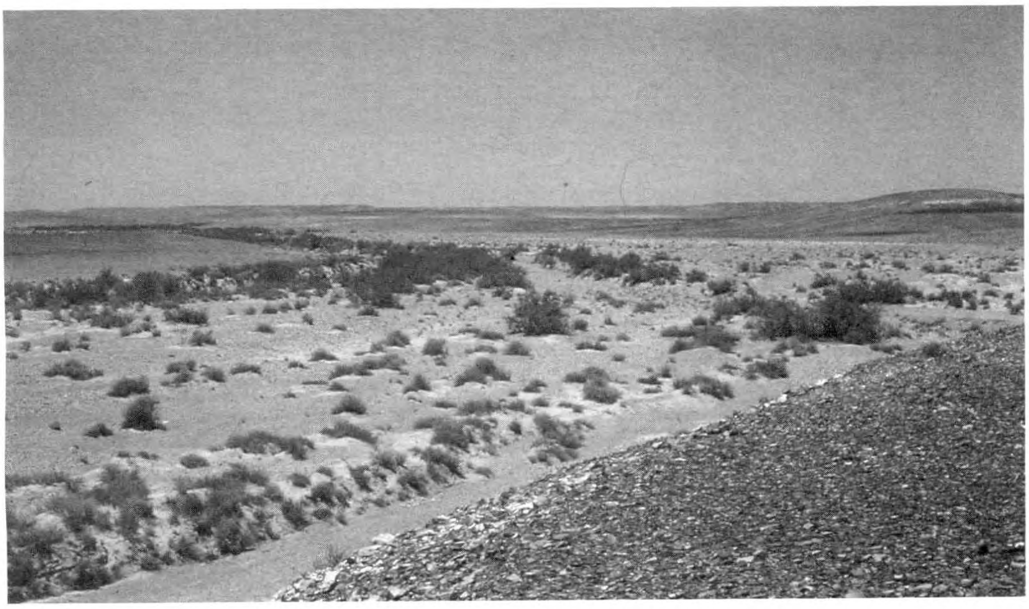

Fig. 5 - The Wādī Bāyir.

Bāyir. Col. T.E. Lawrence mentions these wells in his memoirs of the Arab revolt against the Turks as having supplied water to his troops and 600 camels (Lawrence 1955: 290) (Fig. 4) (³). During our stay in June, it was possible to observe emerging moisture only 10 cm deep under the sand layer in Wādī Bāyir's stream-bed. Even in the summer surface water is available. The annual rainfall is less than 50 mm in the region. It is thus obvious that human activity is mainly concentrated near the water sources and that the wadis were in ancient times selected as crossroads through the steppe. We found several species of the sparse desert *hamada* type vegetation. The Wādī Bāyir was overgrown in the period of our survey with tamarisk trees sometimes reaching 3-4 m in height (Fig. 5). Among the wadi rocks we noted different types of Arthemisia. During the campaign we expected to find prehistoric evidences, but not one flint fragment was found. This is due perhaps to the fact that wadis are exposed to a continuous succession of alluvional horizons and to aeolian erosion on their slopes. To this has to be added a continuous process of desertification due to human activity.

G.R.

(³) The wells the ownership of which was divided between the Beni Sakhr and the Beni Huwaitat had been blown up by the Turks on that occasion.

The Survey

The following report is necessarily brief due to the limitations discussed above and to its preliminary nature. East of the Transjordan plateau (ancient Moab) and the Hejāz railway, north of lat. 30° the Syrian Desert or Hamad occupies 3/4 of the territory of Jordan and part of the Northern Province of Saudi Arabia. In the north, the Syrian desert is bordered by the black basalt country of southern Hawran and the Jabal Druze and by the marshes and plains of Azraq, on the east by the depression of Wādī Sirḥān. The region is one of flat rolling desert covered with flint and limestone flakes burnt dark brown in the sun of thousands of years, and occasional outcrops of basalt (Harding 1990: 19). It is one of the least studied areas of Jordan traversed (since 1990) by one major north-south highway connecting Azraq with 'Aqaba. Our party left Irbid and the Yarmouk University Campus and passed Azraq proceeding south. The landscape gradually changed from flat sandy extensions to flint-covered plains. The monotonous nature of the environment after driving for about 300 km was at last interrupted by the appearance of the distinctive peaks of three ancient volcanoes, the Jibāl Thulaythat Ikhwat. We neared our survey area. Gertrude Bell, travelling on horseback through the country in the winter of 1914, noted 'an exceedingly featureless country [...] a desolate land and barren beyond belief' (Field 1960: 80). After a relatively difficult crossing of the deep slopes of a wadi running in an east-west direction, we reached the very broad stream-bed (*c.* 300 m) of the Wādī Bāyir. The orographic system of the valley has been described by Musil (1927: 324) on his way from al-Jawf northwards to 'Ammān:

> The Wadi Bājer valley begins in ar-Rha' at the watershed between the depression of Sirḥān and of al-Ǧafar and is formed by the combined *še'ibān* of aṭ-Ṭrejfi, Aḫejẓer ad-Dwejmi, Aḫejẓer aṣ-Ṣatīḥ and Aḫejẓer al-Metāha (tributaries). In this valley, thirty-five kilometers southwest of Rotti, are the wells of Kulbān Bājer [...]

Musil was in fact following a very ancient track leading out of the Wādī Sirḥān to the west. Col. T.E. Lawrence, followed the same itinerary during his military activities in the region in 1917 (Lawrence 1955: map II, and s.v. 'Bair'). The region presents no insurmountable natural obstacles but traffic and transhumance are determined by the location of the very few watering places in the region. The best introduction to a survey in the region is still the reading of: A. Musil (1927), N. Glueck (1934: 73 f.; 1951: 47), Sir A. Stein (Gregory & Kennedy 1985: 289-90), H. Field (1960: 76-102). These last two explorers described the architectural remains of an ancient fort. N. Glueck collected and photographed some pottery sherds found on the site. No inscriptions were recorded. Two (published) surveys followed (Rolston & Rollefson 1982; King 1983). In 1932 the British authorities quartered soldiers of the newly created Arab legion in Bāyir. The ancient ruins of the fort were used as a quarry for the construction of the police post 500 m from there, on a hill dominating the valley

(Field 1960: 99, fn. 2) (Fig. 6). Two slightly different plans of the *qaṣr* Bāyir had been drawn by Schroeder (Glueck 1934: 105, pl. 19) and Horsfield (Field 1960: 99, fig. 29A) when the structures had already disappeared. One unique photograph exists of the ancient construction prior to its destruction (Hogarth 1927).

Little investigation in the Syrian desert had been done by Europeans before G.A. Wallin, who in 1845, travelled on behalf of an intelligence mission for Muhammad 'Ali from Ma'an via Wādī Sirḥān to Al-Jawf and across the Nafūd desert to Hā'il (northern Nejd). The route through the Wādī Sirḥān was also followed by Carlo Guarmani (1851) who made a remarkable geographic map of the region. The crossing of the Wādī Sirḥān became an ordinary feature of 19th century travel (1878: W. and Lady A. Blunt). The explorations in the region by C. Hüber and J. Euting in 1883, produced a vast amount of topographical and archaeological data and a first collection of the ancient inscriptions of Taimā' and Hā'il. They were followed by A. Musil's journeys in 1896-1902 and 1906-1915. At the beginning of the 20th century a new type of exploration was inaugurated thanks to the interest of the British army under the command of General Viscount Allenby during World War I. Preliminary survey work had been done east of the Transjordan plateau for the construction of a Suez-Baghdad railway at the beginning of the century (Leachman, Holt & Carruthers in Pott 1988: 132). D. Carruthers visited Bāyir in 1909 and discovered the ruins of what he identified as an ancient caravan station or *khan* on the Egyptian-Babylonian route between Mā'an and al-Jawf (Carruthers 1910: 243; Pott 1988: 132). Carruther's discovery was afterwards the object of much chronological debate. Those who visited the site, Jaussen & Moritz (King 1983: 398), identified the still extant structures of the fort as belonging to the Roman period. Musil (1927: 324, fn. 76), followed by Lawrence (1955: 288) and Stein (Gregory & Kennedy 1985: 257) proposed a Ghassānid date. Lammens (King 1983: 398), Bell (Hogarth 1927: 6) and Schroeder (Field 1960: 99) considered it an Umayyad construction. Other scholars who had not seen the ruins, Cresswell (1969, I: 642-43), and Sauvaget (1939: 39-40), accepted this last opinion. The presence of a very large quantity of Nabataean or Nabataean/Roman pottery sherds on the site of the fort suggests the possibility of a Nabataean or an early Roman occupation level: Harding (unpublished Notebooks, cited by King 1983: 399, fn. 38; Bowersock 1971: 242; Rolston & Rollefson 1982: 213; Kennedy & Riley 1990: 330).

The Fort of Bāyir (Site 13)

The site of Bāyir is situated at a permanent water source, on an ancient track connecting the Wādī Sirḥān with the West on a crossroad which might have been of a certain importance in the past. The site has been surveyed several times, and has variously been dated from the Nabataean kingdom to the Umayyad period and described as a military fort or a caravanserai. The construction which was standing for a considerable height at the beginning of the century, was destroyed at ground

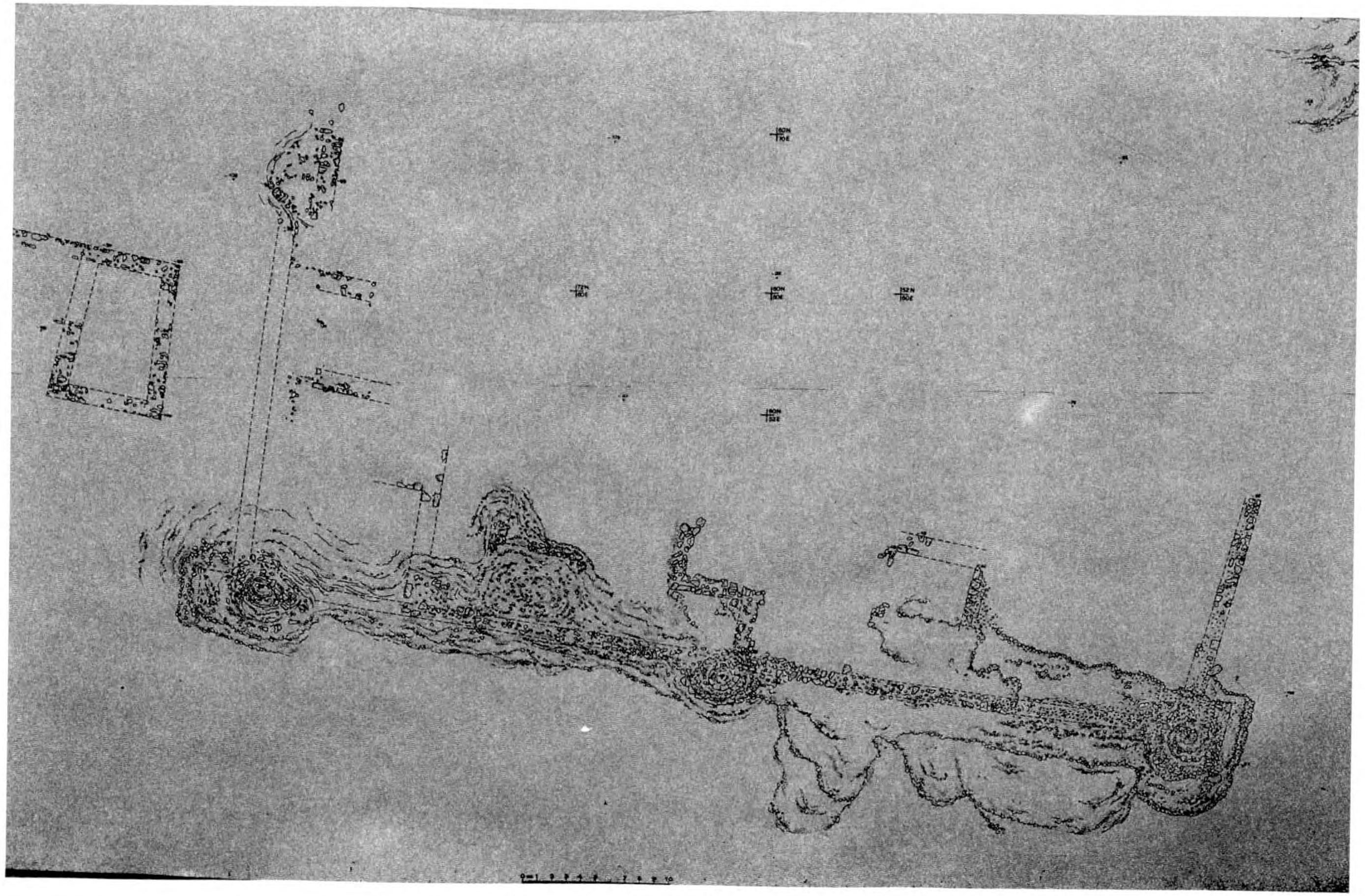

Fig. 6 - Plan of the ruins. (Drawing by R. Sabelli).

level in 1932 before an archaeological intervention could be done or a thorough study of its architectural elements prepared. In its actual state the site is covered with sand and other debris and numerous Bedouin graves occupy the eastern sector. The tomb of 'Annad, son of the former chief of the Huwaitat Auda 'Abu Tayy protagonist in the Arab revolt with Col. T.E. Lawrence is now the object of a saint's cult: It is possible that in the near future the site will be enclosed by a wall (Lawrence 1955: 288).

Comparing the two known maps of the fort (Glueck in Field 1960) with the one drawn by our architects (Fig. 6), we may observe that the actual surface remains did not alter very much from the time of the first mapping. The inner area represents approximatively less than 1/4 of the total surface (78 m x 55 m) (4). The completely decayed walls are buried under a relatively thin layer of sand but the rest of the former fort is completely filled up with a very thick layer of debris and dried organic material. This is the result of the continuous arrival of camel herds attracted by the wells which are on the same site.

During the drawing of the remains of the western outer wall prospecting the wadi, the team of architects drew our attention to the distinctive new features which appear at the southwest and nortwest corners. In fact, external climatic factors or intensive quarrying have laid bare the outer faces of the corners and indicate clearly two construction levels. The foundation blocks of the tower walls situated at the apparent lowest level meet at right angles projected rather far from the circular corner wall remains of the upper level. Both constructions used excellently cut limestone blocks laid in mortar. As far as could be judged from their condition, several occupational levels and successive rebuilding might be postulated.

Pottery Surface Sherding (Site 13)

After the intensive sherding of the preceeding survey parties (Glueck 1934; Rolston & Rollefson 1982; King 1983) there was still a considerable amount of pottery fragments laying on the site. A surface collection was made, and a sample is being prepared for publication. As remarked by Glueck (1934: 73) no complete vessels were found and our collections consist of small fragments. Only a few sherds are of sufficient size to permit reconstruction in a drawing. However, the general impression received from the complete set — consisting of fine painted Nabataean table-ware and fine to coarse common ware — was one of homogeneity taking into consideration the visible composition and texture of the pottery and the particular quality of the painted ware. Comparative analysis of the surface pottery collected this season is in preparation.

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(4) T.E. Lawrence (1955: 288) records that the ruins of the 'khan' gave shelter in 1917 to a hundred horses.

The Reservoir (Site 14)

Our survey party visited the old watering-pool or reservoir situated on the right bank of the Wādī Bāyir at a distance of about 3.2 km from the Police Post. When this writer came for a short visit to Bāyir the previous year, this huge and well-conserved 54.86 m^2 ancient construction was still to be seen as described by Stein in 1939 (Gregory & Kennedy 1985: 289-90) and by Field (1960: 100-102). Even if most of the limestone blocks of the large enclosure (1.83 m thick) had also been used for the construction of the Police Post, its general conservation was very good and the particularly well-cut facing stones suggested a Nabataean/Roman date. Moreover, the North side of the reservoir was equipped with a complex sluice system. A water channel connected the reservoir with the wadi. Our surprise was thus great at finding this unplanned and not studied monument of ancient engineering completely destroyed, its stones thrown around and the enclosure walls completely replaced by concrete blocks!

The Limestone Quarry (Site 15)

Near site 15, we left the track along the slopes of the Wādī Bāyir to explore the region to the east, when we came across a very extensive open-air limestone quarry (Fig. 7). A long line of cuttings is still visible on the rock, where operations to free the squared blocks from the native rock had been abandoned.

Site 14

This newly discovered archaeological site is situated 2.1 km north of Qaṣr Bāyir near the Wādī Bāyir's actual streambed. Impressive remains of the podia of three rectangular ancient constructions slightly buried under the sand, had been noted by Dr Fawwaz al-Khraysheh. We visited these on the occasion of the visit to our camp of Mr Renato Batti, former Ambassador to the Commission of the European Communities in the Middle East. The three constructions are standing perfectly parallel to one another, at a regular distance of *c.* 25 m and their back walls are set in line. The surface remains of the podia following an east to west order measure: building A: 26 m long x 6.8 m large; building B: 20 m x 6.85 m; building C: 16.80 m x 11.30 m. Building A has 0.86 m thick stylobate walls. The internal chamber of building C presents a division in two parts, with an inner cella. Very carefully cut large calcareous stones had been employed for the construction of these podia. The site also produced two fragmentary terracotta tiles and one single fragmentary Thamudic inscription on a small limeslab mentioning the goddess Lat. Excavation of these archaeological remains is planned for summer 1995.

Documentation: Ancient Literary Sources on Bāyir

We have mentioned already that Bāyir is located on a traditional route or track which was still in use at the beginning of the 20th century, as a station and a watering place, a branch-off point for the southern section of a crossroad linking the Northern Province of Saudi Arabia with the West.

I. Eph'al (1984: 14) discussing Arabian trade during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. takes into consideration the existence of alternative routes leading from Southern Arabia to Babylonia or to the western part of the Fertile Crescent. Among these he mentions the stations of an-Nabk or Bāyir from Taimā' on the way to 'Ammān after the crossing of the Wādī Sirḥān.

A. Musil identifies 'Obaira' a place-name recorded by Ptolemy on his map of Arabia (*Geog.* V 14.5, 19; V 18) with Bair/Bāyir as with Aba ir/Ubajr/Ubājer of the medieval Arabic sources or dialectical forms of the name still in use in the early 20th century (Musil 1927: 508, and *s.v.* 'Bair'). Sprenger (1875: 152) had postulated two sequences of Ptolemy's toponyms of the trans-Arabian trade including Obaira on the northern sections leading from Philadelphia ('Ammān) to Hegra (Medā'in-Ṣāliḥ). Potts ultimately proposes a slightly different succession order (1988: 152, 154, app. D).

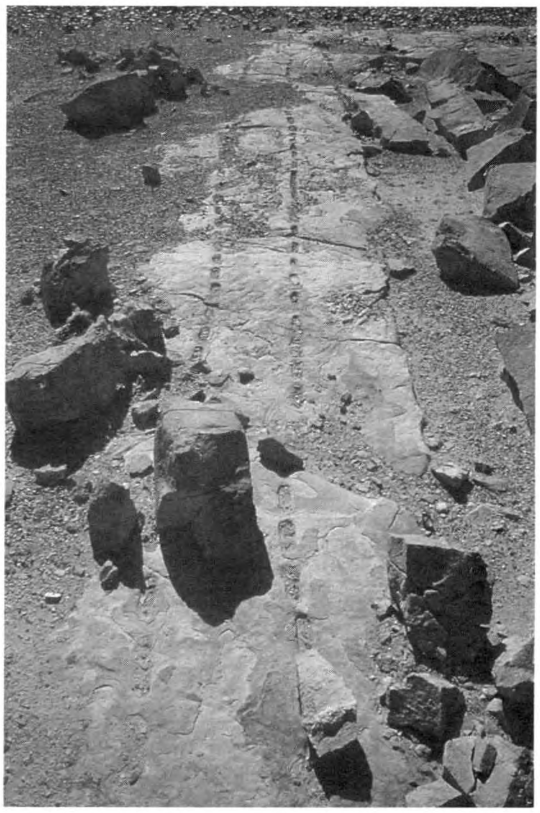

Fig. 7 - An ancient limestone quarry.

Renewed interest for the region east of the *via Nova Traiana* has been shown in the last years by a series of archaeological and epigraphic surveys in the Eastern desert (Rolston & Rollefson 1982; King 1983; Clark 1985; Mendenhall 1988) and in the Northern Provinces of Saudi Arabia (Adams et al. 1977; Winnett & Reed 1970; Parr et al. 1978). Several newly discovered archaeological sites are now waiting for excavation.

Nabataean and Roman Presence in the Eastern Desert

The presence of a considerable quantity of Nabataean/Roman pottery sherds on the site of the Qaṣr Bāyir has been stressed several times and opens the debate concerning the question of the aims of the Nabataean Kingdom or of Roman Rule in the region (Glueck 1934; Gregory & Kennedy 1985; Rolston & Rollefson 1982; King 1983). The actual state of documentation is still far from conclusive (Sartre 1982: 21; Bowersock 1983: 118-21; Wenning 1987: 114-15; Villeneuve 1992; Millar 1993: 401-3, 409). What follows is a summary of recent contributions to the history of Nabataean and Roman occupation or control east of the fertile and settled plateau (ancient Moab) and of the King's Highway or the *via Nova Traiana*, south of the Ḥawrān and the settlements in the lava-belt and of Azraq; included is the Wādī Sirḥān and its outposts in the oasis of Jawf-Sakākā the most southernly point where Nabataean and Roman evidence has been found until now.

V.A. Clark's Desert Survey in 1981 and 1985 was limited to a region 15 km to the east of the Hejāz railway but rightly focussed on the district of Qatrana whose geographical position, on the Wādī al-Hafīra, is of strategic importance. It is the last watering place before Bāyir (68 km southeast), on what clearly was the usual route to the east and was followed and described by Field in 1927 and in 1928 (Field 1960: 42, 81). The entrance of the wadi near Qatrana seems to have been monitored by two outlying Roman or Nabataean watchposts (site 16, Parker 1985: 71; Clark 1985: 115, figs. 12, 13) and of a Late Roman/Early Byzantine occupation (Clark 1985, sites 20, 21, 611) and some reoccupation in later times (Parker 1985: 79). Other sites (56) visited on their survey presented only 'a handful of surface pottery sherds' (Koucky 1985: 79; Clark 1985: 126).

Qaṣr Bshir north to Qatrana could be taken into account as another center for Roman patrolling of the eastern desert. These military posts seem to have been abandoned by the 6th century A.D. The last outpost so far discovered in the western part of the Eastern desert, on the old track to Bāyir is Qaṣr al-Mushaiyyish with remains of a Nabataean watchtower, one of several occupying a north-south line between the Wādī al-Mūjib and the Wādī al-Ḥēsa in the south (Glueck 1934, site 8: 72, pl. 1).

The depression of the Wādī Sirḥān, the *Symaión Pedion* of the classical sources, an eastward extension of the flattish, flint and basalt-covered plain forming the eastern part of the Transjordan desert '[...] a huge catchment basin for the seasonal rains' (Glueck 1951: 36), certainly played an important role in Antiquity, even if the evidence is extremely limited (Bowersock 1971: 221; 1983: 98; Kennedy 1980: 879-87; Sartre 1982: 19-22). It extends from Azraq in northwest-southeast direction for 210 miles and ends 10 miles north of al-Jawf. Glueck (1944: 41) observed the absence of distinctive Nabataean pottery sherds in the Wādī Sirḥān, although Nabataean inscriptions have been found (Winnett & Reed 1970: 60, 62). In recent years the Saudi Arabian Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program gave notice in its preliminary report (Adams et al. 1967) of the discovery at Ithra and at Qaṣr al-Sa'īdī of surface pottery sherds of the characteristic painted Nabataean ware (Adams et al. 1977: site 200-203, 200-212) but scarce architectural surface remains of unknown period. It has been postulated that the Wādī Sirḥān was an important communication road and of strategic importance after Petra lost its control on the sea-traffic and the caravan trade towards Gaza at the end of the 1st century A.D. (Bowersock 1971: 134; Sartre 1982: 54; Gatier 1988: 183; but see also the observations of Millar 1993: 389). From al-Jawf, at the other entrance of the Wādī Sirḥan, Savignac & Starcky (1957: 215) published a bilingual (Greek-Nabataean) inscription attesting the presence in 44 A.D. of a Nabataean stratopedarch, a *Rb msbryt'*. Al-Jawf, Nabataean Dwmt/Dumaetha of the classical sources, presents no visible architectural ancient remains. However, a Nabataean building inscription records a local cult of Du'shara 'God of Gaia who is at (Duma)t' (Savignac & Starcky 1957: 196). Furthermore, a centurion of the III Cyreniaca, on duty in *Dumaetha*, left a (latin) dedication to Juppiter Hammon and Sanctus Sulmus, the tutelary divinities of his legion's headquarters in Bostra (Bowersock 1983: 98). The nature of the Nabataean settlement, in the absence of archaeological excavations, and of literary documents, remains a conjectural subject of discussion. More evidence of structural surface remains, enclosures and plentiful Nabataean pottery sherds have been found south of Sakaka on the site of aṭ-Ṭuwayr at the edge of the Nafūd desert (Adams et al. 1977: 38-39, sites 201-204; *ibid.* 1978: 44, 46, sites 206-207 [Zubayda] see also Musil 1927: 159 f., 460 f., 470 f.). The similarity of the ceramic material excavated during a sounding in the oldest occupational layers of al-Jawf's Qaṣr al-Ḥārid with unpublished material from Petra, and from sites such as Thaj and 'Ayn Jawān in Eastern Saudi Arabia (Parr et al. 1978: 42, pl. 17.*1-21*) is striking. Parr proposes to identify Ptolemy's toponym *Obraca* or *Pharatba* which he situates in Arabia with present-day aṭ-Ṭuwayr in the oasis of al-Jawf. The site seems to be abandoned by the 1st century A.D. and it is assumed that *Dumaetba*/al-Jawf replaced it as the major settlement and center of the trans-Arabian spice road (Parr et al. 1978: 43).

The Late Roman Period

Literary evidence attest the existence of a *qaṣr Ubayr* in connection with the growing power of the Ghassānid kings in the eastern desert (mid 6th century A.D.). Musil (1927: 324, fn. 76) collected all the passages in the collections of pre-Islamic poetry. The Eastern desert became most significant in the Umayyad period with the establishment of the *quṣūr* of the Caliphs in the region. Al-Walid II is said to have dwelled during the spring season in Ubajer/Ubajr, in the territory of the Beni al-Kejn, as the poet Ar-Rammah Ibn al-Mayyada refers and as is quoted by Abu'l Farāj al-Isfahāni (*Kitāb al-Aḡāni*, II: 108, cit. in Musil 1927: 325, fn. 76) and by Yaqūt (I: 415, cit. *ibid.*). King (1987: 91-105) links the presence of the Umayyad castles in the region — even the most isolated — among other factors, to the vast network of routes, stations, watering places and caravanserai as functional to a new state communication system. Moreover, the principal pilgrim routes connecting the new capital Damascus with Medina, the Darb ash-Sham and the Wādī Sirḥān route were flanked by a central caravan track which ran from 'Ammān to Taimā' and Medina passing the watering places of Bāyir and Kilwa (King 1987: 91-105; Zayadine 1992: 227). The changed political situation in the region after the Crusaders' occupation of Palestine explains the interest for alternative itineraries in the eastern desert. Al-Muqaddasi (*'Aḥsān*: 253) writing in the 12th century records this route as the 'Tarīq Wubayr' as the route of Wubayr identified by Musil (1927: 517-18) and by King (1987: 95) with Bāyir (Fig. 1).

The Epigraphic Survey

The 1993 epigraphic survey in the Wādī Bāyir was conducted by Dr F. al-Khraysheh and myself. I would like to thank Prof. Safwān Tell, former Director of the Department of Antiquities, for granting a permit and Prof. Zeidan Kafāfī, Director of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of Yarmouk University for his support for the project. I acknowledge Mr G. Ruffo who carried out the survey work and the topographical planning. Previous to our Comprehensive Epigraphic Survey, V.A. Clark published in 1987 six graffiti which he had recorded during his participation in the Wādī Bāyir Paleoanthropological Survey conducted by S.L. Rolston and G.O. Rollefson (1982; Clark 1987: 185-91). Two short visits were made by the Epigraphy Section of the IAAY in 1988 and in 1989 in Bāyir (Bāyir I) and a first extensive and systematic survey in June 1990 (Bāyir II). The area investigated was east to the Wādī Bāyir in the plain of the Wādī Ukheidir as-Satih. 80 Safaitic and Thamudic graffiti, one Nabataean short text, 4 Greek and a Latin dedication have been collected and prepared for publication (Calzini Gysens 1993).

This third season of Bāyir's Comprehensive Epigraphic survey organized in collaboration between the IAAY and IsMEO has covered an area situated north-east of the Qaṣr Bāyir (site 13), in a range from 4 to 12 km, in the plain between the Wādī Bāyir and its tributary, the Wādī as-Si'r. We generally followed a circuitous course to the north and south of the wadi (5). Most of the inscriptions were found on the hill ridges overlooking the wadi. Sites 1, 2 and 7 instead appear as irregular piles of stones and boulders in the open flint-covered plains (Fig. 9). Site 5 was on the top of a low isolated round mountain, a typical geographical feature of the region. The Wādī as-Si'r has a considerable broad streambed, approximately 300 m wide. Each site with epigraphic material was numbered and was classified as a 'point' instead of using the term 'cairn'. No immediate evidence of a funeral function of the stone-heaps with epigraphic material had thus far been noted, nor was there any

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(5) We acknowledge good use of M. Macdonald's observations (1982) on survey strategy.

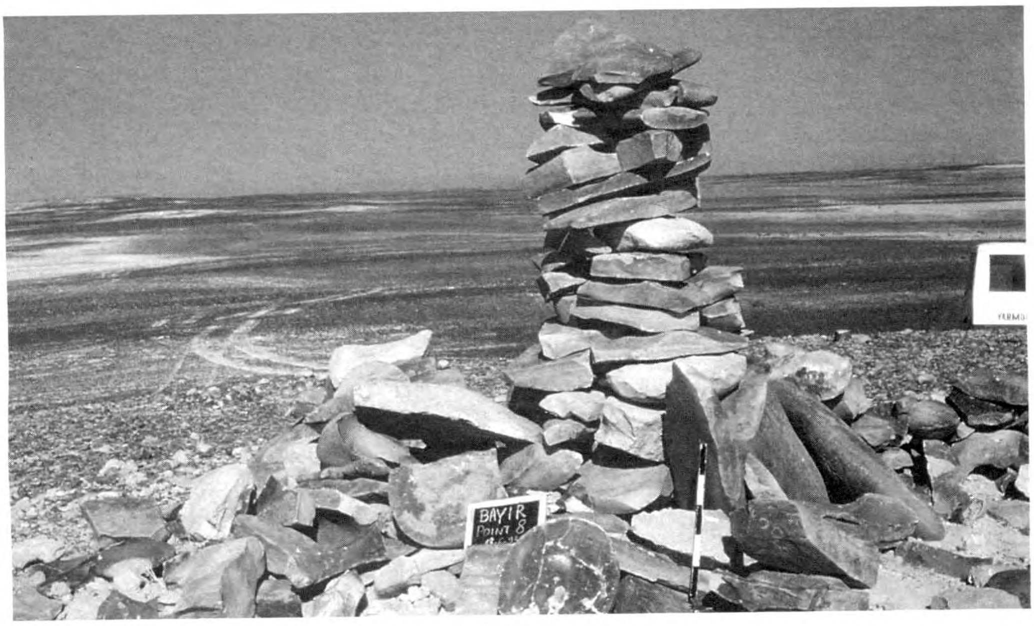

Fig. 8 - Epigraphic survey: site 8.

surface scatter from the chalcolithic industry recovered. The nearly regular presence of these stone-heaps on the edges of ridges overlooking valleys, seem to confirm an overall impression of their function as signposts (Fig. 8). Altogether 64 Thamudic

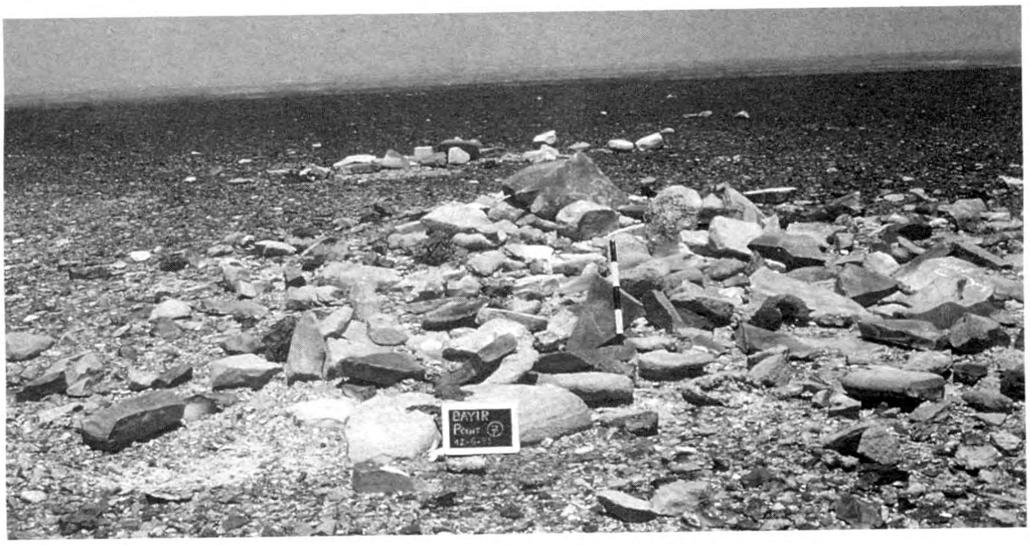

Fig. 9 - Epigraphic survey: site 7.

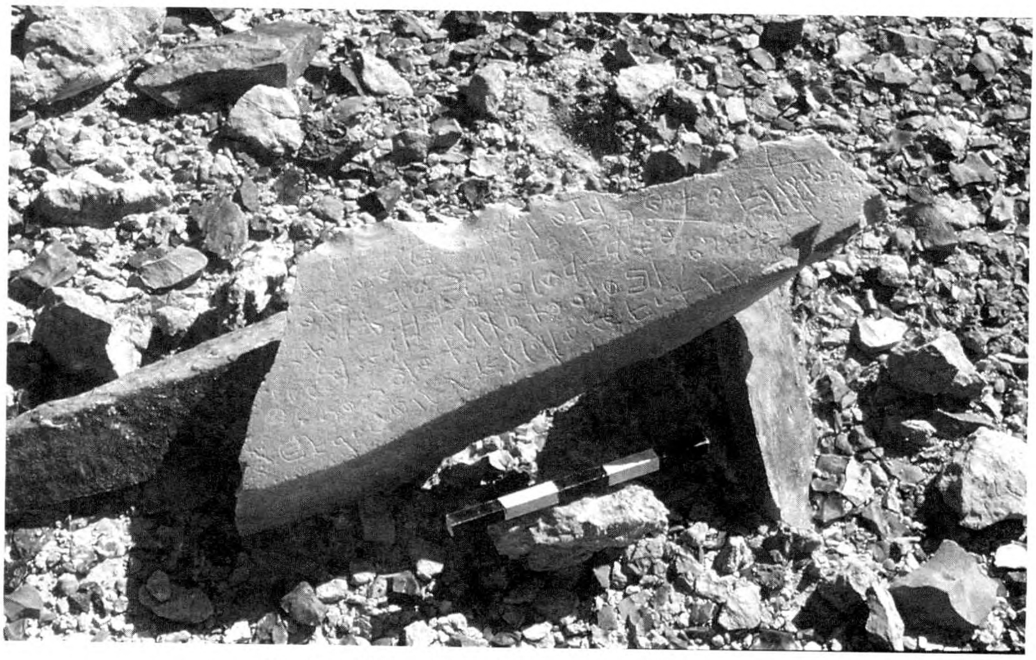

Fig. 10 - Thamudic graffito (site 8; No. 34/1993).

texts were recorded, three Nabataean graffiti, a bilingual Nabataean/Safaitic inscription (F. al-Khraysheh 1994), five short Greek graffiti, a considerable long Greek inscription (13 lines) and several short texts of an Islamic date among which some in Kufic Arabic (Figs. 9-12) and are now prepared for publication. The texts consist of graffiti of signatures, they record mostly names with few genealogic elements. Checking this onomastic material upon a wider cultural issue remains problematic in the present state of documentation. No rock art has been found so far but several modern tribal signs or *wusūm* cover the ancient inscriptions suggesting the regularity of the itineraries used by transmigrations (Fig. 13). No funeral inscriptions were present on the sites. A number of graffiti pray the Goddess *Lt* = Lat accordig to the common expression '*ḏkrt lt*' (may Lat remember) and are sometimes accompanied by the ritual seven strokes. Three Arabian divinities are cited together in a text: al'Uzza, Manat and Dushara (point 12, No. 68).

The texts are mostly written in an ancient North Arabian Language elaborated by nomadic communities from the 1st millennium onward (Garbini 1984: 111, 141-44) which is called Thamudic. Paleographical considerations led to the thesis of the original unity of the alphabet (Van den Branden 1950; contra Ryckmans 1956) and of the chronological and regional division of the various scripts. Winnett would have called this type of script Thamudic E or Tabuki Thamudic (Winnett 1937: 42-49, pl. X; Winnett & Reed 1970: 70). Called into question this class of inscriptions seems closely

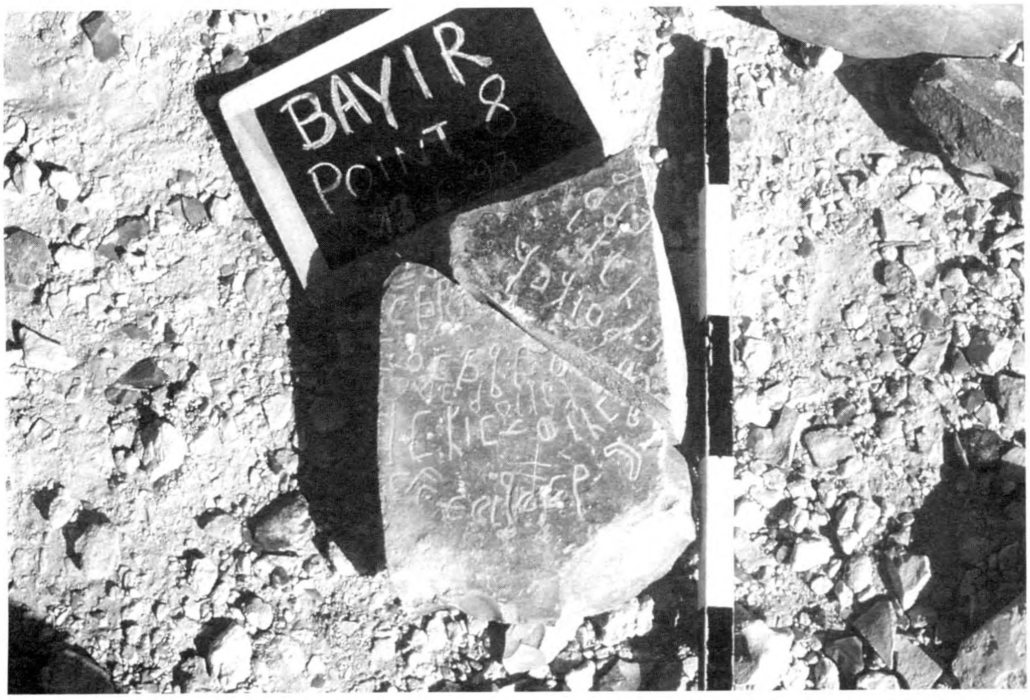

Fig. 11 - Thamudic graffito (site 8; No. 35/1993.

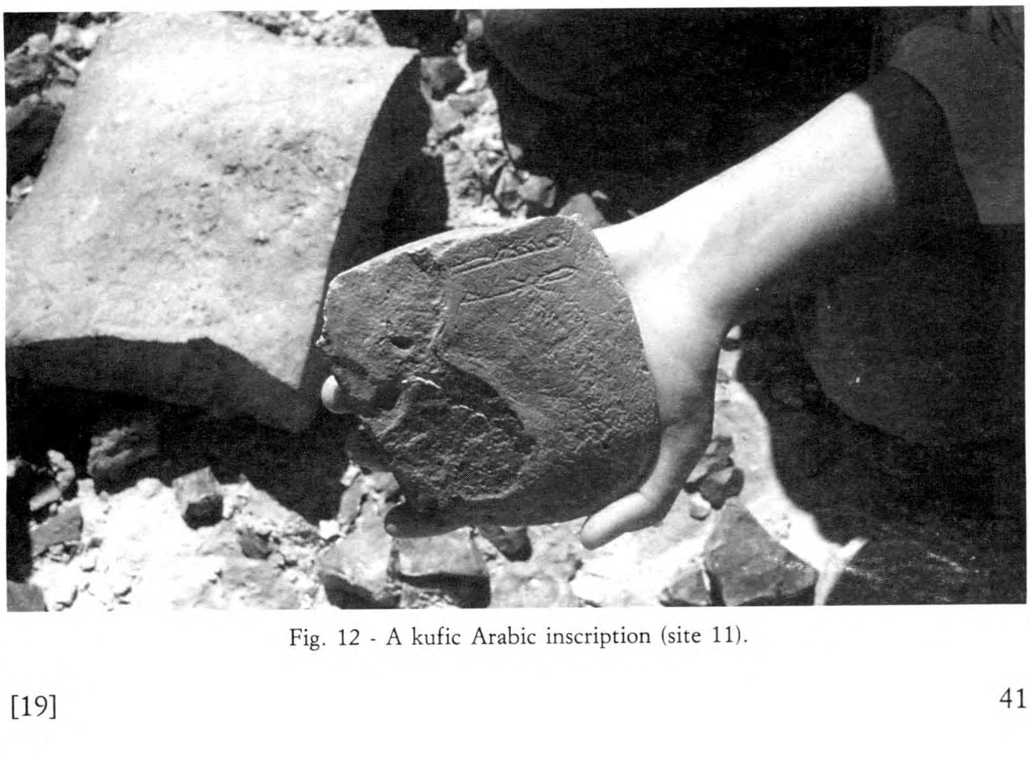

Fig. 12 - A kufic Arabic inscription (site 11).

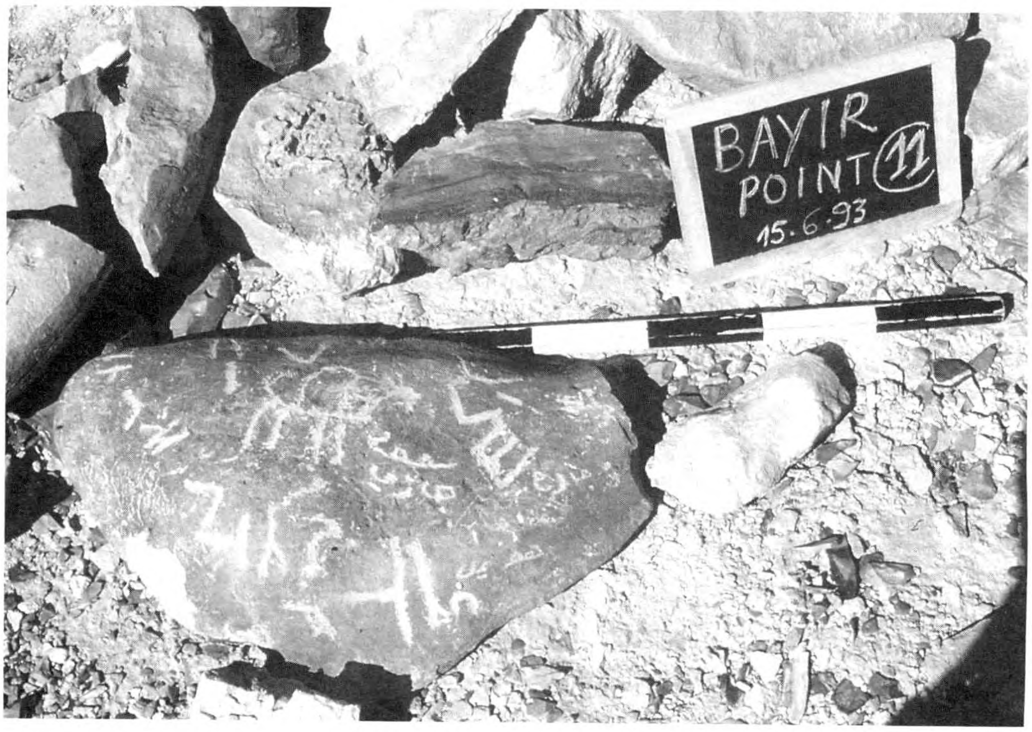

Fig. 13 - Modern tribal signs (*wusūm*) (site 11).

related to Safaitic so that Knauf proposed to name it 'Southern Safaitic' (Knauf 1980; see also Macdonald 1986 and King 1988). Recent epigraphic surveys confirm the regional character of its distribution.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR: *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
ADAJ: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
Atlal: *Journal of Saudi Arabian Archaeology*
BASOR: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
GJ: *Geographical Journal*
JRS: *Journal of Roman Studies*
RB: *Revue Biblique*
SHAJ: *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*
ZDPV: *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palastina-Vereins*

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Early Beadmakers of the Indus Tradition
The Manufacturing Sequence of Talc Beads at Mehrgarh in the 5th Millennium B.C.

by MASSIMO VIDALE

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a reconstruction of the techniques used by the ancient beadmakers of Mehrgarh (Pakistan) in the 5th millennium B.C. for the production of 'steatite' (talc) disk beads. The raw material was identified through scanning electron microscopy with electron microprobe (SEM-EDA) and X-rays diffraction (XRD). The methods used in the paleotechnological reconstruction include optical microscopy and scanning electron microscopy (SEM) on archaelogical blanks and beads, experimental simulations of the whole manufacturing sequence, and scanning electron microscopy on experimental items. For the experiments were used modern stone samples from Pakistan. The proposed reconstruction is supported by a good match between the micromorphological features of the blanks and beads from Mehrgarh and those observed in the modern experimental items.

Introduction

In the protohistory of the Indus region steatite disk beads are very distinctive artefacts, relatively common from early chalcolithic times to the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. Steatite, a commercial term commonly used by archaeologists for different varieties of massive talcose rocks, was perhaps the favourite medium for the jewellers of the Harappan phase of the Indus tradition (about 2600-1900 B.C.) (Vidale 1984; 1989; 1989a). Today, although in simplified forms and in very specific cultural contexts, the making of beads of soapstone or steatite (i.e. rocks with talc and chlorites) still survives in Sindh and Baluchistan, and may be considered one of the traditional industries of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent (Vidale & Shar 1990).

In 1987 J.F. Jarrige, Director of the French excavations at the site of Mehrgarh (Fig. 1), with his usual courtesy provided me with a sample of steatite debitage from the site of MR 4, datable to early chalcolithic times, i.e. to the 5th millennium B.C. (Fig. 1). The sample included about 300 specimens of steatite blanks, most of which defective, and broken disk beads, evidently left or discarded by one or more craftsmen in a single spot. According to information from the French colleagues and to the published photographs (Jarrige 1981: fig. 4) the sample I studied is a selection focussing on disk bead blanks and beads, whereas the steatite flakes, the larger lumps and part of the roughouts originally associated were not represented. Furthermore, the sample did not include remains in other materials such as flint and shell, reportedly included in the original collection.

As far as I know, this find represents the earliest archaeological evidence of an intensive bead making activity in South Asia. In a regional perspective, the sample offered a precious occasion for observing in detail some aspects of this industry in the early stages of its evolution: a 'technological window' opened on the first forms of interaction between craft specialists and economical power in the protohistory of the Indus basin.

The Activity Area

The beadmaking debitage was found within a single deposit, nearby one of the compartmented buildings distinguishing the neolithic and early chalcolitic architecture of the settlements of Mehrgarh (Figs. 2-3). The building is so described by the excavator:

> [...] ten narrow compartments symmetrically arranged on either side of a central corridor with an additional small room added against the south wall of the complex [...]. The walls of the structure are made of hand-formed bricks, slightly convex in section and rather irregular in size. Overall, the building techniques are very similar to those in the nearby neolithic settlement and different from those of later periods where mould-formed bricks were used. Although the walls are preserved in some parts of the structure to a height of one meter, there are no traces of doorways. The compartments themselves are too small and narrow to have been used for habitation and there is no sign of any domestic activity having been carried out on them [...]. That this building was a granary is an inference supported by the recovery from the compartments of a large number of impressions in clay of wheat grains. In addition, in one chamber were found sickles made of three bladelets each, shafted in a slantwise fashion and set in bitumen. (Jarrige 1981: 97).

East of the structure the excavators discovered a concentration of various types of charred seeds, among which cotton, possibly collected or cultivated for their oil or fibers. In the open area facing the eastern wall were also found piles of bones and burnt pebbles mixed with ash; this deposit contained not less than one hundred bone awls, and other awls were found in the immediately surrounding areas. As suggested by the recovery of one stone sharpener '[...] bone tools were made and used in this area, possibly for working hides' (*ibid.*: 97).

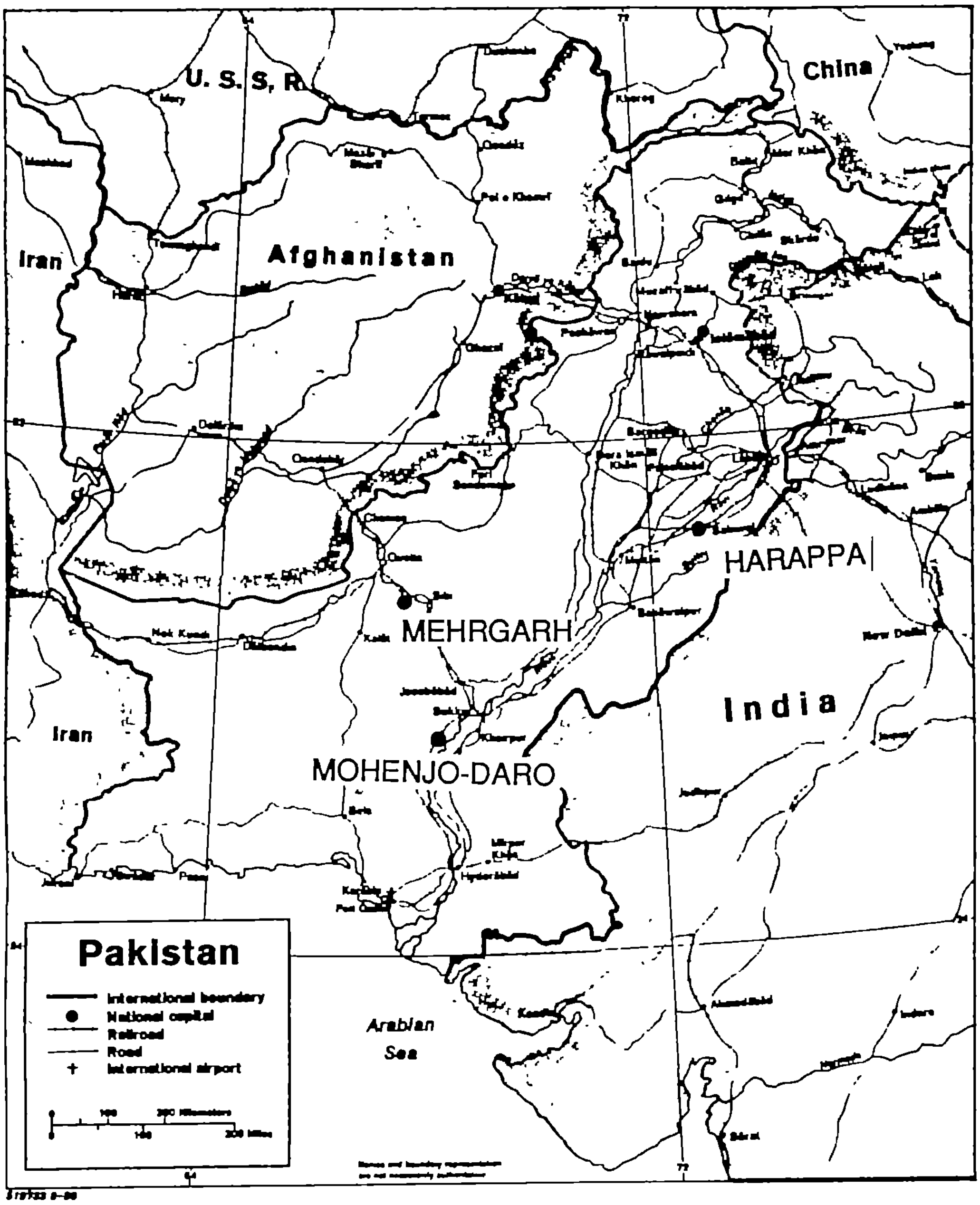


Fig. 1 - Map of the Indus region showing the location of Mehrgarh and other sites mentioned in the text.

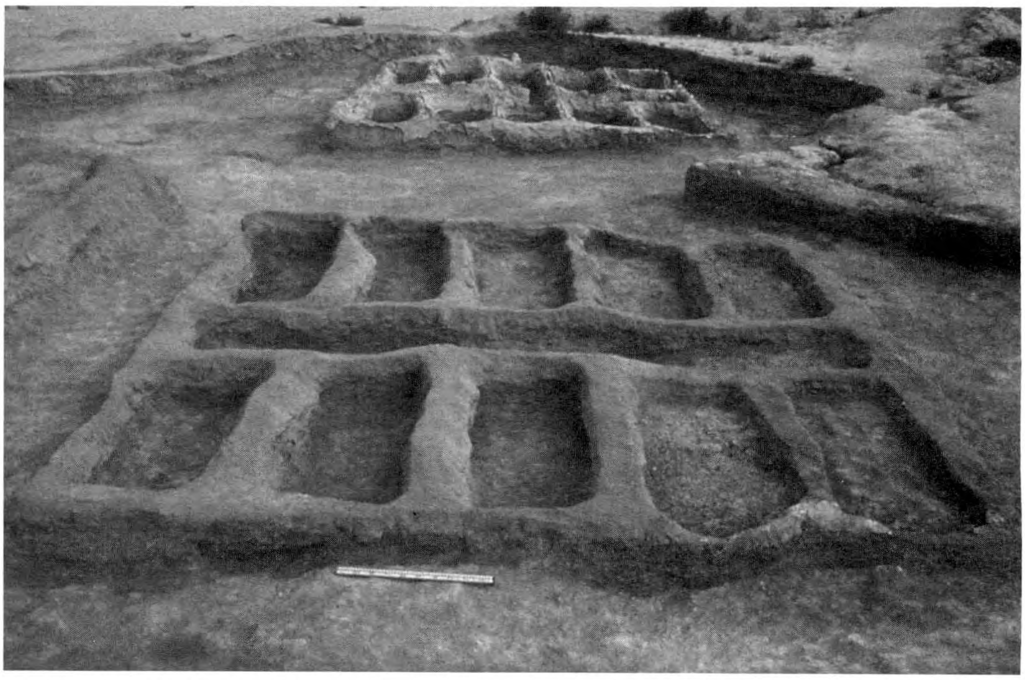
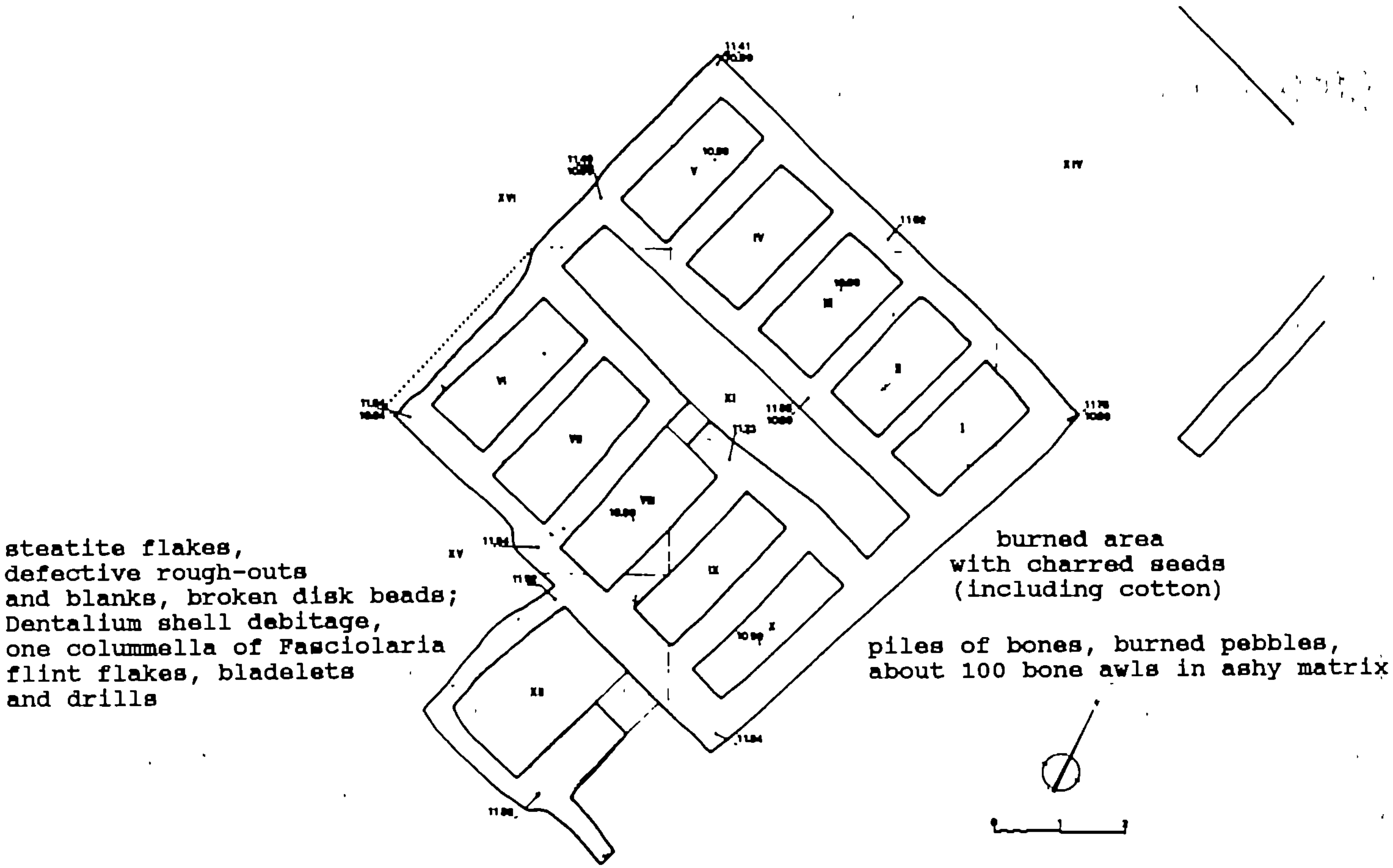


Fig. 2 - The compartmented building associated with the steatite activity area of MR2 (courtesy of J.F. Jarrige and R. Meadow).

The beadmaking area was found against the southern wall of the building, in Locus XV. It was formed by a single deposit extending approximately for 4 to 6 sq.m. (R. Meadow, personal communication). The pictures taken during excavation show that the industry was contained within a hard-packed clayey-silty matrix characterized by polyhedral fracture. Always in the words of the excavator, this deposit is described as

> [...] the remains of a workshop where steatite was cut and worked into beads and other objects. Along with the flint drills and flakes used by the craftsmen were recovered several hundred mostly broken or unfinished beads together with beads of dentalium and other shells. The one columella of the sea shell Fasciolaria trapezium found in this workshop is the sole example of a type of shell found in great quantities in a previous sondage made nearby [*ibid.*: 97].

The association of steatite and shell beads suggest that the craftsmen could have produced ornaments with 'black-and-white' alternating beads (see also Vidale 1989a). The production in early chalcolithic times of this type of necklaces required the maintenance of trace relationships capable of furnishing the inland centers of raw material both from the mountain areas of Baluchistan and the sea coasts.



steatite flakes,
defective rough-outs
and blanks, broken disk beads;
Dentalium shell debitage,
one columella of Fasciolaria
flint flakes, bladelets
and drills

burned area
with charred seeds
(including cotton)

piles of bones, burned pebbles,
about 100 bone awls in ashy matrix

Fig. 3 - Sketch map of the compartmented building with the nearby archaeological finds (from Jarrige 1981).

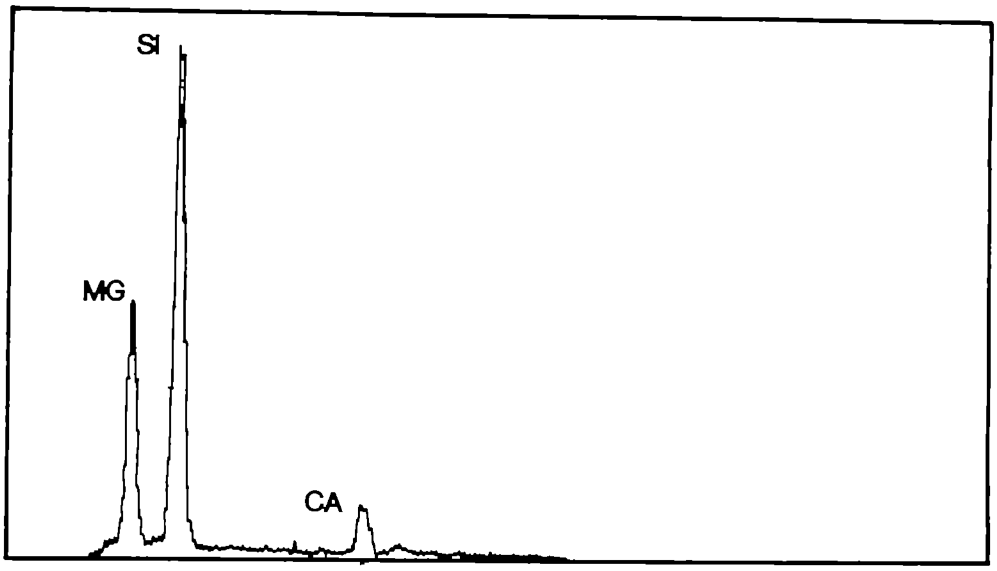


Fig. 4 - SEM-EDA spectrum with peaks of silicon, magnesium and calcium (a rough-out from the activity area).

We may presume that such a homogeneous layer of steatite and shell debitage was dumped or stored and finally abandoned in an open area somehow managed by the same people using and controlling the storage facilities of the compartmented building. The storage building, together with another identical structure excavated at north, seems to have been bounded by other architectural features, and this could support the impression that access to this area was somehow restricted or controlled. The debitage could have been buried intentionally (but this seems unlikely, given the noticeable extension of the deposit), or it could have been sealed by alluvial episodes and/or mudbrick decay processes. The presence of some well defined, individual clusters of objects referable to different crafts would point towards forms of hoarding more than to the localization of specialized dumping areas; but, most probably, the homogeneity of these industrial deposits also depends upon particularly fast dynamics of sedimentation and burial.

Whatever the formation processes of the activity area might be, two factors are stressed in the original report: the presence of spatially segregated piles of raw material and manufacturing residues referable to various industries (steatite and dentalium shell bead making, manufacturing of Fasciolaria shell ornaments, production of bone awls), and the close spatial correlation of these deposits with storage facilities for agricultural goods and tools. Whoever controlled agricultural product was also able to monitor, at least partially, different types of crafts and supplies.

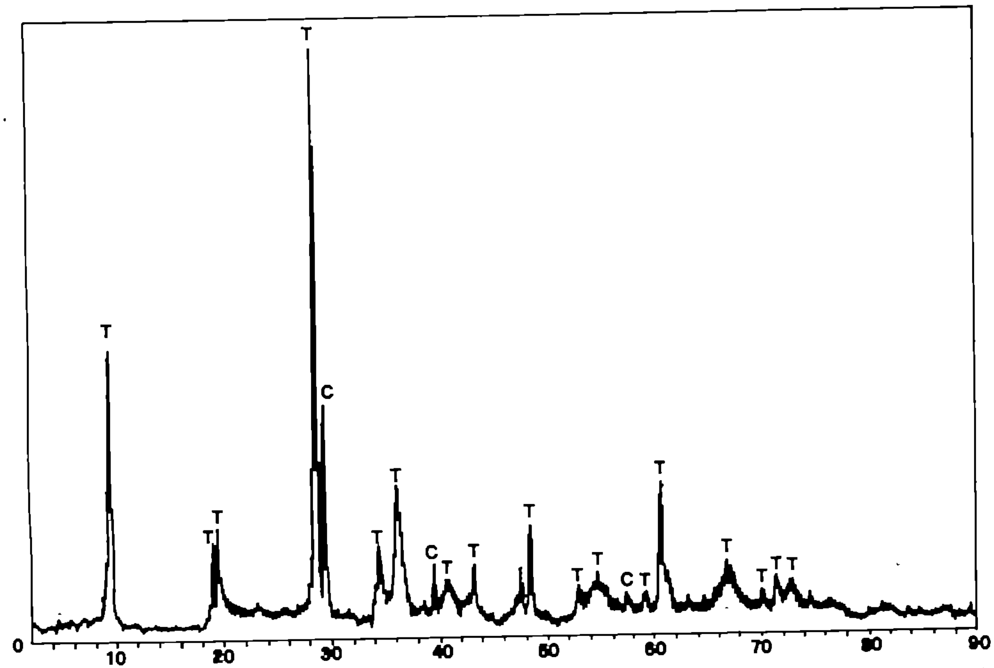


Fig. 5 - XRD spectrum showing peaks of talc (T) and calcite (C) (a rounded bead from the activity area).

Raw Material

All the unfinished blanks, beads and residues found in this activity area belong to a single variety of 'steatite'. The stone is greenish to dark grey, very homogeneous and compact, and only slightly greasy at the touch. The thicker specimens show sometimes a thin layered inner structure. 53 samples of this material were analysed and compared with a preliminary series of 23 samples of so-called soapstones from various parts of Pakistan, both archaeological stone residues and ethnographic items. All the samples were analysed with scanning electron microscopy and microprobe (SEM-EDA) and later with X-rays diffraction (XRD). The samples were cleaned in aceton and with an ultrasonic cleaner to avoid soil contamination.

Analysed with SEM-EDA the samples from Mehrgarh showed peaks of silicon, magnesium and calcium (Fig. 4). The high peaks of silicon and magnesium indicate that the stone is talc, $H_2Mg_3(SiO_3)_4$. The XRD spectra have a good correspondence with PDF 29-143, Talc, and show that calcium is present in form of Calcite ($CaCo_3$) (Fig. 5). The presence of Calcite probably renders this stone slightly harder than the common Talc (1 on Mohs scale).

The other samples from Pakistan I analysed turned out to represent a wide range of rocks and minerals (from pure Talc to Talc with Dolomite, Quartz spinels and minerals of the Serpentine group), for the moment the association of Talc and Calcite was found only in the stone from Mehrgarh. It will be interesting, in future research, to determine if this material might have a more restricted source area of the other talc-bearing rocks of Baluchistan (Vidale & Bianchetti, forthcoming).

The Product

Judging from the specimens broken or abandoned in the last stages of manufacture included in the sample, the range of beads produced in the activity area is almost exclusively limited to a single type of tiny disk bead (Fig. 9). The diameter of the specimens range from a maximum of 11.69 to a minimum of 4.21 mm, with an average value of 6.35 mm (see Appendix B, Table 6). The distribution of the diameter values (always for the finished or almost completed specimens) shows that the beads might fall in two groups, one with diameters between 4 and 6 mm, the other ranging around 7 (see Vanzetti & Vidale 1994). Specimens larger than 9 mm are very rare. All the beads are thinner on one side and thicker on the other, i.e. they have a trapezoidal section: the average maximum thickness is 1.03 mm, the minimum thickness averages 0.89 mm. Disk beads of this type might have been worn in anklets, necklaces or bangles, as they could have been secured to cloth and garments, for embroidery works. Funerary evidence from Mehrgarh and from the later cemeteries of the Harappan phase (2600-1900 B.C.) support the first reconstruction.

The only other type of bead is a carefully shaped flat sub-rectangular element with concave sides, bearing a series of 6 bipolar perforations regularly spaced on its surface (Fig. 9). This unique piece might be a spacer for assembling necklaces with multiple string of beads or another type of ornament.

Study Methods

My goal was to learn as much as possible on the production of early chalcolitic steatite disk beads at Mehrgarh in terms of stages and techniques of manufacture. The first step was a classification of all the items included in the sample. This classification was based on a detailed observation and description of each object, effected at the optical microscope. All the objects were then measured with a 2 decimals digital caliper and the data entered in a database. The debitage showed an evident process of transformation of the beads from polygonal blanks to progressively smaller rounded elements. As a consequence, blanks and beads were divided in groups following the partially empirical criterion of their relative degree of roundness as well as according to the presence-absence of some critical technological features.

In this paper, I shall first describe the morphological-paleotechnological groups resulting from the classification of the industrial debitage. In the following sections, I shall discuss different types and degrees of manufacturing traces around the edge and within the perforation of the beads. This evidence will be used to support the reconstruction of the manufacturing sequence. In this stage, optical microscopy was integrated by SEM micromorphological observation. All counts for morphological-paleotechnological groups and internal indicators are reported in form of tables in Appendix B (see below). It should be kept in mind that such a description in two stages (first by paleotechnological groups, and then by manufacturing wear traces) does not reflect a research path, but represents a conventional, simplified way to explain the progressive transformation of the beads.

The hypothetical reconstruction of the manufacturing sequence was then tested with an experimental simulation of the whole process. As raw material for making disk beads I used a group of modern Talc from Pakistan, currently used all over the country as school drawing chalks. Other materials used in the experiments include a fine-grained sandstone slab, a hand-powered drill with a chert point, and a bundle of rough hemp fibers. All materials were kindly provided by J.M. Kenoyer, University of Wisconsin, Madison, who also assisted me with information and advice.

The beads so obtained, in various stages of transformation, were observed with SEM to compare their micromorphological features with those observed in the archaeological specimens.

Morphological-Paleotechnological Groups

In this section are enlisted and described the morphological-paleotechnological groups in which the sample was subdivided. The order in which the various groups are discussed roughly corresponds to the progressive transformation of the pieces from polygonal blanks to the final rounded beads.

Unbroken Unperforated Polygons (UUP) and Fragmentary Unperforated Polygons (FUP)

These two groups (Figs. 6, 10) together amount to a small percentage of the total (4.5%) and include bead blanks lost before perforation (UUP) or blanks probably broken in grinding (FUP). The diameter of the blanks ranges from a maximum of 10.80 to a minimum of 5.64 mm, with an average of 7.87 mm; the thickness values average 1.33 (maximum) and 1.11 (minimum) mm.

Some information on the shape of the blanks and the original rod-blanks may be gathered considering UUP and FUP together with the groups including blanks which did not undergo the rounding process (PEP; PDB: see below). Their shape may be described, in the majority of the cases, as irregular polygons (55%) and regular polygons (17.5%). In the other cases, they are elliptical or not determinable. Within the small group of well preserved polygonal blanks of the sample, most frequent appear to be octagonal and hexagonal specimens (amounting respectively to about 50% and 25%) (see Appendix B, Table 2).

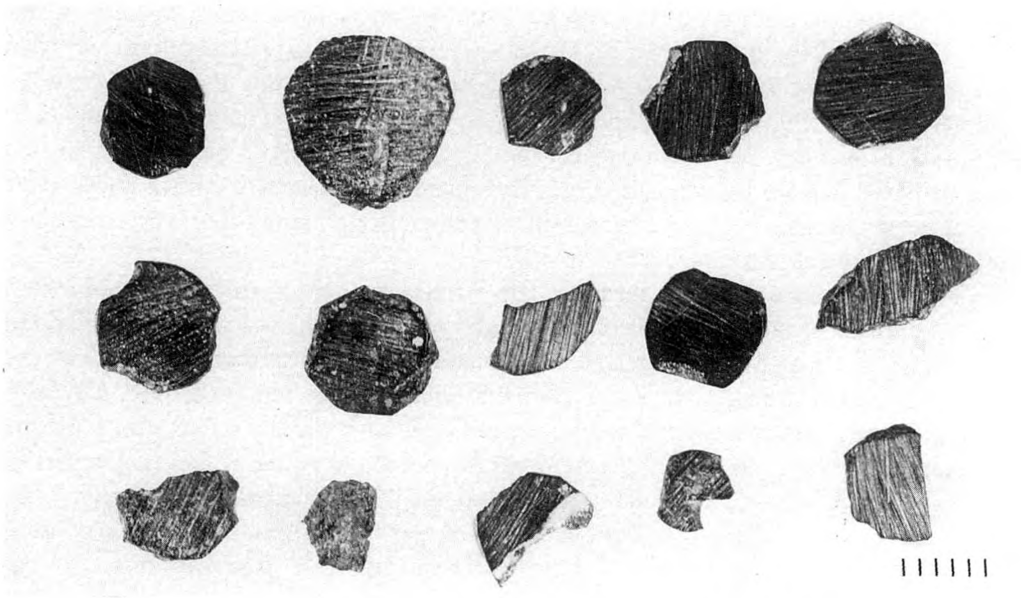


Fig. 6 - Unbroken Unperforated Polygons (UUP) and Fragmentary Unperforated Polygons (FUP) (Dep. CS. 16893).

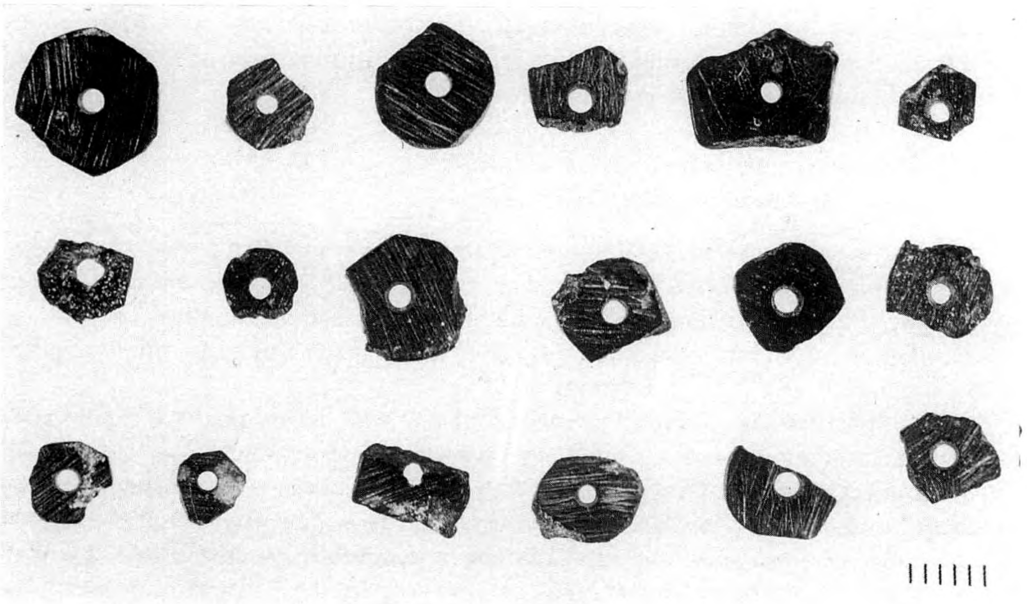


Fig. 7 - Perforated Polygons, from unbroken to slightly damaged (PEP), and Perforated Polygons with missing edges (PME).

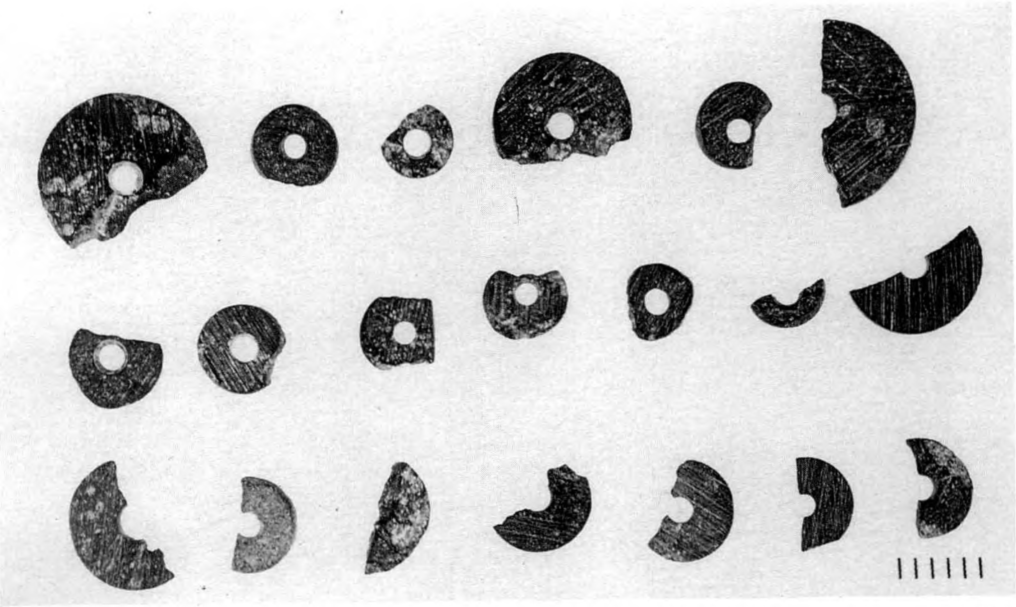


Fig. 8 - Sub-rounded Split Perforated Elements (SSP) and Rounded Split Perforated elements (RSP).

Perforated Polygons, from unbroken to slightly damaged (PEP) (Figs. 7, 11);
Perforated polygons with Missing Edges (PME) (Fig. 7);
Polygons with Defective Bipolar perforation (PDB) (Fig. 13)

These three groups include mostly polygonal blanks discarded or lost after perforation (PEP), a few specimens of perforated polygons badly damaged at the edges, perhaps after the beginning of the rounding process, and a single polygonal blank discarded after a defective bipolar perforation (the two drill holes did not meet: Fig. 13) (PDB).

Split Perforated Polygons (SPP);
Split perforated Polygons with Cutting marks (SPC) (Fig. 12)

Amounting to about 50% of the total, SPP represents the largest paleotechnological group in the assemblage. It is formed by polygonal blanks broken in drilling or during the earliest stages of the ensuing rounding operations. The group SPC includes two specimens of perforated polygons bearing on the surface clear traces of a transversal cut, probably traced with a flint (?) blade. This feature may be intentional or it may represent the byproduct of another operation, and its meaning is presently unknown. A hypothesis is that, as the cut crosses the center of the blank and the hole, it might represent a form of guide-groove for drilling. The average diameter of split perforated

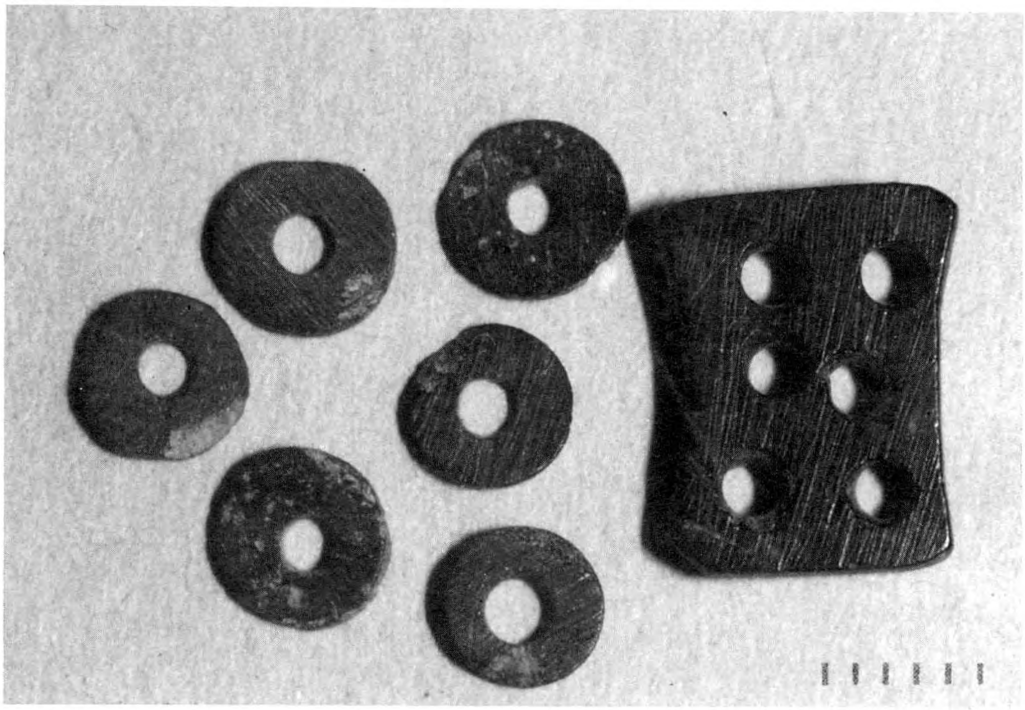


Fig. 9 - Perforated Rounded elements (PRE) and multiple 'spacer' element.

polygons (SPP + SPC) is 7.35 mm; maximum and minimum thickness of the specimens classified as PEP, PME, PDB, SPP and SPC are respectively 1.30 and 1.10 mm.

Sub-rounded Split Perforated Elements (SSP) (Fig. 8)

This group includes a set of blanks (12.7% of the total sample) evidently broken during some advanced stage of the transformation from the original polygonal shape into the final rounded bead. They still show a polygonal contour, while the corners between the facets appear to a great extent smoothed. The average diameter of the blanks belonging to this group is 7.01 mm, the maximum thickness 1.20, while the minimum thickness is 1.01 mm.

Perforated Rounded Elements (PRE) (Fig. 9);
Rounded Split Perforated elements (RSP)

This last set includes finished beads, lost or abandoned as low-quality or defective product (PRE) and a consistent number of beads most probably broken during the last stages of the rounding operation. In these specimens every evidence of the original polygonal blank is lost, and the form of the disk bead is often extremely regular. The dimensional features of the finished product were discussed in a previous section.

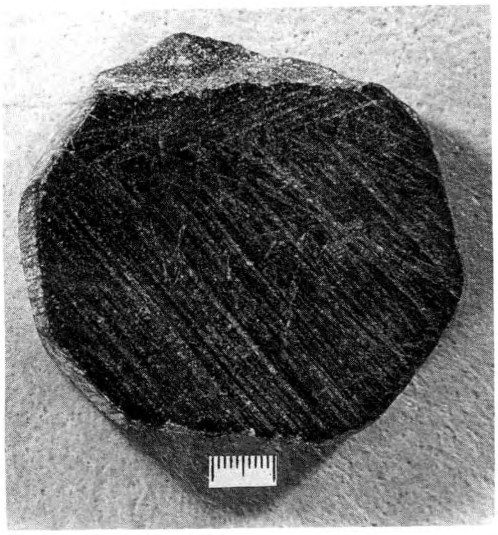


Fig. 10 - Polygonal blank (UUP) showing detail of probable cutting marks. Scale 1 mm.

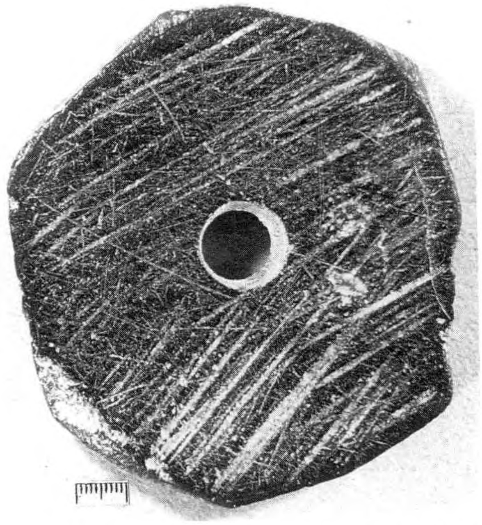


Fig. 11 - Hexagonal drilled blank (PEP). Scale 1 mm.

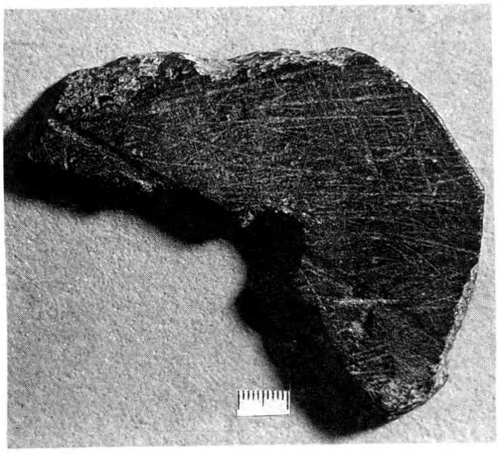


Fig. 12 - Polygonal blank with cutting mark split in drilling (SPC). Scale 1 mm.

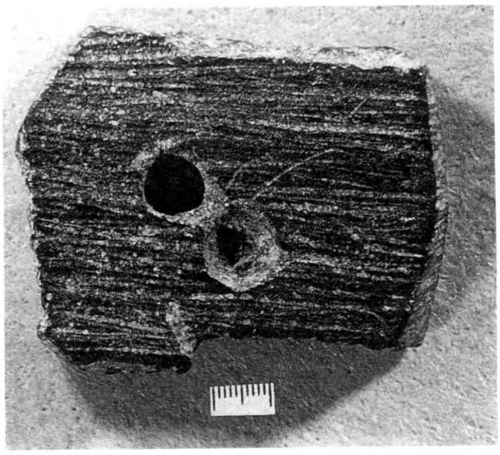


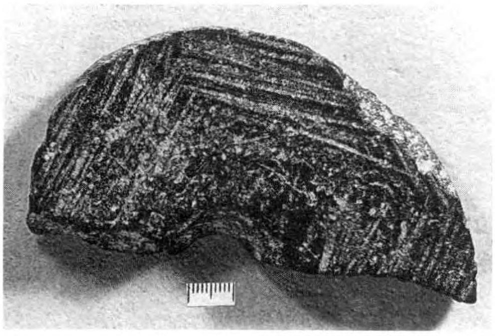
Fig. 13 - Polygonal blank with defective perforation (PDB). Scale 1 mm.

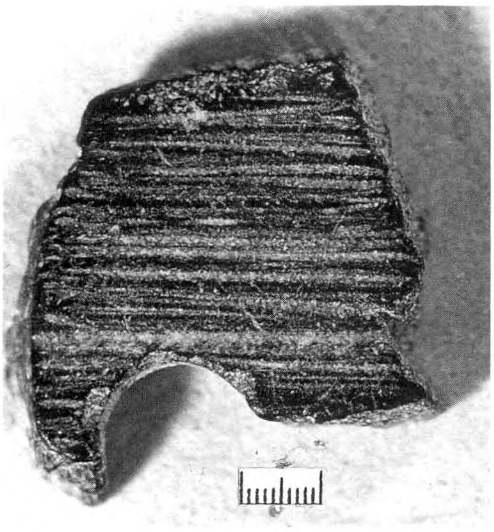
The sample also included a couple of strange blanks apparently perforated on the edge. There is no functional explanation for this feature, nor can I imagine how this excentric drilling could have been unintentionally carried out. One of these pieces is shown in Fig. 15. They were not included in the Tables of Appendix B.

The process of dimensional reduction of the pieces in the course of the manufacturing sequence is clearly represented by the fall of average values (maximum diameter, maximum and minimum thickness) in Appendix B, Table 6.

Manufacturing Traces: Micromorphological Observation

The following descriptions are based on observation at the optical microscope of each blank or bead, followed by micromorphological study of a small diagnostic sample carried out with SEM. In the following paragraphs, the term 'faces' refers to the two major parallel faces of polygonal blanks and disk beads; the term 'edge' refers to the surface of the border; 'drill hole' refers to the hole drilled in the center of the bead and to its surface features. The traces of manufacture were both three-dimensional (i.e., distinctive types of edge and drill hole) and by-dimensional (different patterns of abrasion and wear on the edge and on the inner surface of the drill hole). These features were recorded separately, with the purpose of observing the correlation between three-dimensional forms and surface patterns.





Variability of the edge across the manufacturing sequence

The study of the features of the edge of blanks and beads of the various groups described above showed the presence of 5 basic shapes or Types of edge (see Appendix B, Tables 3-4).

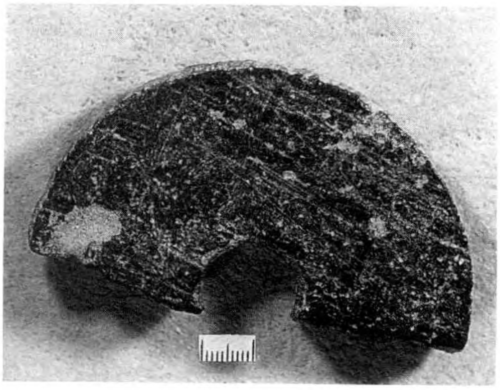


Fig. 14 - Sub-rounded element showing detail of a cutting operation carried out from three sides. Scale 1 mm.

Fig. 15 - Element with an excentric drill-hole.

Fig. 16 - Rounded bead split in drilling.

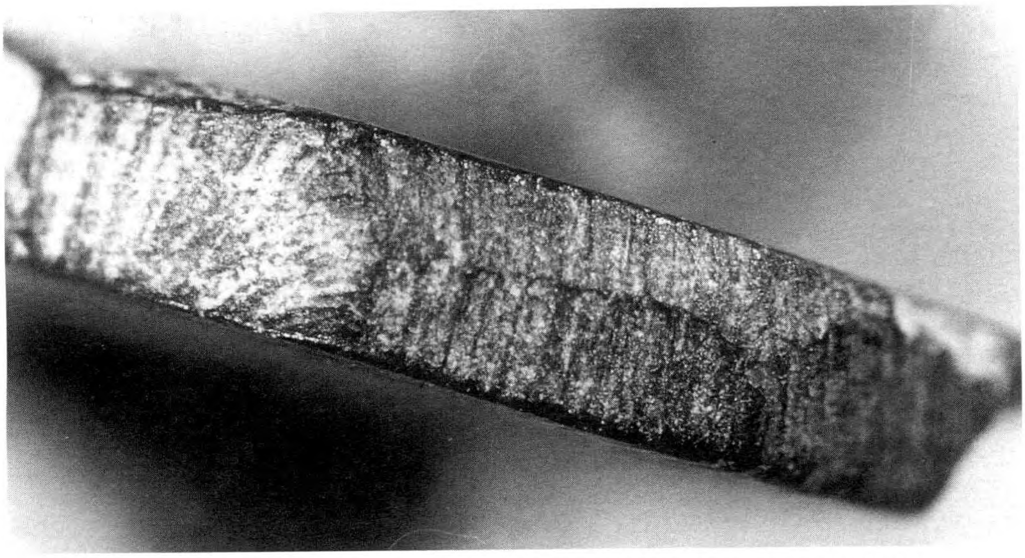


Fig. 17 - Detail of faceting on the edge of a polygonal blank (optical microscope).

Type 1. Edge with flat section. Edges with flat sections occur both on polygonal blanks, in an early stage of the manufacturing sequence, and on rounded beads, at the end of the rounding process. The surface of the edge, anyhow, shows quite different manufacturing traces in the two contexts.

Edge with flat section (on polygonal blanks: UUP, FUP, PEP). Each side of the polygon is a facet with a flat section at the edge. Such edge facets are often obliquely oriented with the two main faces of the blank. On these facets are clearly visible the parallel, coarse grooves left by grinding. The grooves make possible to define the direction of grinding. The grinding grooves run orthogonally or (in most cases) obliquely to the main axis of the facets.

These features were observed in groups UUP and FUP, where they occur together with Types 2 and 3 (see below). In group PEP, flat sections represents the majority of the cases (47.6%). In group SPP, flat sections of Type 1 are also rather common (23.5%).

Edge with flat section (on rounded beads: SSP, RSP). At the end of the rounding process, the edge of the beads, from the initial facets of the polygonal blanks, eventually change into a continuous surface with a regular, flat section. In the rounded elements, anyhow, is visible a distinctive pattern of surface abrasion, i.e. a double pattern of fine striations departing from both the faces of the bead and meeting at the center of the edge with a different angle (Figs. 18, 20-21). The diverging orientation of these striations often gives to these traces a slightly winding trend. This feature does not appear on polygonal blanks, and represents the majority of cases in group SSP and

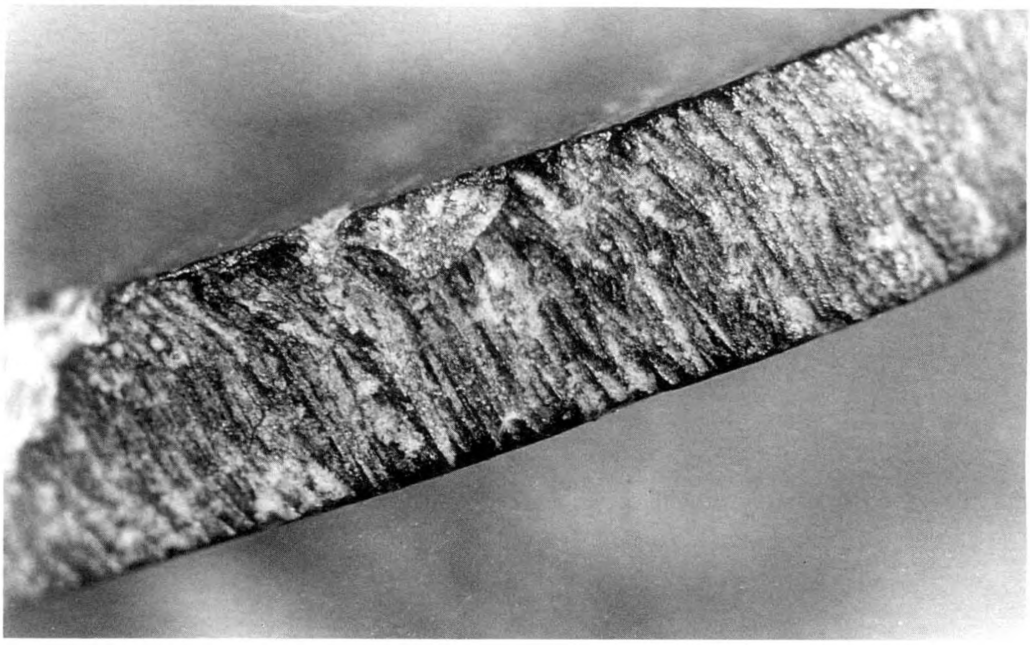


Fig. 18 - Detail of abrasion grooves on the edge of a rounded element (optical microscope).

almost the total in group RSP (the rounded beads). Flat sections with these traces were therefore considered a result of the rounding process.

Type 2. Edge with pointed section. This form was observed only in polygonal blanks. The edge, in these specimens, was often carefully shaped through a series of fast grinding operations resulting into a continuous 'faceting' of the edge of the blank. The oblique facets so obtained are often asymmetric (Figs. 17, 19), because the edge was ground from a single side. The same grinding grooves observed on the facets of Type 1 are visible on Type 2 as well. The hand micromovements required by the 'faceting' result in a higher percentage of oblique versus orthogonal grinding grooves. In a few cases, the superimposition of orthogonal and oblique grooves on the same facet show that the operation was interrupted and resumed from a different angle. The implications of the difference between flat and pointed edges are discussed in Vanzetti & Vidale 1994.

Type 3. Edge with both flat and pointed section. This type of blanks could represent a transitional stage between Types 1 and 2. Edges of this Type were found only on polygonal blanks, both perforated and unperforated (UUP, FUP, PEP, SPP).

Type 4. Edge with rounded section. This modification of the edge is rather rare, and represents an intermediate stage between Type 2 and Type 1. Few instances were observed in groups SSP (7.6% of the total of the Group) and RSP (11.2%). The surface pattern was similar to that observed on edges of Type 1.

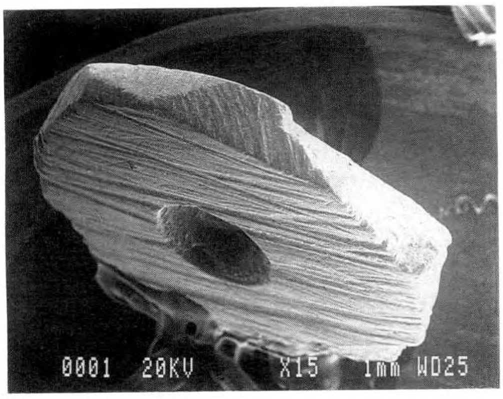


Fig. 19 - SEM image of a perforated polygon with faceted edge (X 15).

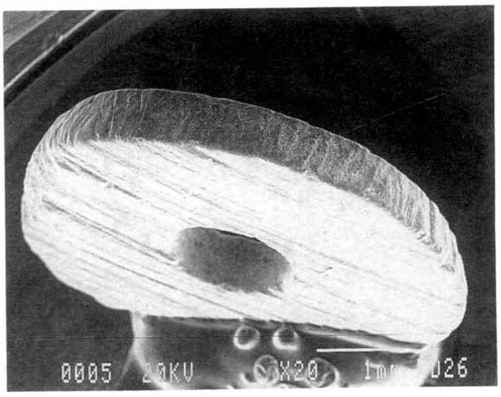


Fig. 20 - SEM image of the grooved edge of a rounded bead (X 20).

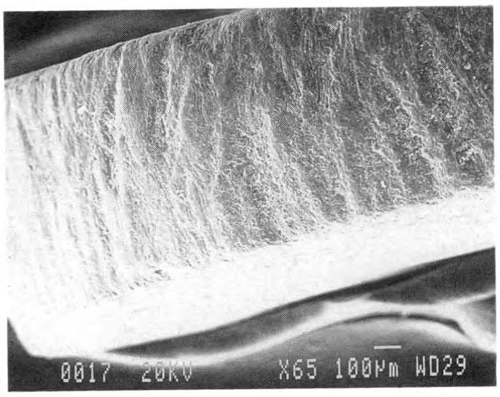


Fig. 21 - SEM image of the grooved edge of a rounded bead (X 65).

Variability of Drill Holes

The find in the MR2 activity areas of chert drills, bladelets, flakes and other residues showed that the blanks were perforated with chert drills, whose bits were manufactured and assembled in the site. Chert drills are also indicated by the typical stepped profile of the drill holes (see for example Figs. 26 and the experimental drill hole of Fig. 41). The maximum diameter values for all the drill holes on the best preserved face were measured with a digital caliper, recording two decimals after point. The plot of these values in form of a bar graph (Fig. 22) shows that most probably the bead makers used drill points having the same size. The production of drills in the same working areas or workshops where the beads were made and drilled is also encountered in the much later bead making areas of Mohenjo-Daro and Chanhu-Daro.

The presence of a large amount of blanks and rounded beads broken in half allowed a detailed inspection of the technological features of the drill holes (see Appendix B, Table 9). These holes were divided in two basic categories: those with evidence of

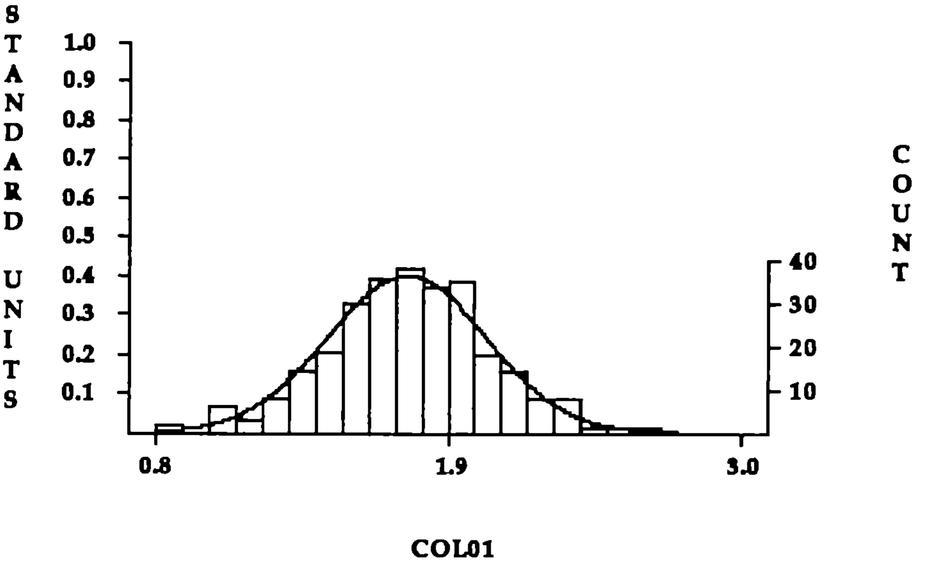


Fig. 22 - Bar graph showing the regular distribution of drill hole maximum diameters.

simple drilling and/or breaking surfaces (Fig. 23: Types 1-5, see list below), and those in which these drilling and breaking surfaces were partially obliterated by more or less intensive wear surfaces (Fig. 24: Types A-E, resulting from modification of Types 1-5, see below). This wear was evidently due to the stringing of the beads on a fiber and to a limited amount of friction between the hole surface and the string. It is important to stress that the blanks were strung together for the rounding stages, and not as finished elements (see below). Unmodified drilling holes were clearly associated with polygonal blanks (PEP, SPP), while, as expected, inner traces of string wear appear in Group SPP, but become common and extensive in Groups SSP and RSP.

1. Bipolar, biconical, symmetrical drill holes (Fig. 23.*1*). In this Type, drilling was carried out from both the faces of the blank, and the holes meet regularly in the center of the bead, so that a 'hourglass' pattern is formed. In the center, sometimes, along the holes' wall remains a small diaphragm, and this feature is easily affected by the wear of the string (see Fig. 24.*D*). This type of drill hole was observed in Groups PEP (33%), PME (2 cases, 50%), SPP (27.3%). The Type occurs sporadically also in some rounded blanks (SSP, RSP).

2. Bipolar, biconical, asymmetrical drill holes (Fig. 23.*2*). In this type, drilling was carried out mainly from one of the faces, and rapidly corrected from the other one, so that the 'hourglass' is asymmetrical. Type 2 drill holes were found in Groups PEP (14.2%) as well as in the split polygonal blanks Groups (SPP, SPC), where they

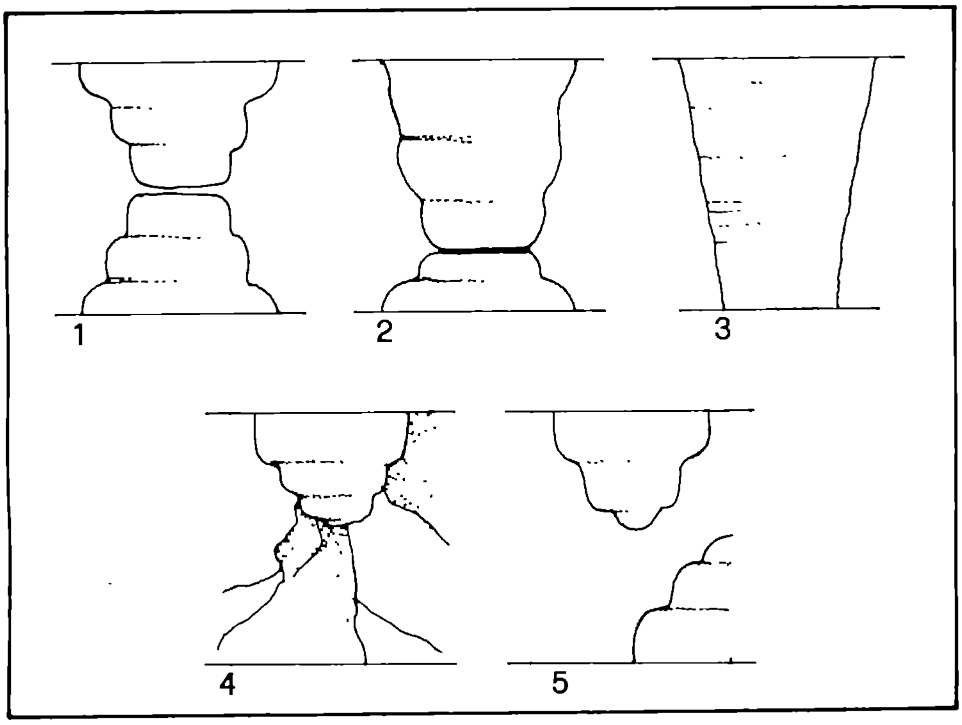


Fig. 23 - Types of unmodified drill holes in the MR2 activity area. *1*: Bipolar, biconical, symmetrical. *2*: Bipolar, biconical, asymmetrical. *3*: Unipolar, conical. *4*: Unipolar ending in breakage. *5*: Bipolar, defective.

amount to 18.4% of the total. Like in the former case, some instances of Type 2 drill holes were found in the rounded blanks groups (SSP, RSP).

3. Unipolar, conical drill holes (Fig. 23.*3*). In these specimens the blank was drilled from a single face. The resulting holes lost the stepped profile distinguishing Types 1 and 2. Unipolar drilling is a variation observed in perforated blanks (Groups PEP, PME, PDB) as well as in the blanks split during drilling (SPP: 5.7% of the Group).

4. Unipolar drill holes ending in breakage (Fig. 23.*4*). While in the previous Types drilling seems to have been completed before the actual breakage of the bead, in these specimens we may assume that the bead broke in half during the first stages of perforation. This Type of drill hole most likely indicates a technological failure. In Group SPP Type 4 is the most common drill hole (31.8%). As we must assume that at least part of the beads broke during the second stage of bipolar drilling, this supports the hypothesis that the whole Group was in fact due to breakage events in drilling. Only two cases of Type 4 were found in Group SSP (5.1%). It is possible that in some cases the fracture of the center of the bead at the end of a unipolar stage of drilling did not cause the breakage in half of the bead, which could therefore be strung for the rounding operation (see also Type E).

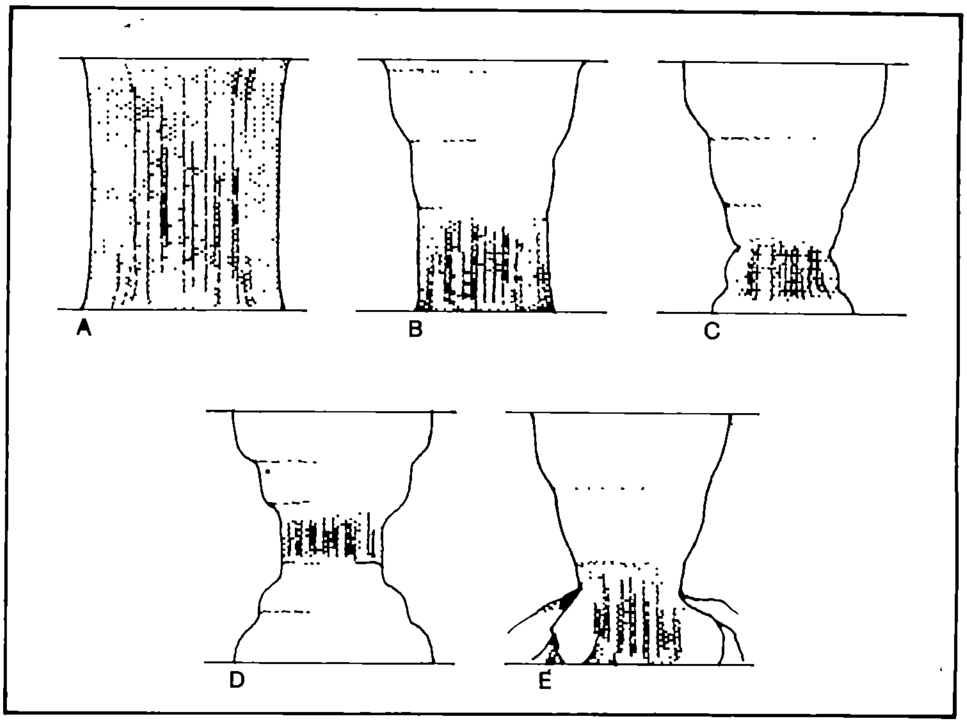


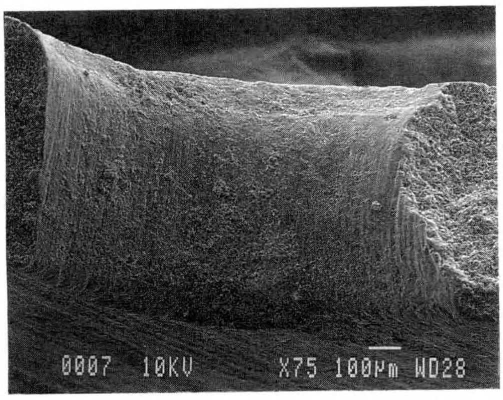
Fig. 24 - Types of drill holes modified by inner wear. *A*: uniformly worn, cylindrical. *B*: asymmetrical or monopolar, with extensive wear in the restricted section. *C*: bipolar, asymmetrical with incipient wear in the restricted part. *D*: bipolar, symmetrical, with central wear. *E*: Unipolar ending in breakage with wear on the fracture.

5. Bipolar defective drill holes (Fig. 23.5). In this Type, the blanks were drilled from both faces, but they were not correctly centered, and the holes did not meet. Three of such cases were observed in group SPP (1.91%) and, like Type 4, document failures in drilling.

The Types of drill holes that appear to have been modified by inner wear caused by a string were the following:

A. Uniformly worn cylindrical holes (Fig. 24.*A*; Fig. 25). In this Type the trace of the original bipolar drill hole are replaced by a uniform, cylindrical wear. SEM images of these wear surfaces show that they are formed by thin, parallel microstriations running along the axis of drilling. The microstriations are rather thin (about 15-20 μ). This type of extensive inner wear is rather common in rounded split beads (RSP: 53.2%) as well as in partially rounded beads (RSP: 41%). Few specimens were also encountered in Group SPP (2.5%).

B. Asymmetrical or unipolar, conical drill hole with extensive wear in the restricted section (Fig. 24.*B*). This Type results from the modification of Types 2 and 3,



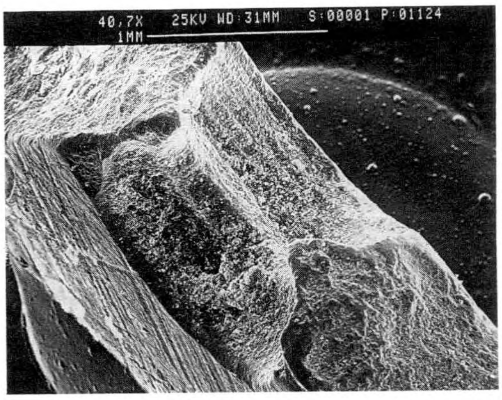


Fig. 25 - SEM image of a drill hole completely worn into a cylindrical, grooved surface (X 75). See Type A in Fig. 24.

Fig. 26 - SEM image of a bipolar, biconical, symmetrical drill hole with central wear (X 40). See Type D in Fig. 24.

when the narrow end of the drill hole is worn by the string. The worn section assumes the cylindrical form of Type A. Like the other Types of worn holes, this Type is only found in rounded or partially rounded beads (SPP, 0.63%; SPP, 12.8%; RSP, 8%). One may note that Type B is more common in Group SSP than in the final rounded beads (RSP).

C. Asymmetrical bipolar drill holes with incipient wear (Fig. 24.*C*). This type is distinguished by limited traces of wear developing in the center of type 2 drill holes. It may be considered as a stage in the formation of the extensively worn Type A holes. This type occurs in the same Groups of Type 2, amounting to 1.9% of SPP, 17.9% of SSP and 20.9% of RSP.

D. Symmetrical bipolar drill hole with central wear (Fig. 24.*D*; Fig. 26). The same pattern of wear developing in the narrowest part of the drill hole appears in the 'hourglass' specimens of Type 1. This type represents 3.8% of Group SPP, 5.12% of SSP, 8% of RSP.

E. Irregular monopolar drill hole ending in a breakage surface, with traces of inner wear (Fig. 24.*E*). This Type includes 1 specimen (Group SSP) in which the wear appears on a fractured surface at the end of a unipolar drill hole.

Reconstructing the Manufacturing Sequence on the Basis of Archaeological Evidence

The presence in the activity area of shapeless stone flakes suggests that also the preliminary forming stages were performed. Stone lumps were brought on the spot and shaped into elongated rod blanks. These rod blanks were carefully shaped by grinding and then orthogonally sliced into polygonal blanks. Some polygonal blanks show parallel marks which are definetly due to cutting, and were not later modified by grinding on the faces. For example, the specimen of Fig. 14 was cut from at least 3 sides, revolving the rod blank. The same technique was used later at Harappa for cutting steatite rods (J.M. Kenoyer, pers. comm.).

The technique of preparing long rod blanks and then slicing them into series of blanks of standardized length is simple and effective, and appears in various cultural contexts: for example, in talc-working sites of north-western Italy in the 3rd millennium B.C. (Sammantino 1990) and in Bantu sites with evidence of serpentine bead making in South Africa (Harger 1940: pl. XLV). In both cases, blanks for disk beads were detached as segments or slices of sub-cylindrical rod blanks. This technique is also conceptually very close to the separation of small disk beads by cutting or slicing the Spondilus shells found in the Mehrgarh activity area.

According to the evidence of the blanks which possibly were not modified after slicing, most of the originary rod blanks had octagonal sections. Thus, the manufacture of the rod blanks required a noticeable care and expenditure of time, but made easier and more efficient the following rounding operations.

Observation of unperforated polygonal blanks (UUP, FUP) showed the presence of edges having flat, pointed and both flat and pointed sections. In unbroken perforated blanks (Group PEP) flat edge sections amount to about half of the Group, the rest being formed by pointed and flat-cum-pointed sections. This rate changes in split perforated polygons (SPP), where flat sections are fairly less common than pointed ones. This evidence supported some conclusions.

1. After separation from the octagonal rod blanks, polygonal blanks underwent a careful operation of faceting at the edges, probably meant to make easier the following rounding operations.

2. As the study of the drill holes indicates that the majority of the perforated polygonal blanks split during drilling, and faceted edges are most common in Group SPP, we may conclude that most of the blanks were drilled after the edge had been faceted.

3. On the other hand, as we know that a minor part of the blanks (about 1/3) were not faceted, we are probably dealing with a form of technological variation within the same manufacturing stage (Vanzetti & Vidale 1994).

Only a very minor percentage of the split blanks (SPP) showed traces of inner wear in the drill hole. The study of the distribution of wear features in the holes showed that their frequency and extent is directly related to the intensity of the rounding process, as well as to the development on the edge of a distinctive double pattern of oblique grooves on flat sections. I think that the inner wear in the drill holes and its correlation with the rounding of the blanks may be explained by the technique of grinding series of blanks threaded on a string or fiber against a fine grained grinding stone. The friction of this string or fiber against the drill hole caused the formation of the thin parallel striations observed in the SEM photographs of Figs. 24 and 25.

This technique (see Fig. 27) has been well described by Foreman (1987: 21) with reference to native American bead making in the southwestern United States:

> [...] the technique of grinding is to hold the rough/strung beads as a columnar unit, then move this unit back and forth with moderate pressure against the grinding stone. This is done by wrapping the spear necklace string around one hand and adjusting the tension so that the thumb and forefinger may exert compressive force on the string of beads. The other hand is used to grasp, by fingertips or hand ridge, the actual beads themselves. Between the compressive force from one hand, and the rigidity imposed by the other hand, the necklace is made to behave as a single unit. The arms are then moved back and forth so that the semistationary bead string is being ground around the rock. Periodically, pressure is relaxed and the beads allowed to drag which rotates them. The pressure is then re-exerted and the grinding continued.

Whenever the pressure is released, the beads may move against the string, and the drill hole can be worn by friction. The back-and-forth movement of the strung beads probably explains also the slightly diverging orientation of the grinding grooves on the flat edge of rounded beads.

After separation, edge faceting, drilling and rounding, the beads underwent some stages of grinding and polishing of the two faces. The progressive decrease of the average thickness values along the manufacturing sequence could be due to the intervention of specific grinding-polishing stages, but it is not easy to define at which stage this processes of abrasion took place.

Grinding could have been carried out on stone slabs of progressively finer texture. Positive evidence of grinding-polishing is illustrated by the SEM images of Figs. 28-32. These images show the micromorphology and dimensions of abrasion grooves in various stages of grinding-polishing. Figs. 29-30 refer respectively to the ridges (dark areas) and depressions (lighter areas) forming the coarse parallel grooves observed in a polygonal blank. Some of the lines visible on blanks are definetly cutting and not grinding marks (see Figs. 10, 11, 14). At present, I assume that most grooves on rounded and subrounded beads come from grinding and not from cutting, mainly on the base of their similarity with experimental replicas, but the question needs further study. The dark areas of the ridges (Fig. 29) are due to the grinding pressure, causing isorientation of the talc microsheets in a continuous, compact surface. In the depressions (Fig. 30), the microsheets of talc, few μ large, are arranged without any order. The width of the grooves is about 70-80 μ.

The image of Fig. 31, taken at the same magnitude, shows a detail of the face of a subrounded bead (SSP). Depressions (light coloured areas) and ridges (dark areas) are now 10 to 30 μ wide, probably because the beads were ground on finer grinding stones. The picture area shows a single grinding orientation. In the following image (Fig. 32), great part of the surface is covered by the dark, flattened areas, bearing a chaotic pattern of very fine striations, only 2-4 μ wide. These striations run in every direction, suggesting a continuous rubbing of the beads against a very fine surface, with multiple movements. These features indicate a polishing rather than grinding stage. The example of a contemporary steatite beadmaker from Khairpur suggests that polishing could have been carried out with leather, and that the beads could have been coated with a vegetal oil to improve their shine (Vidale & Shar 1990: fig. 34).

An ideal reconstruction of the correlation between the progressive rounding of the edge and the formation of inner wear surfaces in the drill hole is presented in Fig. 33. The correlation between edge and drill hole wear and degree of rounding in Tables 3-5 (Appendix B) provides supporting evidence for the sketch of Fig. 33.

Experimental Simulations

In order to further test this reconstruction, I tried to reproduce the whole manufacturing sequence. In this stage I was helped by J.M. Kenoyer, University of Wisconsin, Madison, who provided me with raw materials, tools and substantial information.

The raw material was a set of roughly cut drawing sticks with rectangular sections (Fig. 34). These sticks are commonly used by children for drawing on blackboards. Microprobe and XRD analysis on this stone showed that they are made with pure Talc, and therefore the stone I used was probably softer than that used at Mehrgarh. The average measurements of the Talc sticks were 7.7 × 5.72 mm (in section). Although larger and square-sectioned rods would have been preferable, the blanks obtained from these rods fall in the dimensional range of the Mehrgarh beads.

The rods were ground on a fine-grained grinding stone, removing the corners and grinding the faces to obtain an octagonal section. It is not easy to grind uniformly a complete corner, because the pressure concentrates on a restricted part of the rod; when the operation is interrupted and resumed, the grinding area may shift, and this might explain why the polygonal blanks from Mehrgarh, although often octagonal, have in many cases irregular sections. Grinding the sticks into octagonal-sectioned rod blanks took about 3-5 min., according to the shape and size of each stick. The loss of weight averaged about 20% of the total, but starting from square-sectioned rod blanks this rate should be lower.

To slice or segment the octagonal rod blanks I experimented different tools, such as a bronze saw, a copper blade and finally a modern jeweller saw. The copper blade gave relatively good results, but, although its thickness was 0.55 mm (0.48 at the edge), it appeared too thick and some beads snapped before detachment. None of the blanks in the sample was comparable with this type of failures. It is hard to imagine that the rod blanks of Mehrgarh were sliced with flint blades. The best tool would have been a very thin copper blade, with a very gradual decrease of thickness and a certain degree of flexibility.

With the jeweller saw, a very efficient blade, my rate was about 28 blanks per

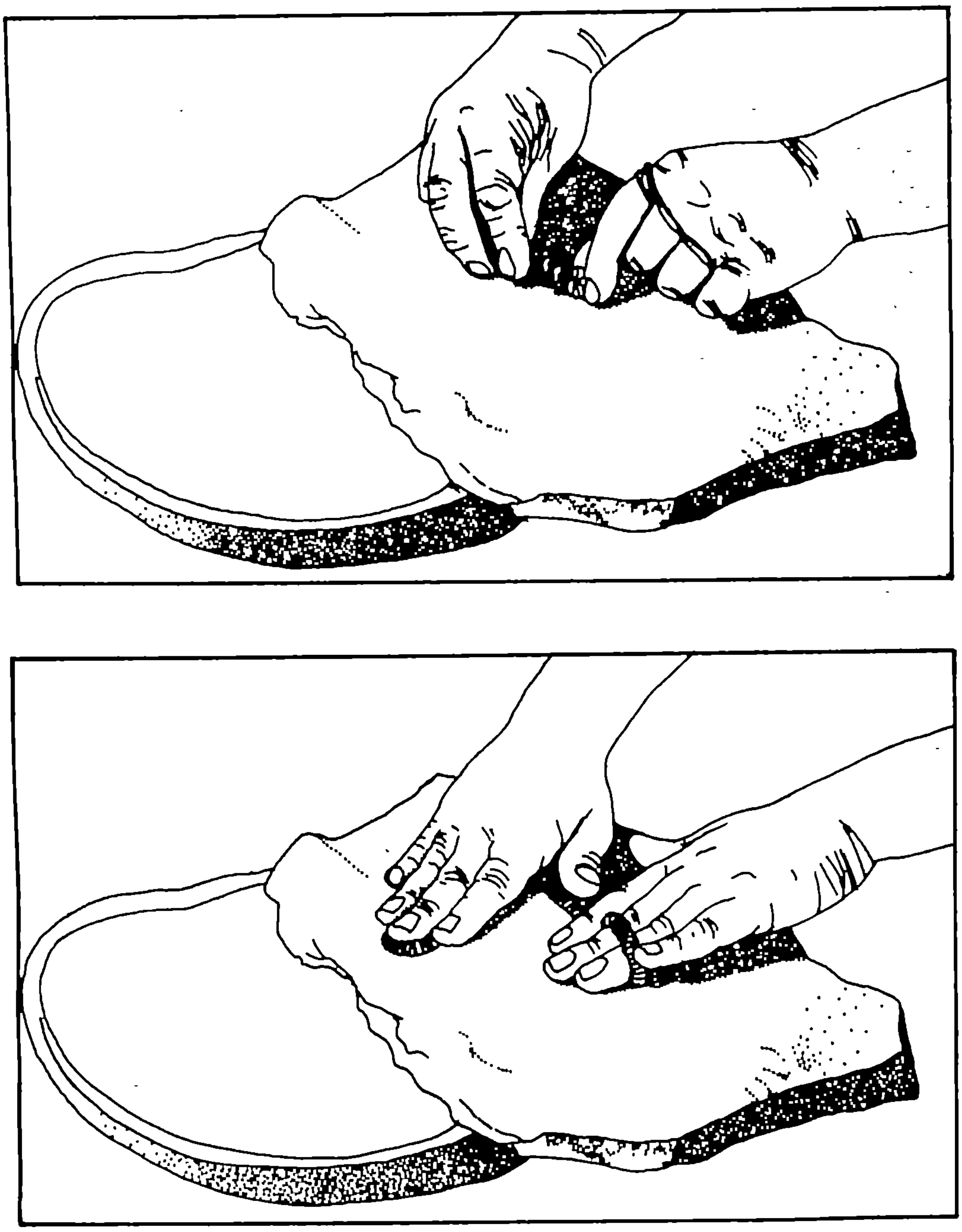
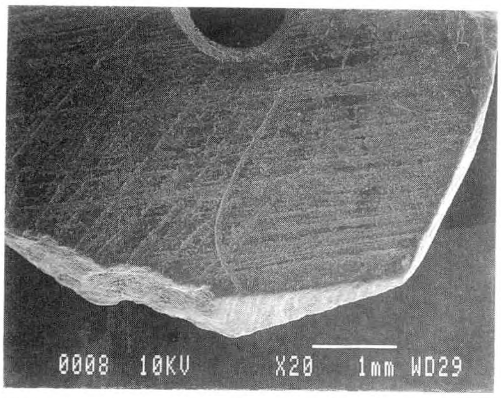


Fig. 27 - A traditional technique for rounding disk beads used by Pueblo native Americans (redrafted after Foreman 1987).



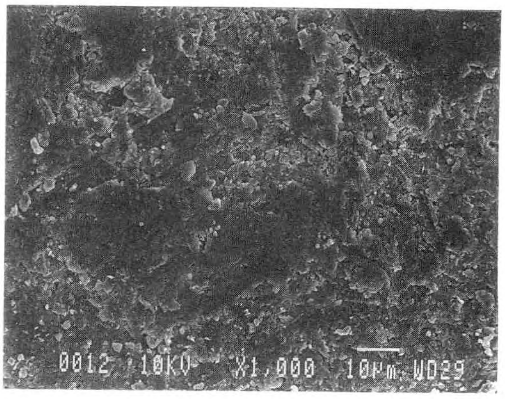


Fig. 28 - SEM image with detail of the surface of a perforated polygon, showing a pattern of coarse grooves probably due to grinding (× 20).

Fig. 29 - SEM image of one of the ridges between the grinding grooves in the blank of Fig. 28 (see Figs. 28 and 29). In the dark areas, the stone particles have been flattened and partially soldered together (× 1000).

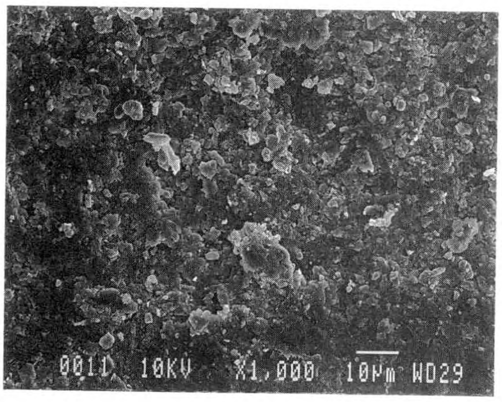
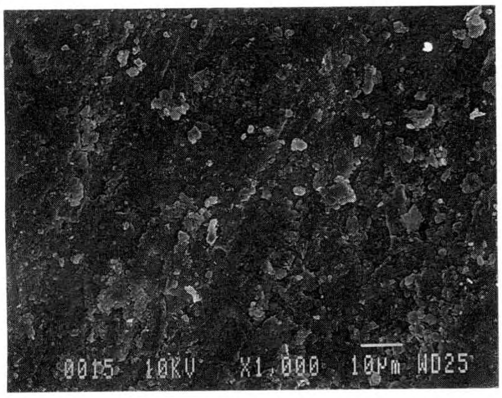


Fig. 30 - SEM image of the surface of the same blank, with a detail of the bottom of one of the coarse grinding groove. The stone particles show a chaotic setting (× 1000). The thickness of this groove is about 70-80 μ.

10 cm of rod blank. As it becomes difficult to saw properly short rod segments, this operation had a rather high percentage of waste (on average, I was unable to use more than 1/5 of the original octagonal rod blank). In a minute I was able to cut about 5 blanks.

My blanks were often irregular (honestly, they were really bad). They were too thick, with uneven thickness, and they often needed a substantial grinding before the following manufacturing stages. After this, the blanks were faceted at the edge. The blanks were hold and ground with an oblique direction on the grinding stone. The grinding phase was a combination of rotation and repositioning movements. On average, it took me 38 sec. to facet the edge of one blank. The blanks so obtained were observed with SEM. The similarity of the experimental replicas with the archaeological blanks may be evaluated comparing the images of Figs. 19 and 36.



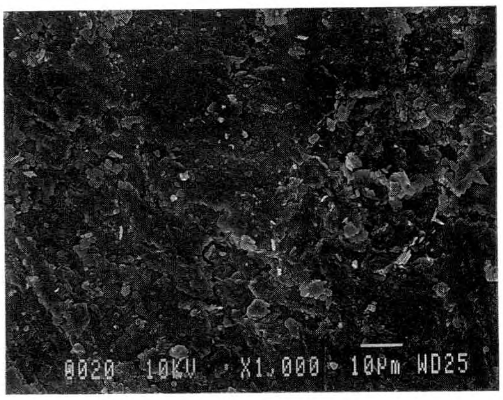


Fig. 31 - SEM image showing a detail of the ground or rough polished surface of a sub-rounded element (× 1000). The grooves have a single orientation and are 10 to 30 μ wide.

Fig. 32 - SEM image of a detail of a fine polished bead (× 1000). It is possible to observe a chaotic cross pattern of thin polishing grooves, 2-4 μ wide.

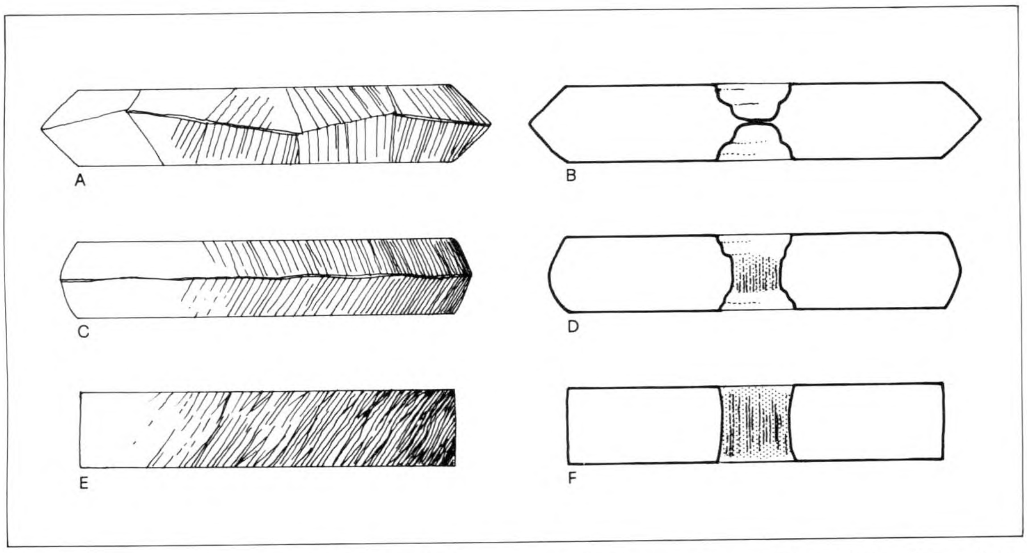
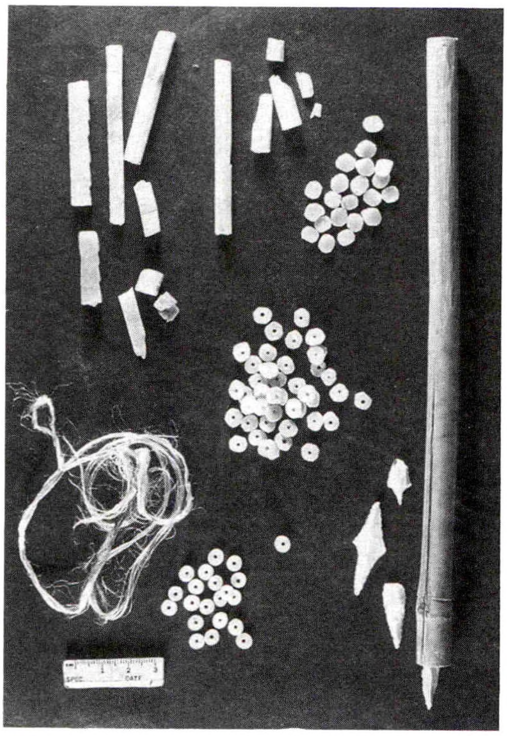


Fig. 33 - Ideal reconstruction of the correlation between the progressive rounding of the edge and the formation of an inner wear in the drill holes, based on archaeological evidence.

Drilling was carried out with a hand drill. A chert blade was modified into a drill point and inserted in a wooden stick. The stick was simply rolled within both palms, the hands sliding back and forth (see Foreman 1978). The weight and pressure of the arms was enough to perforate easily the soft talc blanks. The disks were partially perforated from one side, reversed and bipolarity drilled from the opposite face. One



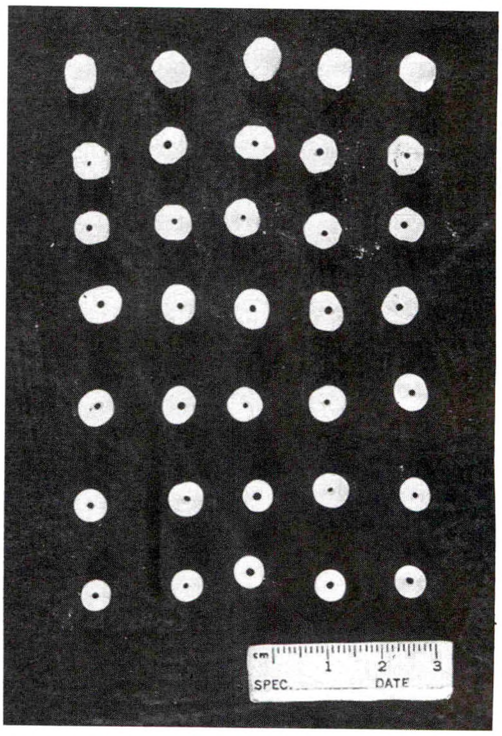


Fig. 34 - Materials and tools used in the experimental simulations, including talc drawing sticks, blanks, and beads, hand drill with chert points and rough hemp fiber.

Fig. 35 - Progressive stages of transformation in the experimental manufacturing sequence. Starting from the upper row: polygonal blanks; drilled blanks; drilled and faceted blanks; after 5 min. of rounding; after 10 min. of rounding; after 20 min. of rounding; after 27 min. rounding.

soon learns to control the depth of drilling by the sound as well as by the amount of powder gathering around the drill bit. When the two holes meet, the bead starts revolving around itself, as the chert bit encounters the asymmetrical form of the opposite hole. Any irregular feature of the drill holes may be easily corrected holding the bead with one hand and revolving the stick of the drill with the other. It never took more than 20 sec. to perforate a blank. I had very little drilling failures.

The stepped profile of the chert drill holes may be positively compared with the profile of the drill holes in the archaeological blanks (Figs. 26 and 41).

One of the main purposes of the experimental simulations was to replicate the rounding process and to establish if the limited friction underwent by the beads could explain the wear trace found on the archaeological samples.

About 50 beads were strung on a rough hemp fiber from Pakistan, and ground on the grinding stone following the procedures above described. Stringing took about

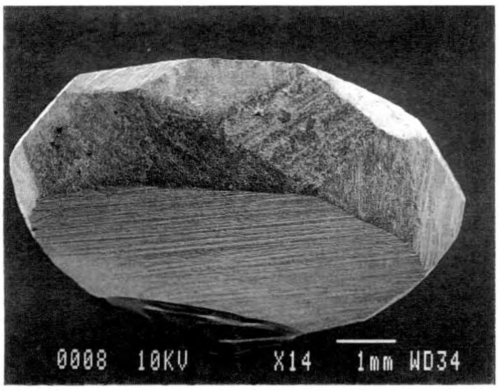


Fig. 36 - SEM image of an experimental blank faceted at the edge (compare with Fig. 19) (× 14).

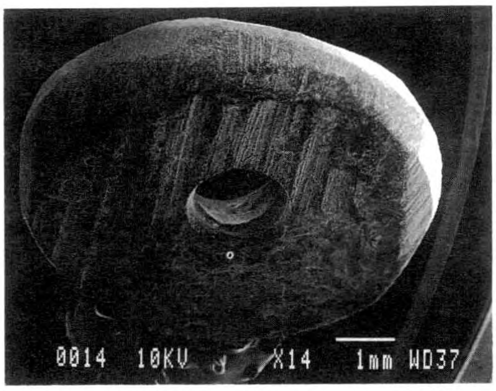


Fig. 37 - SEM image of an experimental bead after 5 min. of rounding (× 14).

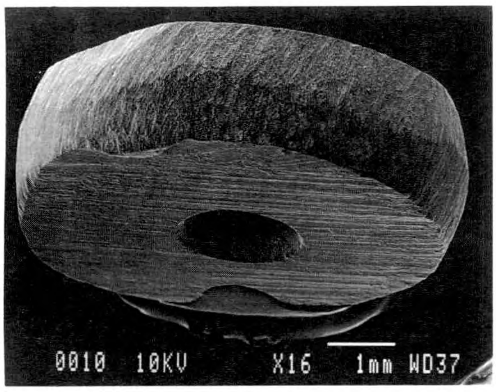


Fig. 38 - SEM image of an experimental bead after 10 min. of rounding (× 16).

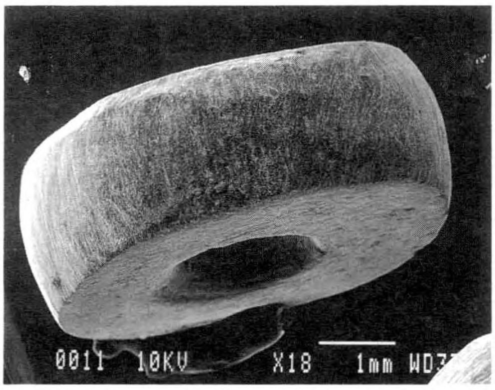


Fig. 39 - SEM image of an experimental bead after 20 min. of rounding (× 18).

10 min. The beads became rounded after about 30 min. of grinding. Bead samples were removed from the string at intervals of time to document the progressive transformation of the beads' shape (Fig. 35). Figs. 36-40 show 4 stages of this process. Fig. 36 shows a polygonal blank faceted at the edge. Fig. 37 shows a similar bead after 5 min. of rounding. The faceted edge is still visible, but most of the corners are smoothed and partially rounded. After 10 min. (Fig. 38), the facets of the edge appear transformed

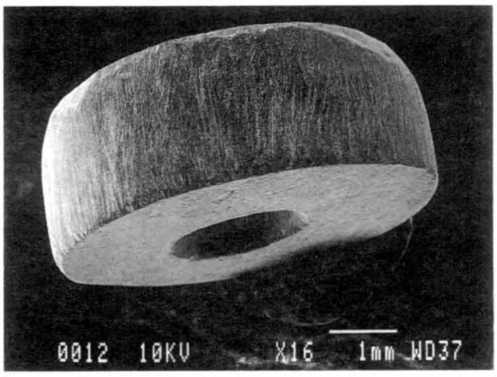
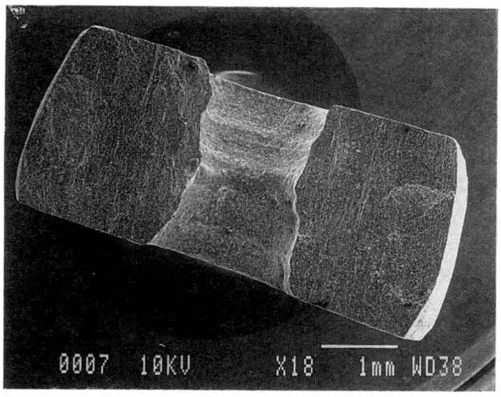


Fig. 40 - SEM image of an experimental bead after 27 min. of rounding (× 16).



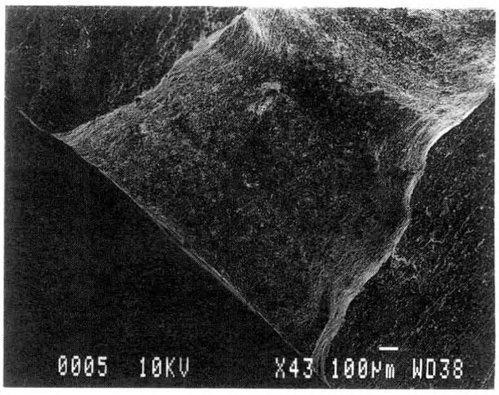


Fig. 41 - SEM image of an experimental bead with bipolar, biconical, symmetrical drill hole and central wear (compare with Fig. 24, D and Fig. 26) (× 18).

Fig. 42 - SEM image of the worn surface in the bead of Fig. 41 (× 43).

into a continuous, slightly wavy ridge. The section of the edge is still pointed, but the angle is blunt. After 20 min. of grinding (Fig. 39), the bead is almost rounded, but the edge retains a slightly rounded section. The first beads attained a good round shape after about 25-27 min. (Fig. 40). In these specimens, the edge is definetely flat, and on the surface of the edge appears a double pattern of slightly diverging grooves comparable to that observed on the archaeological rounded beads. According to the simulations, the beads of Group SSP could have been broken after 10-15 min. of rounding, and those of Group RSP after about 20 min.

Five beads were randomly selected and removed from the string after 20 min. of rounding and broken in half, to see if the drill holes did develop the inner wear found in the Mehrgarh unfinished beads (mainly SSP and RSP). All of the 5 specimens actually showed traces of inner wear developing in the narrowest sections of the drill holes (Figs. 41, 42).

Conclusions

On the whole, the experimental simulations of the manufacturing sequence supports the reconstruction proposed on the base of the study of the archaeological objects. Obviously, this does not rule out the possibility that very similar material effects could have been the result of techniques different from those I took into account. The experiments only make the reconstruction more probable.

Two points seem important to me. The first involves the 'style' of this bead-making technology. The careful faceting of the edge of the blanks requires an investement of attention and labour in shaping the blanks, i.e. in an intermediate stage of the manufacturing sequence. This option may be contrasted with the steatite (talc) bead-making sequence reconstructed in the DK-A workshop found on the surface of Mohenjo-Daro (Vidale 1989), where rod blanks and blanks were simply sawn out of stone blocklets and then perforated.

Secondly, even in a small sample like this one there is evidence of a certain range of technological variation (faceting of the edge or not, monopolar versus bipolar drilling). This relative variability could be explained in different ways:

a) assuming that a single craftsman used different techniques;

b) assuming that more craftsmen were active in the site;

c) assuming that the refuse was discarded by a group of craftsmen including personnel at various levels of skill.

These hypotheses are very difficult to test. b) and c) do not exclude each other, and I would suggest that a) is the least probable.

The experimental simulations were successful in providing first-hand experience of some of the most evident constraints of the manufacturing sequence, as well as in testing a set of specific material implications of the archaeological reconstruction. What simulations cannot provide (at least in this stage of research) is an analogical ground for simple and straightforward deductions on the efficiency of the techniques, the failure rates, or the times of production. The main practical problems, in this case, were (in order of importance) my lack of experience as a beadmaker and the difference between the two types of raw material. Various factors could also affect each other: for example, my blanks were much thicker than the Mehrgarh ones, and this could have had important consequences for the rounding process.

Conceptual or ideological approach to production might have been another important factor. For example, according to Foreman (1978: 17), Pueblo native American disk bead-making in New Mexico is conceived more in terms of a teaching and learning relationship than as a production event. Therefore

> [...] time of the western linear or 'flowing' type does not exist. In place of 'time' there is a sort of dynamic set of still-print comprising events. This allows a 'timeless' approach to beadmaking that eliminates the vexing problems the westerner sees in the time consumed by the traditional method.

In spite of these possible problems of interpretation, Appendix A reports an estimate of the time involved in the production of a necklace of steatite disk beads according to the experimental simulations. I was also surprised of the very low rate of failures of the experiments. This gave me the impression that the activity area of Mehrgarh 2 might actually include the leftovers of the production of huge amounts of steatite disk beads.

APPENDIX A

Timing of Experimental Manufacturing Sequence

Being a westerner and vexed by the problems of linear time, I include the timing per blank and bead of my own manufacturing sequence.

	Time in sec.
Shaping the octagonal rod blank	10
Cutting the rod blank	12
Faceting the edge	38
Stringing	12
Rounding	36
Tot. time (in sec.)	128

This estimate refers only to the part of the manufacturing sequence I was able to replicate, and obviously excludes the time and labour needed for mining, transporting and cutting the stone and the polishing process. It also excludes the time needed to shift from one stage to the following one. As the average thickness of my blanks was 2.45 mm, to produce a necklace having a length of 70 cm I should have worked without interruptions for more than 10 hours.

APPENDIX B

The sample of Blanks and Beads (Tables 1-6)

Table 1

Type	UUP	FUP	PEP	PME	PDB	SPP	SPC	SSP	PRE	RSP	Tot. no.
No.	8	6	21	4	1	155	2	39	9	62	307
%	2.6	1.9	6.8	1.3	0.3	50.5	0.6	12.7	2.9	20.2	(99.8%)

Mehrgarh, steatite activity area. Overall composition of the studied sample, classified in paleotechnological groups. UUP: Unbroken Unperforated Polygons; FUP: Fragmentary Unperforated Polygons; PEP: Perforated Polygons (from unbroken to slightly damaged); PME: Polygons with Missing Edges; PDB: Polygons with Defective Bi-polar Perforation; SPP: Split Perforated Polygons; SPC: Split Perforated polygons with Cutting marks; SSP: Sub-rounded Split Perforated elements; PRE: Perforated Rounded Elements (undamaged); RSP: Rounded Split Perforated elemens.

Table 2

	1	2	3	4	5	
No.	1	22	7	2	8	Tot. 40
%	2.5	55	17.5	5	20	(100%)

Mehrgarh, steatite activity area. Basic shapes of polygonal (i.e. non rounded) elements (UUP, FUP, PEP, PME, PDB).

	1	2	3	4	5	
No.	2	70	6	3	76	Tot. 157
%	1.3	44.6	3.8	1.9	48.4	(100%)

Mehrgarh, steatite activity area. Basic shapes of polygonal elements, some of which possibly modified by preliminary rounding operations (SPP, SPC). 1: irregular ellipsis; 2: irregular polygons; 3: regular polygon; 4: composite shape (e.g. partially rounded and partially not); 5: non determinable.

Table 3

Type	1	%	2	%	3	%	4	%	ND	%
UUP	1	12.5	4	50	3	37.5				
FUP			2	19	1	16.7			3	50
PEP	10	47.6	4	19	5	23.8			2	9.5
PME	1	25	2	50					1	25
PDB			1							
SPP (*)	37	23.6	91	59.2	15	9.5			12	7.64
SPC			2							
SSP	22	56.4	12	30.8	1	2.6	3	7.7	1	2.6
PRE	8	88.9			1	11.1				
RSP	53	85.5	2	3.2			7	11.3		

(*) SPP and SPC counted together.

Mehrgarh, steatite activity area. Distribution of various types of edge sections in the debitage. 1: flat; 2: pointed (diamond-faceted); 3: partially falt and partially pointed, i.e. faceted; 4: rounded.

Table 4

	1	2	3	4	5	ND
UUP	2	5	1			
FUP		3				3
PEP	7	9	3			2
PME		3				1
PDB		1				
SPP	41	79	14			21
SPC	1	1				
SSP	4	3		30	1	1
PRE				9		
RSP	1	1		60		

Mehrgarh, steatite activity area. Distribution of various types of manufacturing traces on the edges of blanks and beads. 1: Parallel grooves running orthogonally to the main axis of ground facets; 2: Parallel grooves running obliquely to the main axis of an abrasion facet; 3: An abrasion pattern resulting from the superimposition of 2 and 3; 4: Discontinuous wavy parallel grooves, from orthogonal to oblique along the beads edge; 5: Highly worn or polished edge.

Table 5

Type	1	%	2	%	3	%	4	%	5	%	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%	E	%	ND	%
UUP																						
FUP																						
PEP	7	33.3	3	14.3	2	9.5															9	42.8
PME	2	50	1	25																	1	25
PDB					1																	
SPP (*)	41	27.4	29	18 5	9	5.7	50	31.8	3	1.9	4	2.5	1	0.6	3	1.9	6	3.8			9	5.7
SPC	2																					
SSP	3	7.7	2	5.1			2	5.1			16	41	5	12.8	7	17.9	2	5.1	1	2 6	1	2.6
PRE																					8	
RSP	2	3.2	3	4.8							33	53.2	5	8.1	13		5	8.1			1	1.6

(*) SPP and SPC counted together.

Mehrgarh, steatite activity area. Distribution of various types of technological features of perforation holes in the assemblage (see also Fig. 23, 1-5, and 24, A-E). 1: Bipolar, biconical, symmetrical perforation; 2: Bipolar, biconical, asymmetrical perforation; 3: Unipolar, conical perforation; 4: Unipolar perforation ending in breakage; 5: Defective bipolar perforation; A: Uniformily worn, cylindrical perforation; B: Asymmetrical or unipolar, conical perforation with extensive wear; C: Asymmetrical bipolar perforation with incipient wear; D: Symmetrical bipolar perforation with incipient wear; E: Irregular unipolar perforation with extensive wear on the fracture.

Table 6

	Max. Diam.	Max. Thick.	Min. Thick.
Polygons (UUP, FUP)	7.88	1.35	1.12
Perforated polygons (PEP, PME, PDB, SPP, SPC)	7.35	1.3	1.10
Sub-rounded blanks (SSP)	7.1	1.2	1.01
Finished beads (PRE, RSP)	7.35	1.04	0.9

Mehrgarh, steatite activity area. Average values of maximum diameter, maximum thickness and minimum thickness of blanks and beads, showing the extent of the reduction process.

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New Perspectives on Indus Urbanism from Rehman Dheri

by F.A. DURRANI, IHSAN ALI and G. ERDOSY

Introduction

The purpose of our discussion is to place the renewed excavations at the site of Rehman Dheri in their broad historical setting. With the rapid progress of research, stimulated by the pioneering syntheses of Mughal (1970) and Fairservis (1967; 1975), new vistas have opened up in our understanding of the origins of complex societies in the Greater Indus Valley, and it is the aim of the project to incorporate recent thinking into its research design. Consequently, after a brief description of the site, as well as of previous work done there — which was itself instrumental in providing new evidence of urban origins (Durrani 1988; Durrani et al. 1994) — attention will be focussed on the current state of the archaeological record pertaining to the rise of the Harappan Civilisation. This will be followed by our own perspective on the problem and the paper will conclude with a discussion of its effects on proposed research at Rehman Dheri.

Having just published a factual account of the 1991 season (Durrani, Ihsan Ali & Erdosy 1992), references to our findings will be made principally to illustrate our arguments. However, a brief account of the discovery and initial exploration of the site may preface our discussion. Rehman Dheri (31°50'N/71°54E) is a vast, low mound measuring 500 by 325 metres, situated 20 km NW of the town of Dera Ismail Khan in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan (Fig. 1). It is densely strewn with the remnants of past occupation and craft activities such as ceramics, slag and a wide variety of semi-precious stones in different stages of manufacture. The contours of

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(*) This paper was originally delivered at the 11th Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists of Western Europe, in Berlin, on 4 July 1991. It is presented here after extensive revision. Permission to continue work at Rehman Dheri was kindly granted by Dr Ahmad Nabi Khan, Director-General of Archaeology — Government of Pakistan, and by Professor Farid Khan, Chairman of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. The project was also accorded gracious patronage by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Peshawar. The authors are grateful to them, as well as to the numerous individuals who participated in the excavations and made our stay in D.I. Khan such a pleasant one. In addition, G. Erdosy is grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its support of his research with a Canada Research Fellowship.

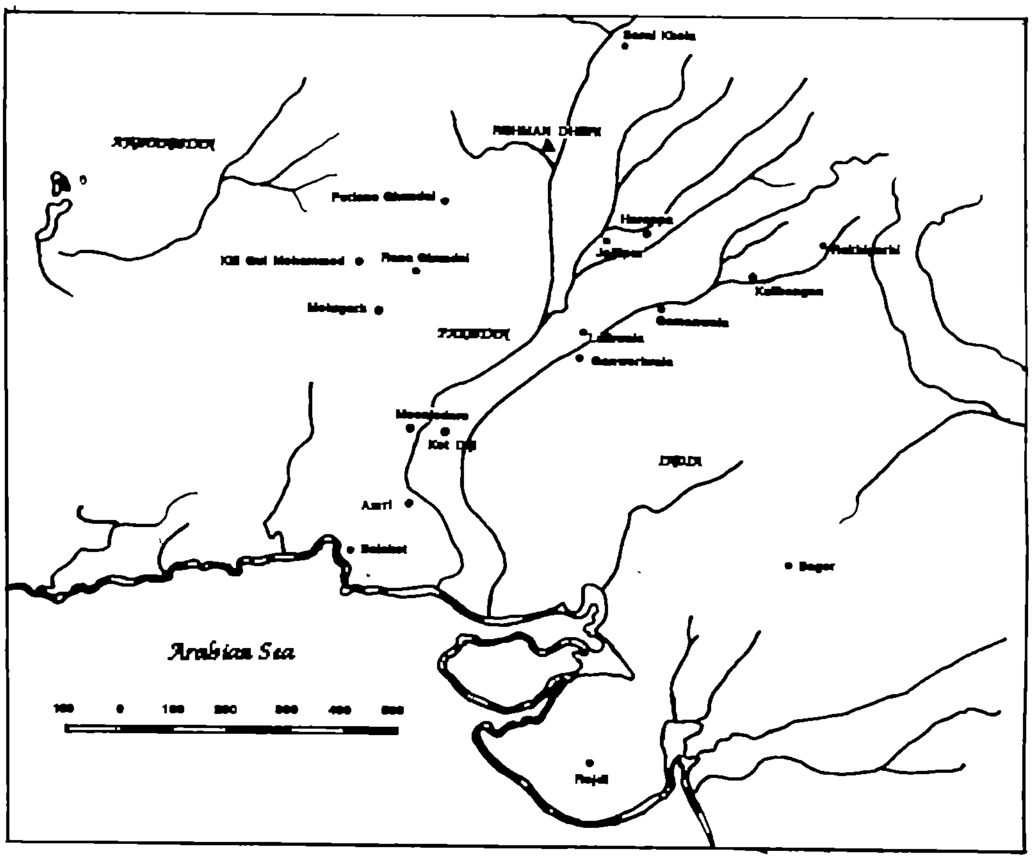

Fig. 1 - Map showing the principal regional centres of the Regionalisation and Integration Eras of the Greater Indus Valley.

the site indicate the presence of fortifications, an impression which is reinforced by surface observation and excavation (Durrani 1988). More remarkably, thanks to the abandonment of the mound in prehistoric times, traces of ancient architecture may be detected even by a casual observer, especially after rainfall when the differential absorption of moisture results in brick walls appearing in clear outline. An aerial photograph of the site taken prior to excavations (Durrani 1988: pl. 6) confirmed its potential for understanding the origins of urbanisation in the Greater Indus Valley by revealing traces of rigorous town-planning, at least in the latest levels.

In spite of its size, the mound was not reported until Professor Dani's expedition to the Gomal Plains in 1969-70 (Dani 1971: 28-31). However, once visited, its great promise was immediately understood, and it was with a view to exploiting its potential that an excavation was organised by the University of Peshawar in 1976-1981, under the direction of F.A. Durrani. The principal discoveries of this enterprise included a well dated, uninterrupted culture sequence spanning the Regionalisation and Integration Eras of the Indus Valley Cultural Tradition (Durrani 1982; 1984; 1988) (¹). The first period (3340-2850 B.C.) was remarkable for its rich variety of fine, wheel-made and painted ceramics, which showed contacts with numerous sites in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands. In addition, the discovery of an uninscribed seal bespoke of a sophisticated administration, which must have overseen the flourishing craft traditions also revealed by the excavations. The ceramic assemblage of the second period (2850-2500 B.C.) was characterised as Kot Dijian, indicating the integration of the site into the vast interaction sphere which heralded the end of the Regionalisation Era. It is then that potter's marks appeared on some sherds, corresponding to the evidence from a widespread area, and have been interpreted (Durrani 1982) as precursors of the Indus script. In the third period (2500-1900 B.C.), which falls within the Integration Era of the Greater Indus Valley, the site was a flourishing urban centre which, nevertheless, retained its Kot Dijian character with only the presence of triangular terracotta cakes indicating any acceptance of Harappan cultural norms.

These discoveries clearly have profound implications. For example, since Rehman Dheri was the largest and richest of all the settlements of the NW Frontier, its retention of Kot Dijian stylistic traits even at the height of the Harappan Civilisation raises important questions about political organisation and economic relations in the late 3rd millennium B.C. Further, the early manifestation of such traits as town-planning and a system of notation on the periphery of the Greater Indus Valley forces us to revise theories about the origins of the earliest high civilisation of South Asia. It was to answer such questions that the University of Peshawar decided to return to the site for a second phase of excavations, directed by the authors, beginning in 1991. Our aims for the first season, conducted between 10 February and 18 March 1991, were modest: to verify the cultural sequence obtained from the first phase of excavations, begin systematic surface explorations, train a core-staff for future work and provide field experience for M.A. and M. Phil. Archaeology students of the University of Peshawar. As the preliminary report of the expedition (Durrani, Ihsan Ali & Erdosy 1992), including a large corpus of ceramics, shows, our expectations have been met by the results. However, our immediate concern is to set our excavations against the background of research on the origins of the earliest urban civilisation of South Asia.

(¹) Better known as the 'Early Harappan' and 'Mature Harappan' phases — since Shaffer's classification (Shaffer 1991) provides the most accurate approximation of the processes involved in the formation of the Harappan Civilisation, however, it is adopted here in preference to the traditional terminology. For the Indus Valley Cultural Tradition the Regionalisation Era may be dated to *c.* 4000-2500 B.C., and the Integration Era to *c.* 2500-1900 B.C.

Twenty years of fieldwork has released a flood of new information regarding the origin, salient characteristic and — to some — spectacular collapse of the Harappan Civilisation (Mughal 1990b). It is true that no agreement is yet forthcoming on even the pace and trajectory of cultural change, let alone on the driving forces behind it. However, certain issues have been clarified beyond doubt, and will provide a good starting point for our discussion. To begin with, there is general acceptance of the essentially independent evolution of civilisation in the Greater Indus Valley. Even Possehl (1986; 1990), who views maritime trade with West Asia as a crucial stimulus, and sees the desire of Sumerian elites to find reliable suppliers of raw materials as the driving force behind it, maintains that only by finding a receptive systemic context could trade contribute to the rise of a state society in South Asia. Indeed, the 'Indianness' of the Harappan Civilisation had already been grasped by Marshall and it was presumably to reconcile this fact with the absence of credible local antecedents that Wheeler postulated the importation of the *idea* but not of the actual physical manifestations of civilisation from West Asia. Now that the antecedents of the Harappan Civilisation have been amply laid bare — most spectacularly at Mehrgarh (Jarrige & Meadow 1980) — his ingenious explanation can be safely discarded.

The second area of agreement concerns the priority of development in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands over the Indus Valley, in imitation of the relationship between the highland and lowland areas of Mesopotamia. The reasons for this pattern are quite simple: above all, early experiments with the domestication of plants and animals were more likely to succeed in a variegated environment, where a range of resources could be exploited so that the failure of one particular source could be counteracted by the exploitation of others. Such an environment could only be found in — or abutting on — the highland areas of Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier, which were also endowed with the progenitors of crucial domesticates, such as sheep, goat, cattle and barley. Further, raw materials for tools were more abundant in the Borderlands than on the alluvial plains, and the small, frequently seasonal torrents could be more easily harnessed than the vast rivers of the Indus system. Sites on the boundaries of major ecological zones, exploiting the advantages of both, would have been particularly favoured which explains the precocity of such settlements as Mehrgarh on the Kachi Plain. By contrast, the environment of the Indus Valley was most suited to the cultivation of cereals, with a heavy reliance necessarily placed on a single crop allowed by the *sailabi* system of irrigation. In addition, the alluvial plain harboured a marshy environment that would have been expensive to clear, was generally deficient in raw materials, and was dominated by a river of enormous size and unpredictable behaviour. As Fairservis (1975: 238) already recognised, a certain threshold of scale and organisational complexity had to be crossed prior to its colonisation, so that labour could be marshalled for the construction of the necessary infrastructure, and risk buffered by reliance on extended social networks already characterised by some form of political leadership.

It is the contention of the authors, however, that the second argument needs to be expanded in scope. Contrast must be drawn not only between highlands and lowlands, but also between centre and periphery. Not only the Indo-Iranian Borderlands, but regions surrounding the Indus Valley in general show precocious evolution in relation to the core area, as a brief consideration of settlement patterns will demonstrate. To start at the beginning, the following radiocarbon dates, cited in clockwise geographical order, have been obtained from the lowest levels of sites on the fringes of the Indus Valley (2):

Balakot I:	5200 ± 135bp, 5130 ± 75bp, 4865 ± 82bp, 4210 ± 80bp
Amri IB:	4710 ± 110bp (no dates were produced by Amri IA)
Mehrgarh IA-B:	several dates in excess of 5800bp
Kili Gul Mohammed I:	5497 ± 500bp, 5474 ± 83bp, 5260 ± 80bp
Rana Ghundai I:	5580 ± 60bp
Sheri Khan Tarakai:	9 dates between 5660-4500bp (single-period site)
Bagor I:	6245 ± 200bp, 5620 ± 125bp, 5090 ± 85bp

These sites on the periphery clearly precede the lowest levels of Harappa (4540 ± 85bp), and Kot Diji (4421 ± 141bp, 4161 ± 151bp), which produced the earliest dates from the central area. The evidence undoubtedly requires further support from the eastern regions. For example, while Bagor (and Adamgarh Cave — Possehl 1991) witnessed the early domestication of animals, it yielded no traces of agriculture or permanent settlement. Gujarat deviates from the pattern since its earliest occupation (at Somnath) does not predate 4200bp. Sites in the Cholistan region are at best contemporary with the earliest levels of Jalilpur (Mughal 1974) near Harappa, as both produced the characteristic Hakra Ware. Finally, the lowest levels of Moenjodaro have been rendered inaccessible by the high water table, and consequently cannot be dated. The evidence nevertheless remains suggestive of permanent settlement around, but not within, the core area by *c.* 3400 B.C.

Such a conclusion certainly does not invalidate the arguments in favour of the initial colonisation of areas in, or abutting on, the highland zone. We simply wish to assert the importance of an additional contrast, between centre and periphery, for our understanding of the rise of Indus urbanism. It would be as well to stress here that the distinction is purely spatial, not ecological. Both regions include alluvial plains, but one is restricted to areas of the Indus Valley in southern Panjab and Sind, while the other includes northern Panjab, such fringe areas as the Kachi Plain, the Derajat and the Bannu Basin, as well as the alluvial plains of the now derelict Saraswati river-system. The piedmont areas of the Kirthar Range, the highland areas of Baluchistan and Sind Kohistan and the coastal areas of Gujarat and Makran complete the list of peripheral regions.

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(2) For the location of the principal sites mentioned in the text see Fig. 1.

A glance at settlement patterns for 3400-3000 B.C. justifies the distinction which could only be hinted at for the preceding period. To wit, in spite of difficulties produced by the discrepant chronological schemes of various regional surveys, we may assert that only peripheral regions supported settlement hierarchies — one of the most reliable indicators of social complexity — as well as sophisticated craft traditions and an emerging trade network. The evidence is clearest from the Ghaggar-Hakra valley, which was extensively explored by Mughal in the 1970s. Here, in the first period of occupation, characterised by Hakra Ware, a three-tiered settlement hierarchy can already be discerned. Of 37 permanent settlements (out of a total of 99 sites) the largest (Lathwala II — Mughal 1992) measured 26.3 ha; eight others of 15-21 ha may be grouped in a second category, while the rest, measuring less than 12 ha, comprised the base of the pyramid. Given the spatial distribution of the larger sites — which are concentrated in a single area, rather than nested among groups of subsidiary settlements (Wright 1986: 337, fig. 12) — individual political units cannot be easily disentangled. It may be assumed, however, that the 3-tiered distribution of site sizes masks the aggregation of several independent settlement systems, which — with perhaps one exception — contained only two distinct site categories.

Comparable evidence comes from Flam's surveys in Sind (Flam 1981), where 5 sites of the Amrian period located in Sind Kohistan measured 7.4-11.5 hectares in area, while the rest extended over less than 2 hectares. In addition to a clear break in the ranksize curve, two sites — Damb Buthi and Othmanjo Buthi — displayed the combination of high conical acro-sanctum and low-lying habitational area which Flam believes to be the precursor of the classic layout of Harappan urban centres. Unfortunately, the wide chronological range of Flam's Amrian period (3600-2500 B.C.) makes it difficult to decide whether the emerging central places are to be dated to the late 4th or the early 3rd millennium B.C., but they certainly existed prior to the Integration Era.

The evidence from other regions is indirect in nature: although we lack information on settlement hierarchies, certain sites are of such size as could only have been supported by a network of subsidiary centres. For instance, Mehrgarh measures 50 hectares already by the 4th millennium B.C., which indicates its status as a regional centre, even accounting for the possibly dispersed nature of the settlement (Jarrige 1981). Periano Ghundai in the Zhob Valley extended over 14 hectares (Stein 1929: 33, although his plan indicates a somewhat smaller extent of 11 hectares). Likewise, site L-3 in the Loralai Valley was, according to Fairservis (1956: 326) 12.5 hectares in area in contrast to the rest of the sites which did not exceed 5 hectares (3). Finally, the site of Rehman Dheri measured at least 7.75 hectares in the first period of its occupation

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(3) Although the site of Dabar Kot, discovered by Stein (1929), measured nearly 20 hectares, most of its occupation appears to be datable to the mid-3rd millennium B.C. or later based on surface finds (Fairservis 1959).

(3300-2850 B.C.) and was surrounded by a defensive wall (Fig. 2), while such sites as Hathala (2.5 ha), Karim Shah (2.0 ha) and Gumla (.6 ha) were considerably smaller and undefended.

On the basis of this evidence one may conclude that at least four regions (the Kachi Plains, the Zhob and Loralai Valleys and the Derajat) west of the Indus and one (the Ghaggar-Hakra Valley) to the east, supported a hierarchy of settlements by the end of the 4th millennium B.C. Sind Kohistan may well be added to this list, should Flam's Amrian sites be dated to the earlier part of the Amri sequence. By contrast, sites on the alluvial plains which appeared for the first time in this period were uniformly small. Harappa measured perhaps 2.0 hectares in the first period of its occupation (4) and Kot Diji about 2.5 hectares; Jalilpur, likewise showed limited occupation (5).

The period between 3000 and 2500 B.C., marking the culmination of the Regionalisation Era, saw the emergence of new central places both in the centre and on the periphery. The site of Harappa extended over most of Mound E and was revetted with extensive mud-brick walls; based on Kenoyer's map (Kenoyer 1991: fig. 4.7) it measured some 10 hectares. Jalilpur (Mughal 1972; 1974) may have been as large as 17 hectares (5). However, settlement of the alluvial plains of the Indus system remained sparse and no regional centres other than these two appeared prior to the rapid rise of urban centres around 2500 B.C.

By contrast, regional centres continued to flourish all around the periphery, including Sind Kohistan, the Kachi Plain, the Zhob Valley and the Derajat. It is true that in the Loralai Valley site L-3 disappears; however, site L-6, measuring 6.4 hectares, emerges to replace it as a central place. In the Bannu Basin the newly settled site of Tarakai Qila extended over 12 hectares (Allchin & Knox 1981: 245) while in the Taxila Valley Sarai Khola, at 18.5 hectares (Mughal 1990b), functioned as another central place. In Cholistan settlement was notoriously unstable, as the abandonment of virtually all the Hakra Ware sites shows, and there is even a decline in the number of sites and in the total occupied area. However, at least one well integrated settlement system — centred on Gamanwala (27.3 ha) and a subsidiary site of 20 ha — was discovered; a second, possibly two-tiered system, may be discerned around the site of Jalwali (22.5 ha). Further east, the site of Kalibangan was founded in this period, and its fortifications enclosed 4.5 hectares. The upper Saraswati and Drishadvati Valleys showed a proliferation of settlement (Bhan 1975), even if it is difficult to determine if any sites apart from Kalibangan (Banawali?, Siswal?, Mitathlal?) may be classified as central places. All in all, the trends established by 3000 B.C. continued into the next millennium.

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(4) Kenoyer 1991 — although it is fair to say that further research may modify the picture.

(5) According to Mughal (1972) only Trench A-B (near the centre of the site) contained deposits of Period I, while those of Period II were also found in Trench C on the edge of the site. As Jalilpur was abandoned prior to 2500 B.C., it may be assumed that it reached its maximum extent of 17 hectares (1400*1200 feet) in 3000-2500 B.C.

(6) Cf. Mughal 1990b: fig. 4 vs fig. 5.

Finally, during 2500-1900 B.C., now christened the Integration Era, there are significant advances in complexity in several regions and in various aspects of the settlement system. On a global level at least five sites are of an order previously unknown: Moenjodaro, Harappa, Ganweriwala, Rakhi Garhi and Dholavira. Ranging from 40 to possibly 300 hectares in area, they display an unprecedented level of planning and engineering. As Mughal (1990a) perceptively noted, the proliferation and regular spacing of the major centres argues against any centralised political structure for the Harappan Civilisation even in its mature phase. However, viewing the settlement pattern as an aggregation of regional polities we may still discern 4 size categories in some areas such as Cholistan and the upper Saraswati and Drishadvati Valleys. At the same time, as Possehl (1982) and others have pointed out, the emergence of cities in the central area coincided with considerable dislocation on the periphery. In Cholistan unstable settlement had, of course, been the norm and in spite of shifts in settlement, there is a rapid increase in the area occupied. By contrast, in Baluchistan and in the piedmont and Kohistan regions of Sind there was a general decline in the overall level of population, in addition to changes in the locations of central places, which have been explained either by a reversion to pastoralism (Possehl) or by the movement of people into the alluvial plains (Flam 1986). In yet other areas, such as the Derajat, what little is known of the patterns of settlement suggests stable socio-political structures. Finally, in spite of the presence of the cities of Moenjodaro and Harappa, settlement in the core area remained sparse in comparison with some peripheral areas.

The foregoing summary is naturally a tentative one, which may yet be modified by further research, especially by the work presently carried out at Harappa (Meadow 1991). The chronology, in particular, remains uncertain, although it is our belief that the relative sequence of events has been well established and may be summarised (as has been done by Fairservis and Allchin among others) in four stages. In the first, predating 3400 B.C., settlement was essentially rural and limited to the peripheral regions. Then, in 3400-3000 B.C. the first central places appeared in the peripheral regions, indicating an embryonic stage for complex societies. Some (Mehrgarh, Rehman Dheri) already supported a fluorishing craft tradition, associated with storage facilities and depending on trade with the highland areas for raw materials. It is at this time that the earliest colonists arrived in the central Indus Valley. Between 3000-2500 B.C. there was both an elaboration of settlement hierarchies at the periphery and the emergence of an interaction sphere, on the strength of which Mughal (1970) postulated the existence of an Early Harappan phase anticipating the rise of urbanism in the subsequent period. By now the first large settlements appeared in the central region as well. Finally, after 2500 B.C. (perhaps in a short space of time) the large cities of Harappa and Moenjodaro emerged in the centre, and similarly sized central places

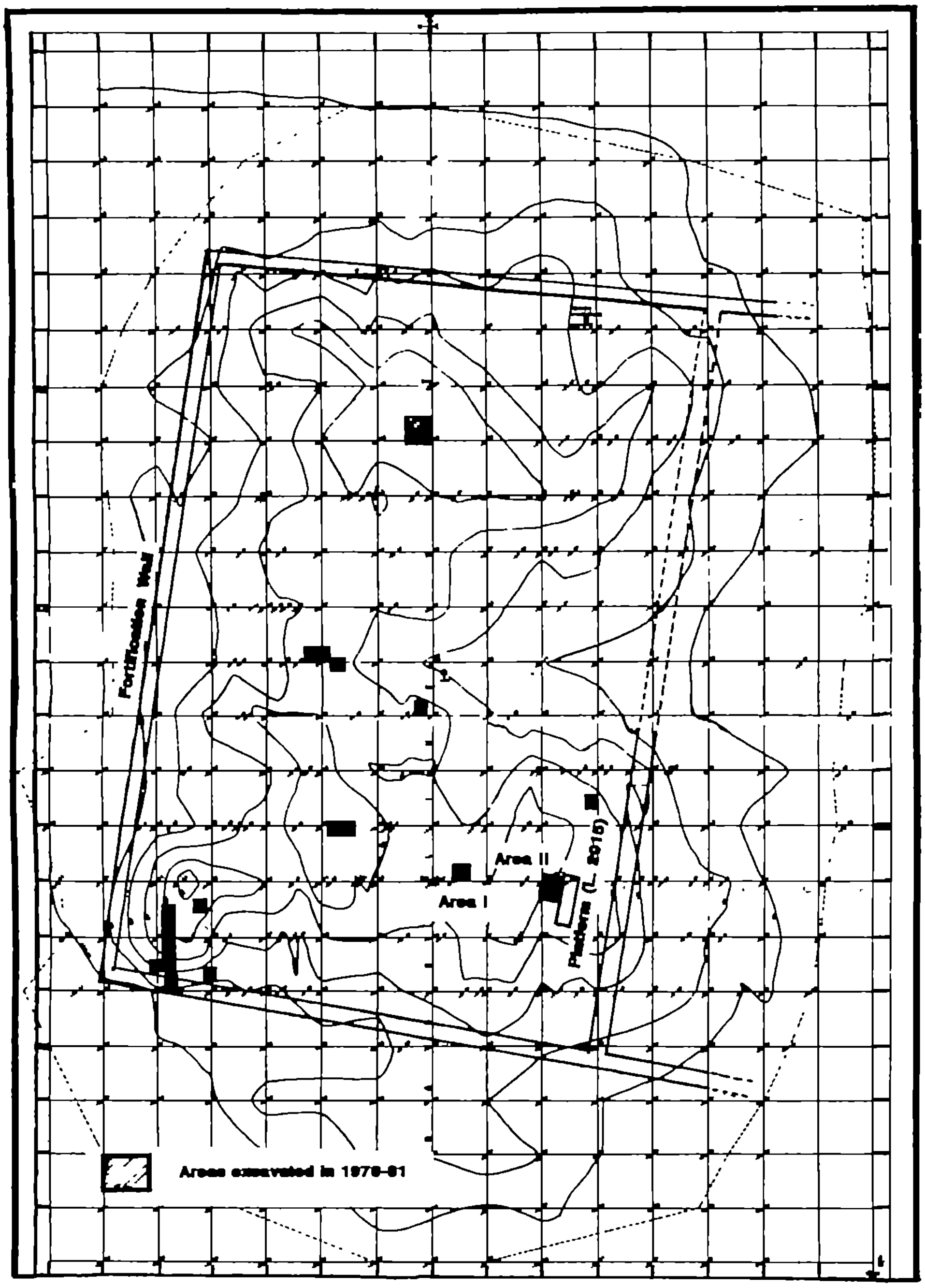

Fig. 2 - Contour plan of Rehman Dheri, showing the outline of the fortifications as revealed by surface observations in 1991, as well as the location of excavated areas.

(Rakhi Garhi, Ganweriwala and Dholavira) on the periphery. There was considerable colonisation in Sind and, at the same time, considerable dislocation in certain areas. Just as important, instead of the widespread distribution of a limited number of — 'Kot Dijian' — traits, there was a somewhat more limited distribution of a much more consistent assemblage of cultural traits — inscribed seals, monumental platforms, decorative motifs on ceramics etc. — which define the Harappan Civilisation (6). As already noted, several large centres on the periphery, Rehman Dheri among them, yielded practically none of these items in spite of their contemporaneity with the Harappans.

Inter-regional Interaction and the Emergence of the Harappan Civilisation

It is only recently that the place of explanation has begun to catch up with the flood of new information. The earliest models of Fairservis (1967; 1975) were still cast in a Childean mould, with technological changes and increasing familiarity with the environment fuelling the rise of complex societies, first in the highlands and then on the alluvial plains. Although a clear connection was postulated between Baluchistan and the Indus Valley, and the independent evolution of civilisation in South Asia stressed, little emphasis was placed on the pattern of interaction between regions. Recently, in a significant departure, Shaffer and Liechtenstein (1989) linked the emergence of the Harappans to the rapid (7) fusion of several independent ethnic groups at a time of deteriorating climate, which forced each to defend its own resources on the one hand and negotiate access to those outside its territories on the other. The model represents a significant attempt to define archaeological cultures in social terms (as ethnic groups), even if it is thereby open to all the criticism levelled at the traditional construct of a recurrent assemblage of artefacts (Shennan 1978 esp.). It is also perilously dependent on a precise radiocarbon chronology. Nevertheless, it may yet be fleshed out in convincing detail. Possehl's (1986; 1990) studies of the impact of external trade on cultural evolution in South Asia have already been referred to, representing another promising line of investigation.

Of more immediate interest to us is the contribution of Rafique Mughal (1970), who formalised the concept of an 'Early Harappan' phase during which the characteristic traits of Indus urbanism developed in an area overlapping with the distribution of 'Mature Harappan' sites. Although he has yet to provide a model explaining the transition, his emphasis on the extent of inter-regional interaction prior to the rise of cities is particularly noteworthy. The importance of such networks, through which raw materials for prestige goods circulated, was also stressed by Flam (1981; 1986), who suggested that it was their maintenance that prompted the growth of complex political institutions in the 3rd millennium B.C. Similar sentiments were expressed, albeit briefly, by Kenoyer (1991) in his examination of urban growth at the site of Harappa, a site which he placed at the 'crossroads connecting the western highlands and the northern plains with the Ghaggar-Hakra Valley and the southern plains'.

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(7) The idea of a brief period of rapid cultural change immediately preceding the attainment of urban status originated, once again, with Fairservis (1967), and was adopted both by Shaffer & Liechtenstein (1989) and by Possehl (1990).

Such awareness of the importance of inter-regional contacts prior to the emergence of urbanism is a natural outcome of our ability to isolate regional traditions (Shaffer & Liechtenstein 1989; Shaffer 1991), thanks to the extensive surveys of Fairservis (1956; 1959), de Cardi (1965; 1983), Mughal (1972; 1982), Flam (1981), Suraj Bhan (1975) and others. What remains lacking is a model which could relate the observations listed in the previous section to one another. Why did the growing complexity of societies on the periphery coincide with an intensification of contacts, and how did they together contribute to the emergence of urban centres in the central region?

As a first step, we may note that raw materials for prestige goods appear to be the most common articles of trade. Already in Mehrgarh I-II there was evidence for the use of lapis, turquoise and marine shell which must have been procured from the Chagai Hills (or Badakhshan), Iran and the Arabian Sea, respectively. By the Regionalisation Era, sites on the periphery were utilising a wide range of raw materials, some of which (e.g. turquoise, tin and lapis) must have originated in the Borderlands or to the west, some (e.g. agate and carnelian) in Gujarat and Rajasthan and some (e.g. copper) in either area. Not surprisingly, one of the defining characteristics of the Integration Era becomes the large quantity and high quality of products turned out by Harappan craftsmen, some of which were prized as far afield as Mesopotamia.

If we then accept (after Friedman & Rowlands 1978) that the circulation of prestige goods was vital to the performance of rituals, and thus essential for the smooth functioning of society, we can see how it also acted to legitimise a ruling class emerging out of a previously unstratified social structure. We may also postulate that with growing inequality would come a growing need for legitimacy for privileged social groups, which may intensify communication, as well as the circulation of prestige goods, among the emerging regional elites. Given the extent of the interaction network it would not be, then, surprising to see some places near the geographic centre of the Greater Indus Valley assume an importance as mediators of the extensive interaction taking place, a process which culminates in the earliest urban civilisation of South Asia (8).

(8) As noted above (in quoting Kenoyer 1991), Harappa was located at a crossroads. Flam (1981: 142) similarly places Kot Diji halfway between the regions of Kirthar-Sind Kohistan and Cholistan, a remark that would be equally applicable to the nearby city of Moenjo-daro. The two greatest centres of the Harappans were thus well situated to conduct inter-regional trade in both raw materials and finished articles. The lack of obvious evidence for elite residences at these sites, then, may be attributed to their role as centres of inter-regional exchange as opposed to their traditional image as political capitals.

Such may be the best way of explaining the sudden rise to prominence of a previously backward area, which also suffered from a vulnerability to the forces of nature, in particular the vagaries of the Indus river itself.

The picture may be rounded out by positing that with the passage of time the newly arisen metropolitan centres of Harappa and Moenjodaro attempted to exploit their central role in the economic exchange networks of the Greater Indus Valley for political advantage. The degree to which they succeeded is presently unknown, although it may perhaps be judged by the broad distribution of 'Harappan' stylistic traits. At any rate, we may assume that the economic networks became more closely integrated even if polities on the periphery retained a measure of political independence. The 'Harappan Civilisation' may then be viewed as a complex and highly specialised adaptation to the environment of the Greater Indus Valley, by a number of strongly interdependent politico-economic units. Such a civilisation would by virtue of its very complexity be highly vulnerable, especially in such a volatile environment as the Indus floodplains. In particular, changes in any one part of a highly interdependent system would spread rapidly to other parts, with no single constituent able to isolate itself from them. This structural weakness may explain more effectively than any appeal to isolated events — such as floods, tectonic activity, or invasions — the sudden demise of urbanism, but this topic is beyond the scope of the present paper.

Conclusions

Our discussion has offered only the crudest outlines of a model for the growth of complex societies in the Greater Indus Valley, albeit one which may satisfactorily explain several seemingly anomalous aspects of the Harappan Civilisation. In the present context, if it has merely succeeded in drawing attention to the crucial role of the emergence of elites on the periphery, and of their vested interest in interregional communication, it will have already served its purpose. It follows naturally that Rehman Dheri could be an important testing ground for the theory that the internal dynamics of social systems on the periphery of the Greater Indus Valley hold the key to the rise of urbanism at the centre. In many ways the excavations conducted in the late 1970s already demonstrated the site's potential. Although the earliest stages of settlement in the Northwest (represented by such nearby sites as Gumla (Period I) and Sheri Khan Tarakai in Bannu) are absent, there is an uninterrupted sequence from the mid-4th to the early 2nd millennium B.C. During this time the site was the most important in the region; if not on the scale of Moenjodaro or Harappa, its maximum

Recent excavations at Harappa would be particularly useful in deciding whether any evolution in their role (as suggested below) may have taken place over time; the excavations of the Marshall era are most unsatisfactory in failing to give any impression of an evolving, dynamic urban structure.

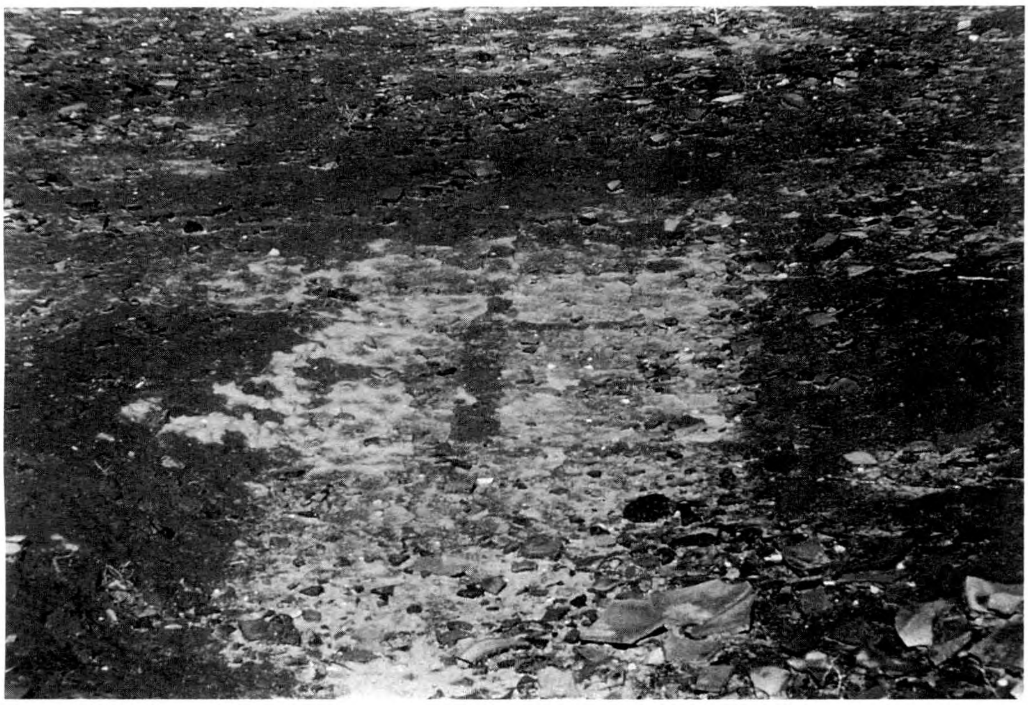

Fig. 3 - Patterns of brick-laying visible on the surface of Rehman Dheri after rainfall. (Note also thick crust of pottery on surface).

area of 16.25 hectares compares favourably with such regional centres as Judeirjodaro, Periano Ghundai or Kalibangan. The range of its contacts can be appreciated even by a glance at the variety of raw materials — lapis, carnelian, onyx, slate, ivory, chert, shell, copper — utilised by its workshops, or by a comparative study of ceramic industries in the Borderlands and Central Asia.

One of the advantages of the site, already referred to, is its excellent state of preservation. Even with limited surface clearance a good idea may be obtained of the site's layout in the final period of occupation (9). For this reason a detailed topographical survey of the mound was commissioned at the beginning of the 1991 season, and a grid laid out for the accurate location of surface features. Indeed, even without clearance, several features of the site's plan are apparent to the naked eye (Fig. 3). To begin with, a defensive wall (enclosing at least 7,75 hectares) was traced all around the mound (Fig. 2); its existence was suspected in earlier excavations (Durrani 1988), but the results at that time proved inconclusive. Furthermore, it appears that along the western wall of the settlement a large area was set aside for workshops, as indicated by the abundance of vitrified bricks and slag, as well as the by the presence of possible kilns. On the eastern side, by contrast, a vast mudbrick platform of 22*7 metres was uncovered by excavation, and in deposits against it two bone amulets, and one of lapis, were unearthed. It may be surmised that this area of the site was reserved for public architecture, whose full dimensions have yet to be revealed.

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(9) Such as employed at Abu Salabikh in Mesopotamia (Matthews & Postgate 1987), where the removal of the top 5-10 cm of disturbed surface debris revealed traces of architecture as well as the nature of deposits surrounding them. 6 seasons of surface clearance revealed about 3 hectares of the site. At Rehman Dheri, the layout of buildings and even patterns of bricklaying can frequently be seen without surface clearance of any kind.

Once these preliminary impressions of the layout of the site are amplified by systematic fieldwork, the wealth of objects will be placed in firm context provided by a model of the settlement structure; together they should provide an excellent picture of society during the final period of occupation. The logical next step will then be to design a strategy for the penetration of lower levels, which would enable us to observe continuity as well as change over time in the layout of the settlement, as reflected in the layout of major streets, public architecture and craft installations. Combined with a study of traditional artefact inventories and subsistence patterns, and placed within the broader context provided by a study of settlement patterns in the Gomal Valley, such research should, in the course of time, lay bare the dynamics of one important cultural tradition that contributed to the first flowering of civilisation in Pakistan.

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Tortoise in Mythology and Ritual

by HUKAM CHAND PATYAL

1.0. An attempt is made in this paper to find out the role played by the tortoise or turtle in the Vedic and post-Vedic mythology and ritual. In fact, this paper is an enlargement and revision of Patyal (1979).

Animals play a very vital part in the religious and mythological beliefs of the Aryans. Usually deities are conceived as anthropomorphic, but still there prevail some theriomorphic conceptions of the deities. In rituals animals are connected with mythological conceptions of the gods. 'Animals, widely believed to have superior power, to sustain, for instance the potency of vegetation, to have mysterious relations, to be a sort of reservoir of power for the socio-religious community, could even be representatives of the god whom they accompanied' (Gonda 1969: 147). Totemism and all theriomorphic features involve problems of symbolism, imagery, and the consciousness of human personality in its relation to animal and other life. The tortoise is a reptile *par excellence* which plays a very significant role in mythology and ritual.

1.1. In Sanskrit the words *kūrma*, *kaśyapa*, *kacchapa*, etc. mean 'tortoise or turtle'. The tortoise is a member of the reptilian order *Testudinata* or *Chelonia*. All marine and some fresh-water species are named 'turtle'; most of the species found in smaller ponds and marshy places are 'water-tortoises' a few being designated as 'terrapins'; while the terrestrial ones irrespective of their size are 'land-tortoises'. About 300 living species are available in the world (see *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 27.286-87).

2.0. *Tortoise in the Vedic Mythology*

Anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, and fetishistic conceptions are equally significant in the Vedic mythology. In fact, in the Veda mythology, ritual and religion are intermingled and they cannot be separated from each other. In the aetiological or cosmogonic myths the animals, possessed of sacrosanctity, are closely associated. In many countries the tortoise or turtle is considered as one of the mythical animals on which the world rests (see, e.g., N.W. Thomas in *ERE*, 1.530; Waida in Eliade, ed., 1987: 15.96-7, etc.). Cosmogony in many savage religions is too well-known. Every mythical account of the origin of anything presupposes and continues the cosmogony (Eliade 1963: 21). Cosmogonic myth in essence continues a 'sacred history', which describes the beginnings of the world, the role which this primordial stage plays differs widely in man's religious conception (Kuiper 1970: 91).

2.1. The popular tortoise myth was perhaps borrowed from popular belief. Its central figure Kaśyapa, the father of creatures, plays a very significant role in the cosmogonic and genealogical conception of Vedic people (cf. e.g. *AVŚ*, 8.5.14), in exerting fertilizing influences and in granting stability of the world, it has qualities in common with the creator god (Prajāpati) who is the *pratiṣṭhā* (*ŚatBr*, 7.1.2.1 f.; see Gonda 1986: 68). Prajāpati, the creator god, assumed the form of a tortoise to produce all creatures, and all creatures are said to have descended from the tortoise (*ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.5) (¹). The name ***kūrma*** is said to be synonymous with ***kaśyapa***. He is identified with primeval Puruṣa from whom by means of the sacrifice the gods created the whole universe, and also men and gods. The tortoise is identified with the yonder sun (*ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.6). The sun creeps over the three worlds in the form of a tortoise (*ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.9, etc.). The tortoise is also said to be the (life-)breath, for it creates all creatures (*ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.7). In *VājaS* (13.31) the tortoise is elevated to the position of 'lord of waters'. In ancient mythology the tortoise belonged to Varuṇa, the lord of waters, thereby it (the tortoise) also became 'lord of waters' (*ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.9). In a cosmogonic myth (*ŚatBr*, 6.1.1.12) the life-sap (*rasa*) is identified with a tortoise. He (Prajāpati) desired: 'May I create this (earth) from the waters. He compressed this (earth which was in the embryonic form, or in the form of the egg-shell) and threw it into the waters. The juice (i.e., life-sap) which flowed from it became a tortoise; and that which was spurted upwards (became) what is produced above here over the waters. This whole (earth) dissolved itself all over the waters; all this (universe) appeared as one form only, viz. waters' (²). Again in *ŚatBr* (7.5.1.1) the tortoise is said to be the *rasa* (juice, i.e. life-sap) of these worlds, but in *TaiS* (5.2.8.5) the tortoise is said to be the ***medha*** 'life-sap' (see Dumont 1957: 17; also see Staal (ed.) 1983: I.120 f.) (³) of the (domestic) animals. Because

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(¹) *ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.5: ***sa yat kūrmo nāma / etad vai rūpaṁ kṛtvā prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata yad asṛjadakarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ kaśyapo vai kūrmas tasmād āhuḥ sarvāḥ prajāḥ kāśyapa iti //***. Biardeau (1976: 18) thinks that the alleged etymological connection of ***kūrma*** with ***kṛ-*** 'to make, to do' is important (see Staal, ed., 1983: I 121). In the post-Vedic mythology this transformation of primordial ***puruṣa*** became the tortoise (***kūrma***) incarnation of Viṣṇu. The germs or basis of this incarnation are found in this passage of *ŚatBr*. For the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu, see the relevant section of this paper.

(²) *ŚatBr*, 6.1.1.12: ***so'kāmayata / ābhyo'dbhyo'dhīmāṁ prajanayeyam iti tāṁ saṁkliśyāpsu prāvidhyat tasya yaḥ parāṅ raso'tyakṣarat sa kūrmo'bhavad, atha yad ūrdhvam udaukṣyate'daṁ tad yad idam ūrdhvam adbhyo'dhi jāyate / seyaṁ sarvāpa, evānuvyait tad idam ekam eva rūpaṁ samadṛśyatāpa eva //***. Cf. *ṚV*, 10.129 (a cosmognoic hymn) which speaks about the evolution of truly existent cosmos (*sat*) from the undifferentiated chaos (*asat*).

(³) *TaiS*, 5.2.8.5: ***medho vā eṣa paśūnāṁ yat kūrmaḥ***. Keith erroneously renders ***medha*** by 'intelligence'. Dumont (1957: 17) rightly renders it by 'life-sap'. Cf., e.g. *TaiĀ*, 1.25.2: ***kūrmam upadadhāti / apāmeva medham avarundhe***. Sāyaṇa here renders ***medha*** by ***sāra***. By seizing the domestic animals the sacrificer takes possession of this world, and by seizing the wild animals he takes possession of the yonder world. On tortoise, see Macdonell 1897: 151, 153; Gonda 1960: 102.

of its shape the tortoise is regarded as a symbol of three worlds. The lower shell of it is this (terrestrial) world, the upper shell of it the yonder sky, and what is between (the shells) is the atmosphere (*ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.2). In *VājaS*, 24.34 = *MaiS*, 3.14.15, the tortoise is said to belong to the heaven and earth (4) (cf. *ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.10 where it stands for heaven and earth). In *TaiĀ* (1.23.3) in a dialogue between the primordial Puruṣa and Prajāpati, the creator, it is said that this *puruṣa* appeared in the waters in the form of a tortoise out of the bones and flesh of Prajāpati (5). The sacrificial cake (*puroḍāśa*) is said to have become a tortoise and started creeping about (*TaiS*, 2.6.3.3; cf. *TaiS*, 5.2.8.4; *ŚatBr*, 1.6.2.3).

We also get some idea of totemism or the belief in the descent of the human race or of individual families or tribes from animals. Kaśyapa 'Tortoise' is the name of a seer (*ṚV*, 9.114.2), but he figures in later *Saṁhitās* as a mythical character (see, e.g., *AVŚ*, 1.14.4; 2.33.7; 4.20.7; 8.5.14; *VājaS*, 3.62, etc.). In *AVŚ* (19.53.10 = *AVP*, 12.2.10) Kaśyapa is identical with the self-existent Prajāpati. In *AitBr* (8.21 (= 39.7)) it is said that Viśvakarman Bhauvana promised the earth to Kaśyapa (cf. *ŚatBr*, 13.7.1.15; for Kaśyapa, see *Vedic Index*, *s.v.*).

According to *PañcBr* (15.5.30) by means of the Ākūpāra *sāman* the seer Akūpāra Kaśyapa is said to have attained power and greatness. In *JaimiBr* (3.273; cf. 3.203) the name *ākūpāra* is explained in a curious myth or legend. 'Akūpāra Kaśyapa ("the tortoise Akūpāra") descended together with the Kalis into the ocean. He sought in it a firm-footing (*pratiṣṭhā*; on the term *pratiṣṭhā*, see Gonda 1975: II.338-74). He saw the Ākūpāra *sāman* and landed with it. Thereon he found a firm-footing in the ocean, viz. the earth. Thenceforth, the Kalis sit on his back. This Ākūpāra *sāman* is a firm-footing. The The Chandoma(-days) are an ocean (because of a large number of *stotrīya*-verses), and Kaśyapa (the Tortoise) is able to convey (them) across the ocean. This Ākūpāra *sāman* is for crossing over the ocean of the Chandoma-days'. (See, e.g., Keith 1970: 240; Caland's note on *PañcBr*, 15.5.30). This tortoise Kaśyapa, of limitless dimension, is nothing but a cosmic tortoise who finds this earth in the ocean (for various versions of cosmogony, see fn. 5).

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(4) *VājaS*, 24.34: *dyāvāpṛthivīyaḥ kūrmaḥ* (Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara: *kūrmaḥ kacchapaḥ dyāvāpṛthivīyaḥ dyāvāpṛthivīdevataḥ*); cf. *ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.10.

(5) For various theories of creation, one may refer to Kuiper (1970: 98 ff.). According to one of the theories the earth was the result of a process of coagulation (cf., e.g., *JaimiBr*, 3.360; *BṛĀraU*, 1.2.2, etc.). The second theory is that of mundane egg, which is either connected with the coagulation of the waters or the Creator. For various versions of this myth, see, e.g., *ŚatBr*, 11.1.6.1-2; *JaimiBr*, 3.360; *JaimiUBr*, 1.56.1; *ChāndoU*, 3.19.1, etc. The third theory tells us that a cosmogonic boar brought some mud upward from the bottom of the waters, which in the beginning became the beginning of the earth. This version of cosmogony is found in (black) *YV* texts (see, e.g., *TaiS*, 7.1.5.1; *MaiS*, 1.6.3; *KāṭhS*, 8.2; *KapiKaS*, 6.7; *TaiBr*, 1.2.1.3; *TaiĀ*, 10.1.8; *ĀpaŚS*, 5.1.7, etc.).

2.2. *Tortoise in the Post-Vedic Mythology*

In the post-Vedic mythology the tortoise appears to be the incarnation of divine being Viṣṇu. Prajāpati is replaced by Viṣṇu in the post-Vedic cosmogonic myth of the churning of the world ocean, the churning staff or axis of the world rests on tortoise. The story of the churning of the ocean is available in a number of versions in *MahāBhā*, *Rāmā*, and many *Purāṇas*. It is believed that the gods churned the ocean of milk for the sake of *amṛta* (nectar) with the help of the *daityas* or *asuras*. Viṣṇu took the form of a tortoise (*kūrma*) and supported on its back mountain Mandara which served as a churning-stick. The serpent Vāsuki they used as churning-rope, the mountain as the churning-staff. Then Śrī was born who was immediately claimed by Viṣṇu. Even in *MahāBhā* (1.16) the Tortoise is not an *avatāra*, but in *Rāmā* (1.44.17) it becomes an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The Kaśyapa (Tortoise) as creative power may once have been the tortoise as earth-power (cf. *ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.5) upholding Mandara (*MahāBhā*, 1.16.10-12), later (cf. *ViṣṇuP*, 1.9.84) interpreted, ***kāmaṭhaṁ rūpam***, as a form of Viṣṇu (*Rāmā*, 1.44.17). Viṣṇu is not only preserver but also destroyer (*MahāBhā*, 3.187.41; *KūrmaP*, 1.1.96; 1.16.30, etc., see Pai 1975: 102). As Avatāra he saves; as wakener and maker, he creates; as Rudra, death etc., he destroys (see Hopkins 1915: 207, sec. 146). In *MahāBhā*, 12.851* we have a list of the Avatāras: Haṁsa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, two Rāmas, Kṛṣṇa, and Kalki (cf. *SkandP*, 5(3).151.4 which has Buddha for Haṁsa; and *MahāBhā*, 16.4.13 also mentions Śeṣa). The legend of Kūrma-Avatāra is available in many versions. It is not possible in this paper to give the typological classification of the myth (see e.g. *MahāBhā*, 1.15-17; *Rāmā*, 1.44; *HariVaṁ*, 3.30; *ViṣṇuDhaP*, 1.40.10-20; *BrahmāṇḍP*, 1.25; *KūrmaP*, 1.1.27-31; *BhāgP*, 8.5.15-8.12.47, etc.). This myth is found in Puranic texts belonging to Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva systems. For a detailed study of the myth one may refer to Rūping (1970), Coomaraswamy (1913: 314-16), Dange (1987: 893 ff.).

2.3. *Tortoise in the Modern Indian Religious Beliefs and Folklore*

In India the tortoise is worshipped as a totem, or is sometimes supposed to save from calamities. In North India the Kācchis and Kacchawaha Rajputs allege that they take their names from the Kacchapa or tortoise, similarly Kurmis also refer their name of ***kūrma*** (see Crooke 1896: 2.149). The tortoise is a totem of the Mundari Kols. The Kharwars and Mañjhis of Mirzapur worship clay images of tortoise. The Gondas believe that their ancestor Lingo was saved by the tortoise from the clutches of the alligator. In *KathāSaSāg* (12.15.4 ff.) there is a story where the sons bring a tortoise for the sacrifice of their father, so that he can be saved from going to hell, etc. For such totemic beliefs connected with animals one may refer to *ERE*, 1.483-535; Cook, *ERE*, 10.667; Crooke 1896 and 1926, chapters on Animal worship). According to Chatterji (1945: 79) many images of Dharma in Bengal are just a figure of a tortoise.

The word *dharma* is a Sanskritized form of the Austric _*duṛom, duram, *daram, darom_ 'tortoise', cf. Bengali *duṛā* or *duṛo* (p. 79).

2.4. *Myths and Beliefs Connected with the Tortoise or Turtle in the World*

In various cultures there is a widespread belief that the earth rests on the back of a turtle or tortoise. Many creation myths in the world are connected with the tortoise or turtle. Among North American Indians many myths are prevalent which have reference to the turtle. According to the Maidu in California, a turtle dived to the bottom of the primeval ocean and produced a little soil under its nails. God made a ball of the soil, which then grew miraculously until it became as large as the universe itself. In the Onodaga and Iroquois (i.e., Mohawk) myth the world was at first covered with water, and when Aataetsic fell from heaven, the animals in a conference decided to bring the earth, the turtle brought the soil on his back, and then the miraculous growth of the earth took place. The turtle is an important Iroquois totem; the clan traces its descent from a turtle that threw off its shell. According to the Buriats, in the beginning there was nothing but water and a turtle. God turned the turtle on its back and built the world on its stomach. In other versions Mandishire (the *bodbisattva* Mañjuśrī) transforms himself into a great turtle and supports the earth he has made on the surface of the waters (Waida in Eliade, ed., 1987: 15.96-7). In China the turtle symbolizes the universe (sky and earth). From prehistoric times we find 'stone' turtles in South Korea and southern Japan (Kyushu) on the seashore facing the Korean peninsula. People believed that the turtle bestows immortality on the dead and escorts them across the sea to paradise under waters (Waida, *ibid.*: 97). In Zoroastrianism, the tortoise was an evil creature, and consequently was to be killed (*Vendīdād*, 14.5).

Many taboos are also connected with turtle or tortoise. Kwapas were not allowed to lift a small water-tortoise by its tail, lest there should be a flood (*ERE*, 1.530). The turtle was sacrificed in Pomotu. The Zuñis have the turtle as one of their totem. Turtle-fishing is full of many tabus in Madagascar — the fisher had to eat the turtle on the shore, and shell had to be left there too. In the islands of Towes turtle dances were performed to ensure success in the fishing. Thus many beliefs are connected in the world with the turtle or tortoise. The Balinese temple called 'Meru' stands on the basement of a big tortoise (see Vogel 1926: 284).

3.0. *Tortoise in the Vedic Ritual*

Every big or small act promised the sacrifice riches in cattle and offspring, long life and bliss in the other world. Thereby, it is that even the animals, inanimate objects and beings, sacrificial implements and vessels, etc., are employed very meticulously and even without the slightest negligence in the Vedic rites and they are held in high esteem. Tortoise is a reptile *par excellence* which is employed in or associated with many Vedic rites.

3.1. *Tortoise in the Full- and New-moon Sacrifices*

In the case of the baking of the sacrificial cakes, the Adhvaryu should give (that ball) the shape of a tortoise while it is being flattened (*BaudhŚS*, I.9). He (the Adhvaryu) should make (each of the cakes) neither thick nor of the size of an *apūna*; he should make it resembling the form of a tortoise and of the measurement of a horse's hoof (*ĀpaŚS*, 1.25.4 = *BhārŚS*, 1.26.2; cf. *MānŚS*, 1.2.3.22). (On the baking of the sacrificial cake, see *Śrautakośa* [Eng. Sec.] I.i.285-90).

3.2. *Tortoise in the Puṁsavana Rite*

In the Puṁsavana rite he (the husband) puts gall of a tortoise (*kūrmapitta*) (6) on her (wife's) lap (*PārGS*, 1.14.5). If he desires 'May (the son) become valiant', he recites over him (i.e. over the embryo) modifying the rite (?), 'Thou art, Suparṇa' (*VājaS*, 12.4).

3.3. *Tortoise in the Aśvamedha*

In the horse sacrifice a number of animals are enumerated which are tied to the sacrificial posts and in the intermediate spaces, with the names of deities or deified entities to which they are dedicated. In this rite there seems to be some sort of exaggeration in the number of victims which goes even up to 609 or more. Sometimes even impossible animals are also mentioned, 'but it must be remembered that the Aśvamedha was a most important tribal solemnity of rare occurrence and that no effort would be spared to assume its performance with all possible splendour'. (Griffith, *YV*(Tr.), p. 258, fn. 1; cf. Keith 1970: 344-45).

In *VājaS* (24.34 = (K.) 26.7.4 = *MaiS*, 3.14.15) the tortoise is one of the animals tied to the sacrificial posts, and it has close association with the deities Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāpṛthivī*). It is perhaps chosen because of its shape which resembles these two worlds, viz. heaven and earth. The oblation is made (in this rite) of the roasted flesh, the various parts of the victim being assigned with the call *svāhā* to a host of deities and other objects which are regarded as deified for the occasion. The hooves of the victims are offered to the (deities) tortoises with the formula: *kūrmāñ chaphaiḥ (prīṇāmi)* '(I gratify) tortoises with the hooves' (*TaiS*, 5.7.13 = *MaiS*, 3.15.3 = *KāṭhS*, 5.13.3 = *VājaS*, 25.3 = (K.) 27.3.1). In *TaiS* (5.5.17.1) the enumeration of the victims to be tied to the sacrificial posts goes on, here the tortoise is offered to the months (cf. *VājaS*, 24.37; (K.) 26.8.2; *MaiS*, 3.14.8; *KāṭhS*, 5.7.7) (7). Association of the tortoise with the months reminds one of the time which at the beginning generated Prajāpati, the self-existent (*AVŚ*, 19.53.10).

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(6) The expression *kūrmapittam* is understood by one of the commentators as 'dish with water' (see Karka: *kūrmapittaśabdenodakaśarāvam ucyate*). *MW*, 'a vessel with water'. I follow here Oldenberg, see his footnote on this *sūtra* in *SBE*, 29.292. The tortoise is able to exert fertilizing influences (cf. Gonda 1969: 127). Tortoise is associated with a number of totems of sexual nature.

3.4. *Tortoise in the Animal Sacrifice*

In the animal sacrifice the parts of the victim are cut off in such a manner as to make either some animals or some other objects. In *AitBr* (2.6 = 6.6) detailed account is given like this: 'Make its (victim's) breast an eagle, its two front legs hatchets, its two fore feet spikes, its shoulders two tortoises, as it were, its loins uncut, its thighs two door leaves, its knees oleander leaves; its ribs are twenty-six' (8) (cf. *MaiS*, 4.13.4; *KāṭhS*, 16.21; *TaiBr*, 3.6.6.3; *ŚāṅkhāŚS*, 5.17.5; *MānŚS*, 5.2.9.4). In *ĀśvŚS* (1.3.3.1) it is described (under the *hautra* relating to offering of the omentum) as the *adhrigu*-call which is recited by the *hotṛ*, viz. *daivyāḥ śamitāra ārabhadhvam uta manuṣyā upanayata*, etc. (see *Śrautakośa*, I.ii.830). In *MānŚS* (5.2.9.4) it is described as modifications of words at the animal sacrifice. As a matter of rule for the limbs of the two or more animals the plural is used (instead of dual, see *MānŚS*, 5.2.9.4).

3.5. *Tortoise in the Agnicayana Rite*

The piling up of the fire-altar is one of the most important and elaborate ceremonies of the Vedic rite (9). This rite is performed along with a Soma-sacrifice, but it is obligatory in certain cases. At the bottom of this rite lie certain cosmogonic or aetiological theories.

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(7) *TaiS*, 5.5.17.1 reads, ***anyavāpo'rdhamāsānāṁ māsāṁ kaśyapaḥ*** [...], whereas *VājaS*, 24.37 reads, ***anyavāpo'rdhamāsānām ṛśyo mayūraḥ suparṇas te gandharvāṇām udro māsāṁ kaśyapo rohit puṇḍṛṇācī golattikā te'psarasāṁ mṛtyave'sitaḥ*** //. Griffith, 'The cuckoo belongs to the Half Months; antelope, peacock, eagle, these are the Gandharvas; the other belongs to the Months; tortoise, doe-antelope, iguana, Golattikā belong to the Apsarases; the black snake belongs to the death'. Really speaking the correct rendering of ***apām udro māsāṁ kaśyapaḥ*** should be 'the otter belongs to the waters, the tortoise to the months'; see Uvaṭa and Mahīdhava: ***kaśyapaḥ kacchapaḥ māsānām***.

(8) *AitBr*, 2.6 (= 6.6) ***śyenam asya vakṣaḥ kṛṇutāt praśasā bāhū śalā doṣaṇī kaśyapevāṁsacchidre śroṇī kavaṣorū skrekaparṇāṣṭhīvantā ṣaḍviṁśatir asya vaṅkrayaḥ*** /. Sāyaṇa renders ***praśasā bāhū*** as ***prakṛṣṭacchedanau kuruta*** / [...] ***śalā*** as ***śalākākārau*** and ***kavaṣorū*** as ***kavaṣākārāv ūrū***, for ***kavaṣ***, cf. *MaiS*, 3.16.2; *VājaS*, 29.5.

(9) For an elaborate account of the Agnicayana, one may refer to Weber, *IndSt*, 13.217-92; Eggeling, *SBE*, 41. xxvi-xxvii, 143 ff.; *SBE*, 43.xiii-xxvii and translation and notes on Kāṇḍas 8 to 10 of this volume; *HDS*, II.ii.1246-55; Keith (1970: 354-56); *TaiS* (transl.) cxxv-cxxxi; Dumont (1951: 629-75); Staal, ed. (1983).

3.5.1. In the Agnicayana rite a tortoise is also immured or buried alive in the fire-altar. According to *MānŚS* (3.6.16) 'If he cannot find a tortoise (for the piling up of the fire-altar) he should place a crab (*karka*), if he cannot find it, he shall bake a *puroḍāśa* in the shape of a tortoise and place particles of gold used as elevation (*hiraṇyapṛḍa*), gold on both sides according to some on it'.

3.5.2. *The Building up of the Āhavanīya Fire-Altar (the First Layer)*

He (the *adhvaryu*) lays down a lotus-leaf (in the centre of altar-site where the horse planted its hoof) (*TaiS*, 5.2.6.5; *ŚatBr*, 7.4.1.7 ff.; *ĀpaŚS*, 16.22.3); and on that lotus-leaf the golden disc, worn by the sacrificer at the time of the Viṣṇu strides during the initiation period, is placed (see *ŚatBr*, 6.7.1.1 ff.) with the mantra *brahma jajñānam* (*VājaS*, 13.3; *TaiS*, 4.2.8.2). He puts down a golden (image of) man to the south of that golden disc with his head to the east and face turned to the sky, and he does not cover the entire golden disc, with the mantra 'in the beginning the Hiraṇyagarbha came into existence' (*VājaS*, 13.4 = *ṚV*, 10.121.1; cf. *ŚatBr*, 7.4.1.19; *TaiS*, 5.2.7.2, etc.). With the *sarpanāma* formulas (*VājaS*, 13.6-8; *TaiS*, 4.2.8.3) the sacrificer pays homage to the serpents (see *ŚatBr*, 7.4.1.26 ff.; *IndSt*, 13.249). By the side of the two arms of the golden man the *adhvaryu* places two *srucs*, one of *kārṣmarya* filled with ghee on the right (i.e. south) side, and the other of *udumbara* filled with curds on the left (i.e. north) side with their tops to the east (*TaiS*, 5.2.7.2-3; *ŚatBr*, 7.4.1.36-8). The *kārṣmarya* one he lays down with (*VājaS*, 13.13) and the *udumbara* one with (*VājaS*, 13.14). The sacrificer puts down the naturally perforated brick (*svyamātṛṇṇā*, i.e. the earth) (10) on the golden man (*TaiS*, 5.2.8.1; *ŚatBr*, 7.4.2.1-5). Symbolically it represents the vital air. Then the *adhvaryu* lays down the *dūrvā*-brick (*TaiS*, 5.2.8.2; *ŚatBr*, 7.4.2.10 ff.). That is to say, a stalk of *dūrvā* grass is laid upon the first naturally perforated brick in such a way that the root lies upon it and the tops hanging down to the ground (for details see Eggeling, *SBE*, 41.187, fn. 3; *IndSt*, 13.249 f.). He lays down the *dviyajus*-brick (to the east of *dūrvā*) with (*VājaS*, 13.22-3; see *ŚatBr*, 7.4.2.16 ff.), two *retaḥsic*-bricks to the east of the *dviyajus* with (*VājaS*, 13.24; see *ŚatBr*, 7.4.2.22 ff.); he lays down the *viśvajyotis*-brick between the two *retaḥsic*-bricks (11) with (*VājaS*, 13.24; see *ŚatBr*, 7.4.2.25 ff.), then he places two *ṛtavyā*-bricks with (*VājaS*, 13.25; see *ŚatBr*, 7.4.2.29 ff.), then as *aṣāḍhā*-brick with (*VājaS*,

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(10) The three *svayamātṛṇṇās* in the centre of the first, third, and fifth layers represent the three worlds, viz. the earth, atmosphere and heaven (*ŚatBr*, 9.5.1.58).

(11) 'In reality the Viśvajyotis brick is not placed between the two *retaḥsic*, but in front of the line separating them from each other' (Eggeling, *SBE*, 41.385, fn. 1).

13.26; see *ŚatBr*, 7.4.2.32 ff.; for the explanation of *aṣāḍhā*, see *ŚatBr*, 6.5.3.1-2) to the east of the *ṛtavyā*-bricks.

3.5.3. *Immuring the Living Tortoise*

An *aratni* to the south of the *aṣāḍhā*-brick and to the east of the *svyamātṛṇṇā*-brick (the *adhvaryu*, acting for the sacrificer) places a living tortoise with its face towards the golden man (i.e., to the east) on the *avakā* (moss-like) plants (*KātyŚS*, 17.4.28; cf. *ĀpaŚS*, 16.25.1; *ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.1 ff.; *TaiS*, 5.2.8.5; *KāṭhS*, 20.7 = *KapiKaS*, 31.9) (12). The *avakā* plants are like a tortoise (*KātyŚS*, 17.9.6). In that the heads of the dead animals are deposited, a burial ground is made; in that he puts down a living tortoise, (thereby) he happens to be a non-maker of the burial ground (*aśmaśānacit*), the tortoise is fit for dwelling (*TaiS*, 5.2.8.5; cf. *MaiS*, 3.2.7). The tortoise (which is said to represent the Sun or Prajāpati) is anointed with a mixture of ghee, honey, and curds with the *mantras* (*VājaS*, 13.27-9), and is enveloped in moss covered with a net and made motionless by means of pegs (*TaiS*, 5.2.8.6; *ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.4; *ĀpaŚS*, 17.25.2; *HirŚS*, 11.7.41). He puts it down with three *mantras* (*VājaS*, 13.30-2), which express the wish that the tortoise may go to the deep waters; that the sun and fire may not torment it by heat, that it may reach heavenly worlds, and that divine rain may follow (*ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.8, *ĀpaŚS*, 16.25.2; *HirŚS*, 11.7.42; *KātyŚS*, 17.4.27; see *IndSt*, 13.250 f.). The *adhvaryu* then makes it move with (*VājaS*, 13.31). In fact, he sets the tortoise down with three *mantras*; while muttering the second *mantra* he makes it move while he still holds it in his hand (*ŚatBr*, 7.5.1.9). He then puts mortar and pestle of *udumbara* wood about one *aratni* north of the *svyamātṛṇṇā*-brick.

3.5.4. *The Mystery of the Fire-Altar* (*Number of Bricks in Layers, etc.*)

According to *ŚatBr* (10.4.3.14) the first layer (of the altar) consists of ninety-eight (items). The *adhvaryu* lays down the *yajuṣmatī*-bricks (with certain formulas), grass-bunch, the four-clod bricks, the lotus-leaf, the gold plate and man, the two offering spoons, naturally perforated brick, the *dūrvā*-brick, a *dvīyajus*-bricks, two *retaḥsic*-bricks, a *viśvajyotis*-brick, two *ṛtavyā*-bricks, an *aṣāḍhā*-brick, a tortoise, mortar and pestle, fire-pan, the five victims' heads, fifteen *apasyā*-bricks, five *chandasyā*-bricks, fifty *prāṇabhṛt*-bricks.

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(12) On various mythological beliefs connected with tortoise, see section 2 of this paper. The custom of placing living animals, sometimes even human beings, under the foundations of a house or of a bridge etc. to secure its stability is of very great antiquity and formerly widespread (see Griffith's note on *VājaS*, 13.30). Keith (1970: 355, fn. 1) remarks 'The practice may clearly be connected with the recorded discovery of toads living inside rocks, etc.'. I do not agree with it. The tortoise is chosen because of its fertilizing influence, and due to its association with the creation myth, and due to its shape resembling the universe.

In a dialogue between Kuśri Vājaśravasa, Suśravas and others, the significance of putting certain objects in certain directions or positions is indicated (see *ŚatBr*, 10.5.5.7 and 10.5.5.10, etc.).

3.5.5. According to *BaudhŚuS* (9.1), one who is desirous of conquering the world of Brahman, he should construct the fire-altar in the shape of a tortoise, this is the accepted tradition. The tortoises are said to be of two types, viz. those with angular limbs (*vakrāṅgas*), and those round ones (*parimaṇḍalas*), the same are the limbs of the fire-altar (*BaudhŚuS*, 9.2).

No part of the tortoise should be eaten, other aquatic beings like fish etc. should also not be eaten. Thus, one who knowing this piles up this *āruṇaketaka* fire, for him the waters and the water-animals become harmless (*TaiĀ*, 1.26.7). This appears to be a root of totemic belief, and the tortoise is held in high esteem.

4.0. *Résumé*

From the foregoing discussion we are led to the following considerations *argumenti causa*:

i. In mythology and ritual the tortoise holds high and divine position, and possesses supernatural powers. Prajāpati, assuming the form of a tortoise, created the universe and also other creatures.

ii. The tortoise becomes incarnation of a divine being Viṣṇu in the post-Vedic mythology.

iii. The cosmogonic myth in many religions and beliefs in the world is closely associated with the tortoise.

iv. In the Vedic rituals the tortoise plays a significant role. In the Agnicayana it is immured alive in the altar. In the Aśvamedha rite the tortoise is one of the animals tied to the sacrificial posts, and it belongs to Heaven and Earth.

In sum, the tortoise is a reptile *par excellence*.

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Kalako-ḍeray, Swāt: 1992-1993 Excavation Report

by GIORGIO STACUL

In summers of 1992 and 1993, further excavations were conducted at Kalako-ḍeray, in the Swāt Valley, in the framework of the Italian Archaeological Mission of IsMEO directed by Dr D. Faccenna. The works follow the previous researches at the same site started from 1989 (Stacul 1993). The team was composed by the author, who directed the field activities, Mr R. Micheli as draftsman and local workers. The CNR contributed to the project. The Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, was represented by Mr Badshah Sardar (1992) and Mr Abdul Nasim (1993).

The works were carried out on the flat top of the Kalako-ḍeray hill, at a height of 1130 m a.s.l. Areas B1, B2 and C were excavated in 1992 and Area B3 in the subsequent year (Fig. 1). The earliest occupation consisted of pit-structures ascribed to Period IV in the Ghālegay sequence (*c.* 18th-15th centuries B.C.). This phase was followed by a long-term gap and by a subsequent occupation dated from Period VII (*c.* 5th-4th centuries B.C.). Stone-walled structures from early historic times have been recorded in the upper deposit.

Areas B1, B2 and B3

Area B1 corresponds to a small trench measuring 4 by 4 metres (Figs. 2-3), while Area B2 and Area B3 are connected between them (16 by 4 m) and extend close to the northern edge of the top (Figs. 4-5).

The stratigraphic and cultural sequence of the lower layers corroborate the evidence from Area B (Stacul 1993: 75-78). The natural soil, consisting of a compact, clayey earth, appears about 4 m below the present surface (4.10-4.35 m below the zero point). Pits from Period IV and Period VII were dug in this deposit. No traces of post-holes suggesting possible wooden roofings have been observed.

A sandy layer, 0.60/0.75 m thick, corresponds to the occupation debris from Period VII. It covers the natural soil. Thin levels of pressed earth, mixed with small fragments of pottery, characterizes the lower part of this deposit. Cavities from Period VIII, such as Pit B13 (Fig. 3) and Pit B16 (Fig. 5), were dug in the sandy layer.

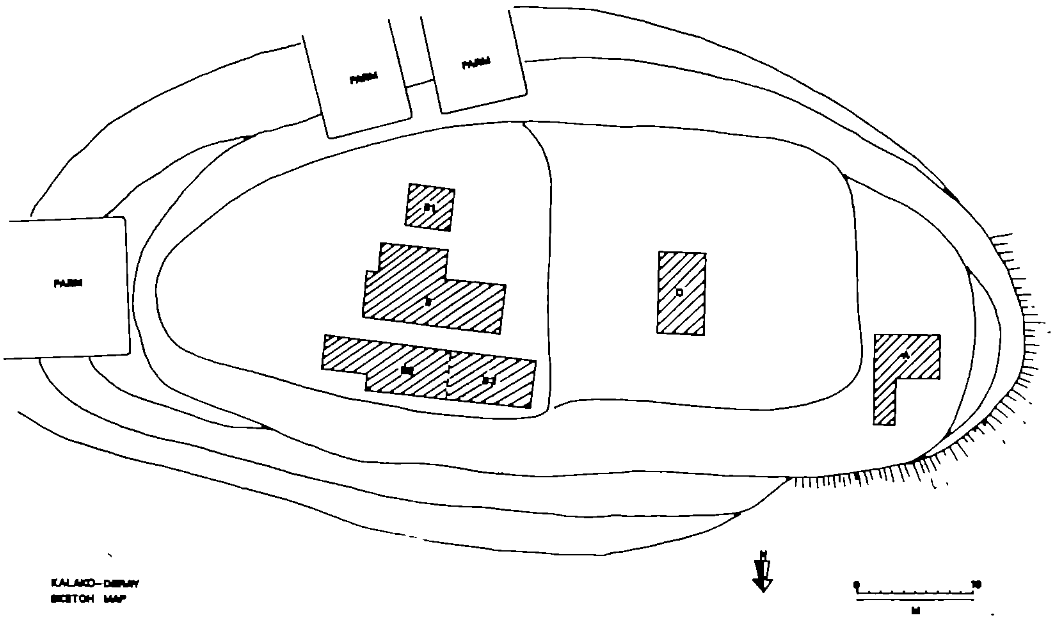


Fig. 1 - Kalako-deray. Sketch map of the excavated areas on the top of the hill.

A charcoal layer, up to 20 cm thick, extends *c.* 11 m in W-E direction in areas B2 and B3, covering the above mentioned features. It suggests fire remains. Occupation debris from Period VIII was recognized above.

Stone-walled structures disturbed by recent works extend in the upper layers of areas B2 and B3. The occupation debris include pottery and other finds dated from early historic times.

a. Period IV

The earliest occupation of the site consists of circular/oval pits dug in the natural soil and dated from Period IV. No traces of occupation debris from the same period was recognized above. Some cavities were disturbed by pits from Period VII. The excavation includes the following structures:

Pit B14. Circular pit (top diam. 2.10 m, bottom diam. 2.35 m), with slightly projected sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.75 m) (Figs. 2, 3, 7). The fill consists of loose grey earth and few scattered charcoal remains. Fragments of daub with reed impressions on one side have been found in the lower deposit. A stone axe (KL 313: Figs. 9d, 11), a bone point (KL 314) and a large part of a bowl (Fig. 9o) were found lying at the bottom level. The cavity was cut by Pit B11 and Pit B12.

Pit B17. It is an irregular-oval pit (main axis 2.70 m), with marked sloping sides and round bottom (depth 1.45 m) (Fig. 5). The filling consists of loose grey earth with thin levels of scattered charcoal remains and ashes. The finds include a rectangular-shaped sickle with double perforation (KL 345: Figs. 9b, 12), a stone axe-hammer (KL 346: Figs. 9e, 11), a stone pear-shaped hammer (KL 347: Fig. 9f), three spherical stone balls (KL 349, 350, 351), two grinding slabs (KL 355, 356), a grey vessel (KL 352: Figs. 9l, 15) and scattered faunal remains. Two clay animal figurines representing the humped bull (KL 353, 354: Figs. 9a, 17), sealed by a level of pressed earth, were recovered at the bottom of the cavity.

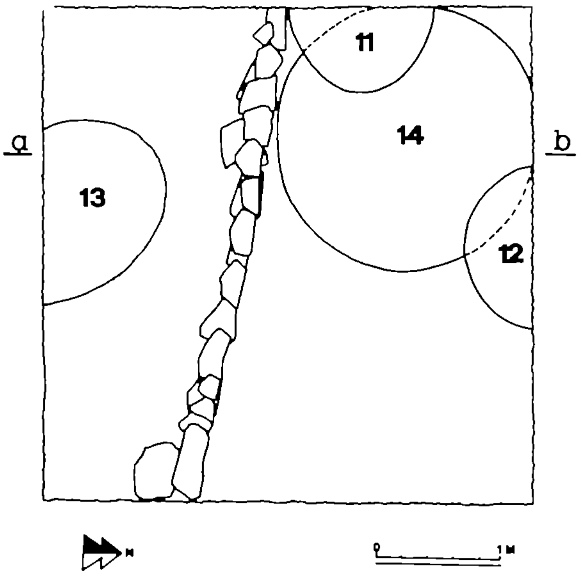


Fig. 2 - Kalako-ḍeray. Plan of Area B1.

Pit B18. Circular pit (diam. 2.30 m) with sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 1.40 m). The filling is a loose grey earth including small stones and fragments of clay daub with reed or stake impressions on one side. A hammer-axe (KL 358: Fig. 11), a rectangular stone sickle or saw (KL 359: Figs. 9c, 13), a grinding slab (KL 365: Fig. 10e) and a mortar (KL 357) were found in the lower deposit. The pottery is represented by a bowl with flared sides (KL 360), a small jar (KL 361), two vessels or bottle-like forms (KL 362, 363: Figs. 9k, m, 15), a basin (KL 375) and a miniature hand-made pot (KL 364). Scattered faunal remains have been also recorded.

Pit B19. A stone-walled structure separates this cavity from Pit B18 (Fig. 4). The pit was only in part excavated. The filling is a loose grey earth and small stones. The recovered finds include two grinding slabs (KL 366, 369: Fig. 10g), two bone points (KL 367, 374: Fig. 9i), a terracotta spindle-whorl (KL 368) and some potsherds. The bottom is flat (depth 1.25 m).

Pit B20. It is an oval cavity (main axis 1.90 m) with a step or bench on one side (Fig. 4). Slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.85 m). The filling is a loose earth with thin levels of ashes and charcoal remains. Two grinding slabs (KL 376, 389: Fig. 10f), potsherds and scattered faunal remains have been found at the bottom level.

Pit B21. It is an almost circular cavity (diam. 2 m), which was only in part excavated. The fill consists of loose earth and a lens of ashes close to the flat bottom level (depth 0.95 m). A grinding slab (KL 377), a stone ball (KL 378) and potsherds have been recovered.

Pit B22. It is a circular pit (diam. 1.40 m) with slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.60 m). The filling consists of loose grey earth, two stone axes (KL 385, 386) and potsherds.

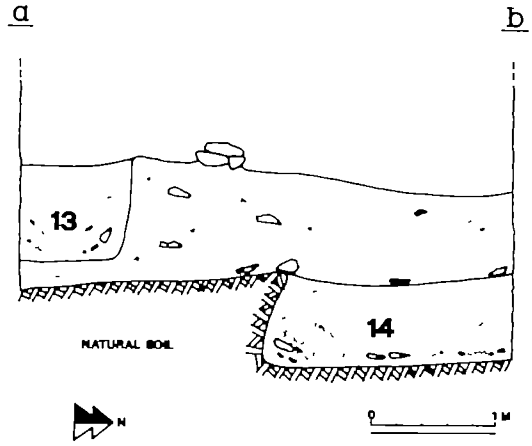


Fig. 3 - Kalako-deray. Section of Area B1.

Pit B23. Circular or oval cavity only in part excavated. A stone axe (KL 401), a stone holed object (KL 402: Fig. 9j) and a stone ball (KL 403) have been recovered at the bottom (depth 0.55 m).

Pit B24. It is a circular cavity (diam. 1.15 m) with almost vertical sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.80 m). The filling consists of loose grey earth and small stones. A stone axe-hammer (KL 396), a bone point (KL 397) and potsherds have been recovered in the lower deposit.

Pit B25. Circular pit (diam. 1.50 m) with slightly sloping sides and an almost flat bottom (depth 1.15 m). The filling is a loose dark earth. Two grinding slabs (KL 407, 411), two grinders (KL 408, 409) and a stone spherical ball (KL 410) have been recovered.

Pit B26. It is a small, oval cavity (main axis 0.60 m; depth 0.35 m), containing a large mortar and only few potsherds.

b. Periods VII and VIII

Occupation debris from Period VII have been located in the sandy layer covering the natural soil, while Period VIII was recorded above. Pits from Period VII were dug in the natural deposit and some of such features intersected cavities from Period IV. Conversely, the pits from Period VIII were entirely dug in the sandy layer (Figs. 3, 5). On the whole, the following structures have been located.

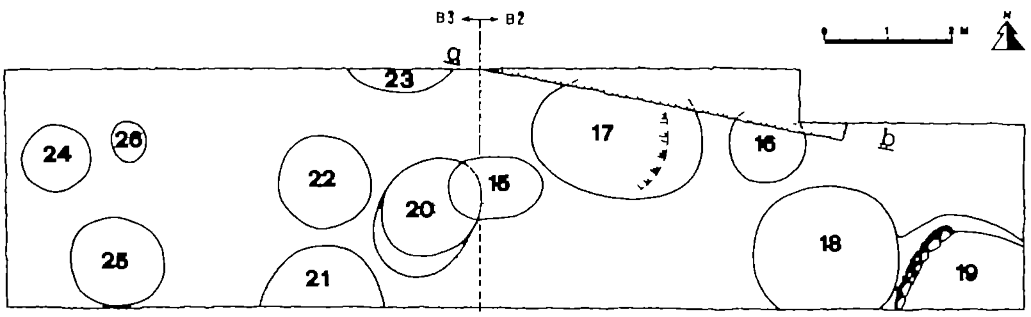


Fig. 4 - Kalako-deray. Plan of areas B2 and B3

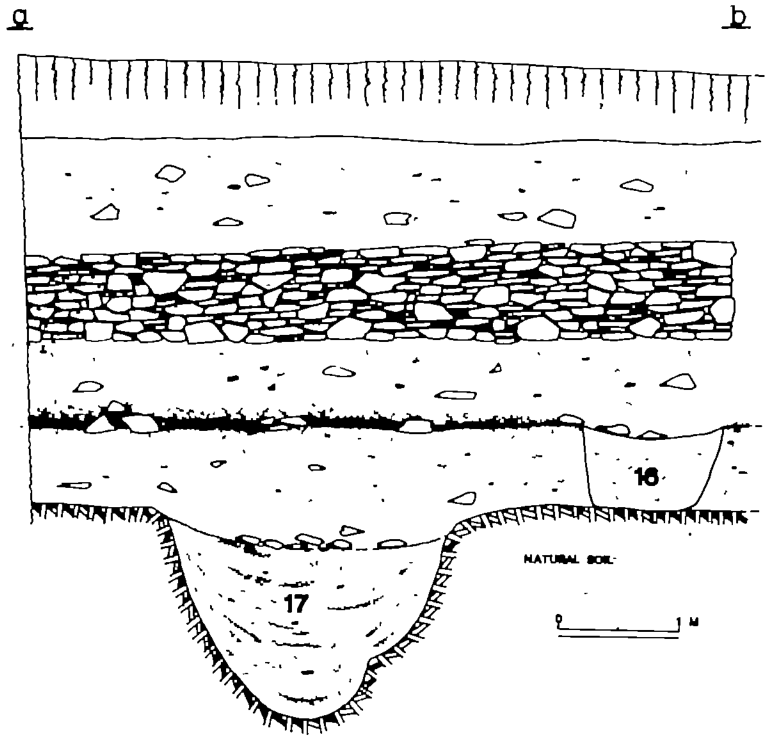


Fig. 5 - Kalako-ḍeray. Section of Area B2.

Pit B11. The pit, oval (?) in plan, was only in part excavated. The sides are almost vertical and the bottom is flat (depth 0.90 m). The filling, consisting of loose grey earth, includes a stone spindle-whorl (KL 309), two terracotta spindle-whorls (KL 343, 344) and potsherds ascribed to Period VII. The cavity marginally cuts Pit B14.

Pit B12. Circular pit (diam. 1.15 m) with slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.65 m). The filling is a loose grey earth and includes a bone arrow-head (KL 312: Fig. 24a) and potsherds ascribed to Period VIII. The cavity has marginally cut Pit B14 (Fig. 2).

Pit B13. It is an oval-shaped cavity with slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.95 m) (Figs. 2, 3). The filling consists of loose earth and small stones. Potsherds ascribed to Period VIII have been also found.

Pit B15. Oval cavity (main axis 1.40 m) with slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.70 m). The filling consists of loose earth including two pedestalled beakers (KL 337, 338: Figs. 18k, l, 19), three stone spindle-whorls (KL 339, 340, 341), a terracotta spindle-whorl (KL 342) and potsherds. The assemblage is dated to Period VII.

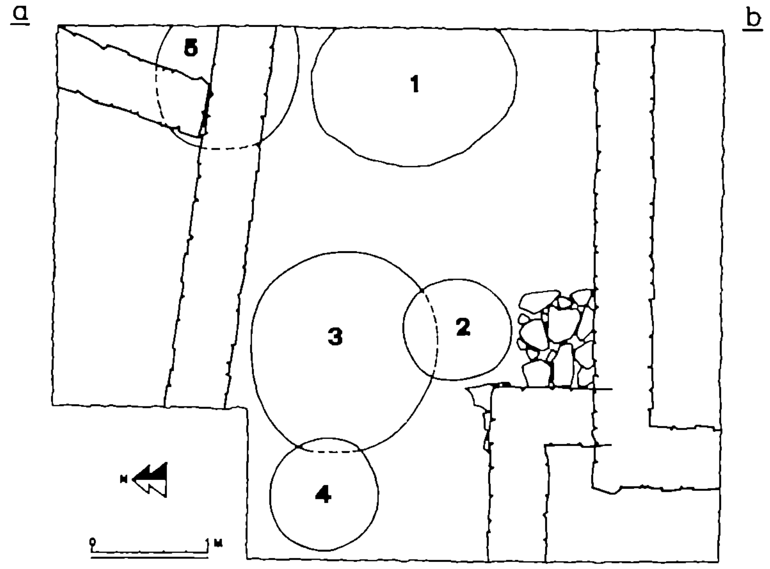


Fig. 6 - Kalako-ḍeray.
Plan of Area C.

Pit B16. It is a circular pit (diam. 1.20 m), with slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.60 m) (Fig. 5). The filling consists of loose earth. An iron axe (KL 333: Fig. 24f), a stone spindle-whorl (KL 336) and fragments of a bowl (Fig. 24h) have been recovered at the bottom. The complex is dated to Period VIII.

c. Upper layers

The upper layers were in large part disturbed by recent works performed by local farmers. A large stone-walled structure made from schist slabs and pebbles extends close to the northern edge of the top-hill (Fig. 5). Pottery and other finds ascribed to early historic times have been recorded.

Area C

It is a rather small trench, measuring 5.70 by 4.50 metres (Fig. 6). The structural remains consist of pits dug in the natural soil and stone-walled structures from the upper layers.

a. Period VII

The following pits, dug in the natural soil, were excavated:

Pit C1. Oval pit (main axis 1.55 m) with slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.90 m). The filling consists of loose grey earth and small stones. Four miniature pots (KL 315, 316, 317, 318), a terracotta spindle-whorl (KL 319) and fragments of a jar (Fig. 18p) have been recovered in the lower deposit.

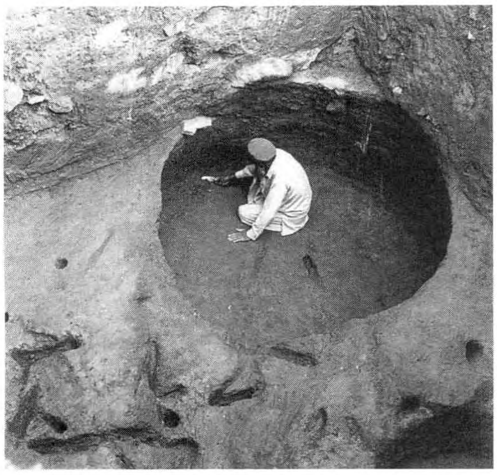
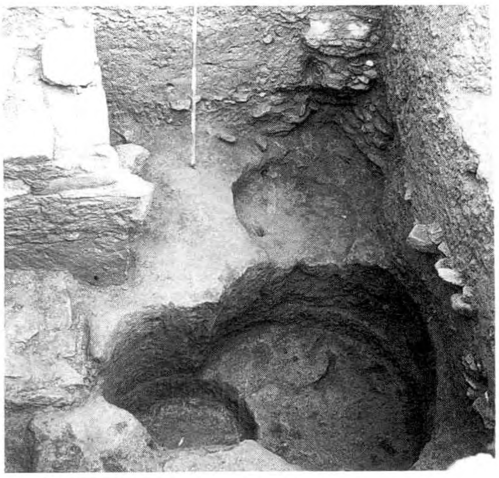



Fig. 7 - Kalako-ḍeray. Pit B14 during the excavation. (Neg. Dep. R. 17745/4).

Fig. 8 - Kalako-ḍeray. Area C: pits C2, C3 and C4 at the end of the excavation. View from the eastern side. (Neg. Dep. R. 17742/7).

Pit C2. Circular pit (diam. 0.78 m) with almost vertical sides and a flat bottom (depth 1.35 m). The filling is a loose earth including two biconical pots (KL 320, 321: Figs. 18a, g) and three miniature forms (KL 322, 323, 324: Figs. 18c, f). A pair of muntjak horns was found at the bottom level. The cavity has marginally cut Pit C3 (Fig. 8).

Pit C3. It is an oval pit (main axis 1.70 m) with sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 1.05 m). Part of the cavity has been cut by Pit C2 (Fig. 8). The filling consists of loose earth and scattered charcoal remains. Two pedestalled beakers (KL 325, 326: Figs. 18d, e), a fragment of an incised form (Fig. 18i), part of an almost hemispherical bowl (Fig. 18h) and part of a carinated bowl (Fig. 18j) have been recovered in the lower deposit. Two terracotta spindle-whorls (KL 329, 330) and a stone ball have been found at the bottom level.

Pit C4. It is a very shallow pit (diam. 0.80 m; depth 0.30 m) (Fig. 8). The fill consists of loose earth and few small potsherds.

Pit C5. Oval pit with slightly sloping sides and a flat bottom (depth 0.90 m). The filling consists of loose grey earth and potsherds. The cavity was only in part excavated.

b. Upper layers

Stone-walled structures and paved floor-levels, made from schist slabs and pebbles, have been mapped in the upper layers. The recovered pottery (Fig. 24k-o) dates from early historic times.

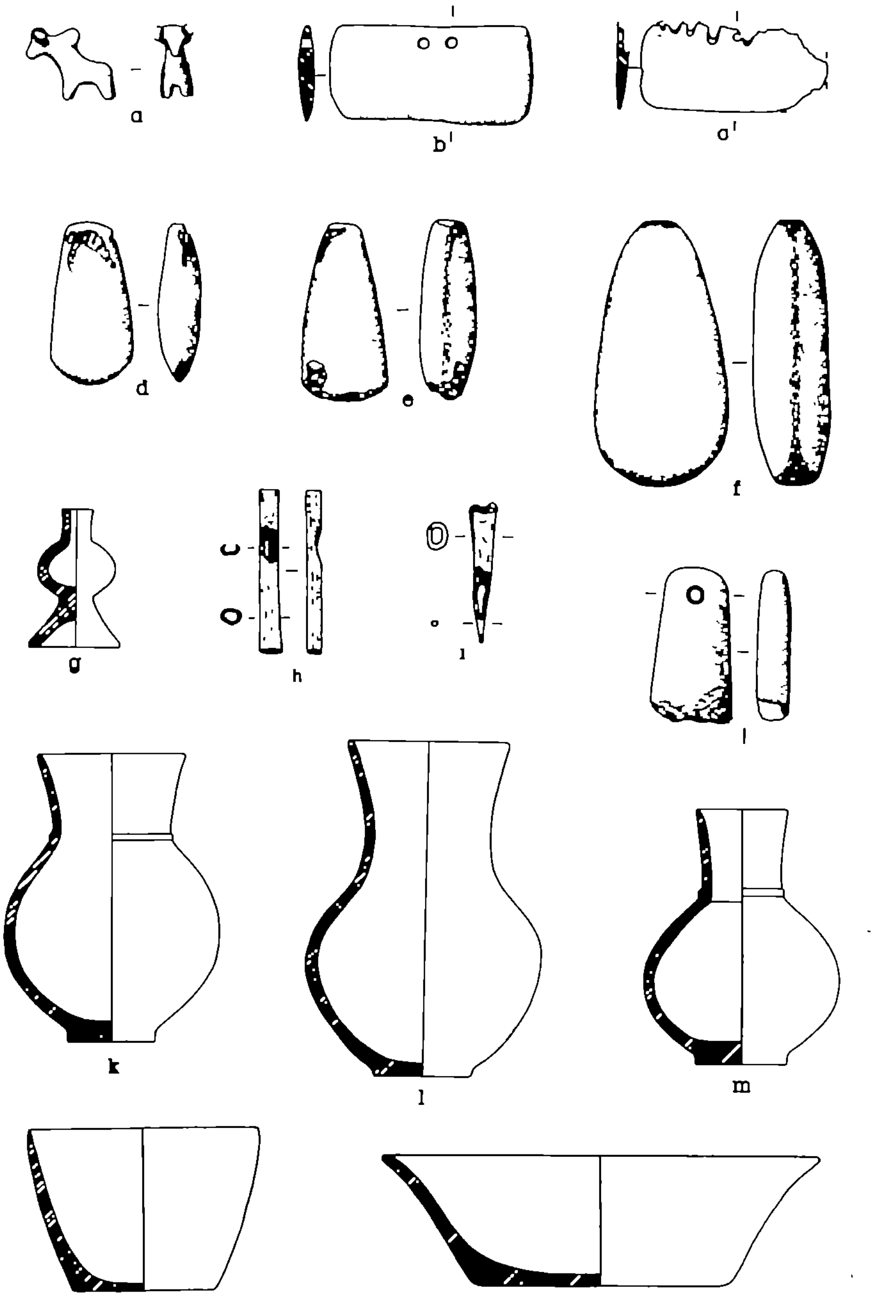


Fig. 9 - Kalako-ḍeray. Period IV. Clay figurine: a; stone objects: b-f, j; bone: h, i; pottery: g, k-o. a: KL 353 (= Fig. 17); b: KL 345 (= Fig. 12); c: KL 359 (= Fig. 13); d: KL 313 (= Fig. 11, from the left); e: KL 346 (= Fig. 11, to the right); f: KL 347; g: KL 364 (= Fig. 14); i: KL 367; j: KL 402; k: KL 363 (= Fig. 15, to the right); l: KL 352 (= Fig. 15, in the middle); m: KL 362 (= Fig. 15, to the left); n: KL 360. Scale = 1:4.

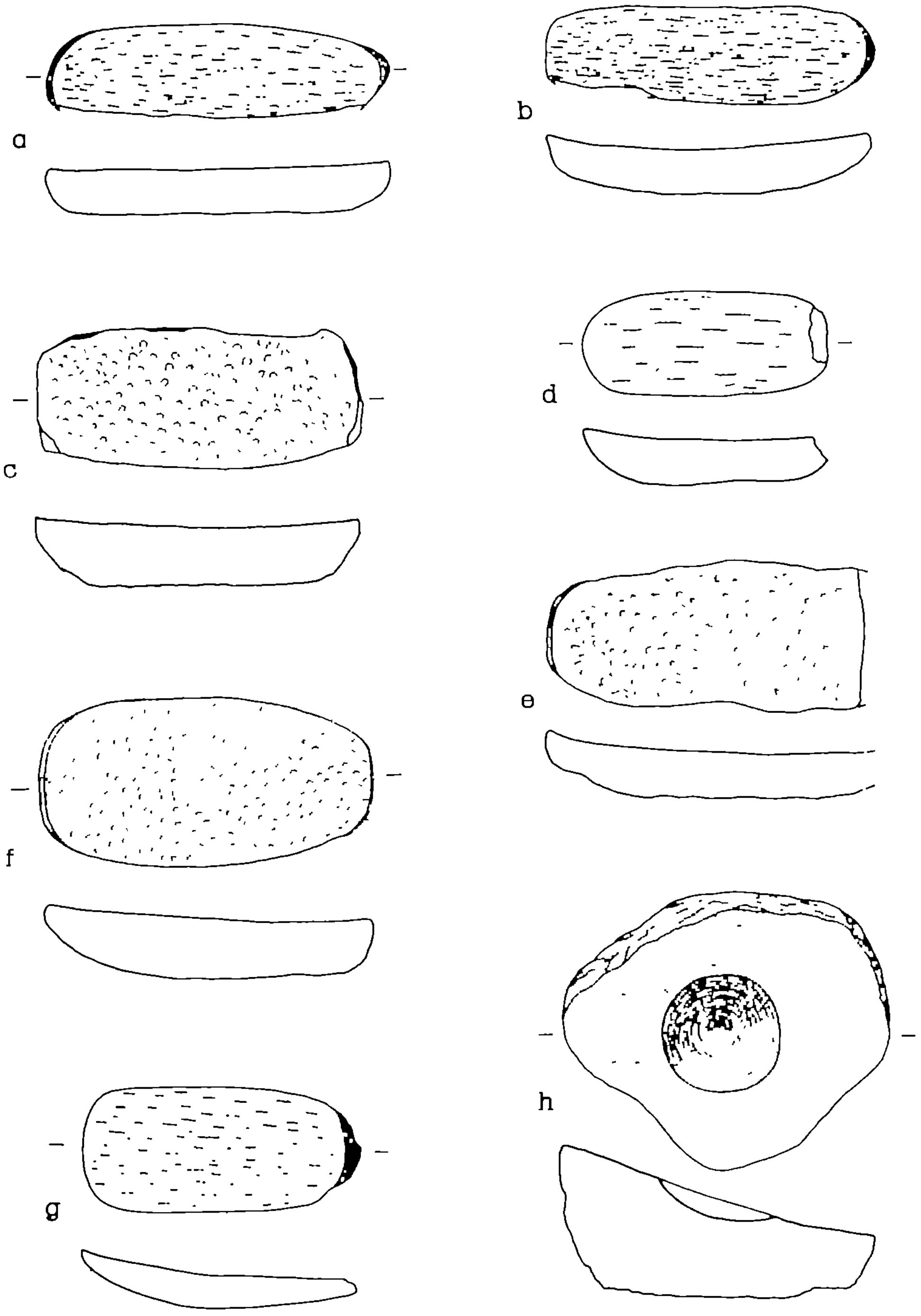


Fig. 10 - Kalako-deray. Heavy stone artefacts from Period IV (including finds from the 1989/91 excavations). Pit B7: a-d, h; Pit B18: e; Pit B19: g; Pit B20: f. a: KL 240 (length 35 cm); b: KL 241 (length 34 cm); c: KL 242 (length 25.5 cm); d: KL 249 (length 32 cm); e: KL 365 (length 34 cm); f: KL 389 (length 37 cm); g: KL 366 (length 28 cm); h: KL 291 (length 43 cm).

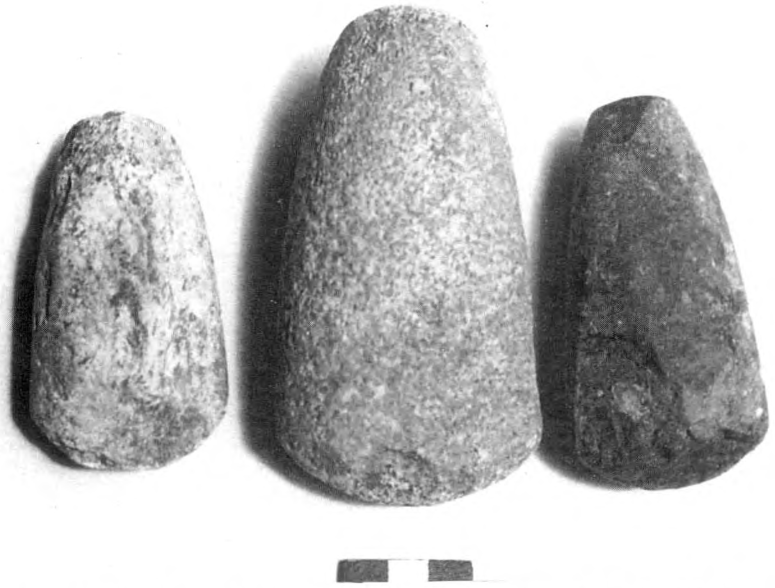


Fig. 11 - Kalako-ḍeray. Stone artefacts from Period IV. From the left: KL 313 (= Fig. 9d); KL 358; KL 346 (= Fig. 9e). (Neg. Dep. R. 17747/10).

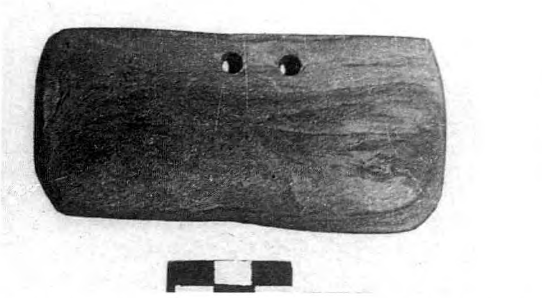
Finds

The finds with inventory nos. KL 305 to KL 314 were recovered in Area B1; nos. 315 to 332 from Area C; nos. 333 to 375 from Area B2; nos. 376 to 418 from Area A3. The items are filed by the Swāt Museum of Saidu Sharif, Swāt.

a. Period IV

Pottery. As in the previous excavations at this site, the largest part of the pottery from Period IV consists of gritty-brown ware and black-grey burnished ware. Only a few potsherds of plain red and black-on-red painted wares have been found. Usual shapes are the gritty-brown jars with rippled rim and wattle impressions on the base; the burnished high-necked vessels or bottles (Figs. 9l, m, n, 15), and the large bowls with flared sides (Fig. 9p). A tiny burnished bottle-like vase with a cylindric neck also occurs (Figs. 9g, 16).

Stone artefacts. The inventory includes a rectangular holed sickle with a double perforation (Figs. 9b, 12), and a similar item, with a single perforation, which was re-used as a saw (Figs. 9c, 13). Further ground tools consist of polished axes made from granite (Figs. 9d, e, 11), a granite hammer-axe with a flat body (Fig. 9f) and a fragment of a holed polished object (Fig. 9j). Nine grinding slabs, mostly made from schist, and three mortars represent the heavy stone artefacts.



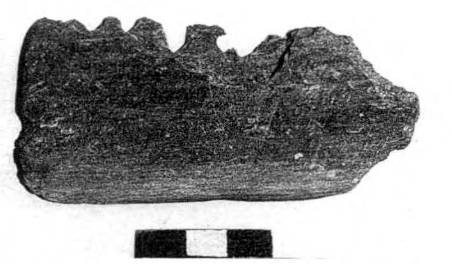


Fig. 12 - Kalako-ḍeray. Period IV. Stone artefact KL 345 (= Fig. 9d). (Neg. Dep. R. 17747/6).

Fig. 13 - Kalako-ḍeray. Period IV. Stone artefact KL 359 (= Fig. 9c). (Neg. Dep. R. 17747/1).

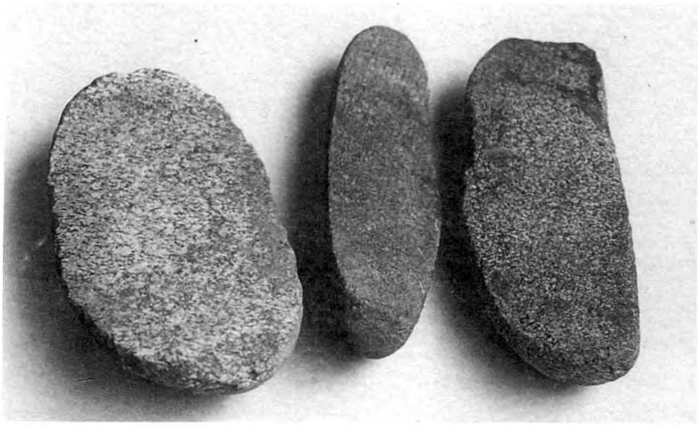


Fig. 14 - Kalako-ḍeray. Period IV. Stone grinding slabs KL 412, 392, 376 (from the left). Length: 33, 32, 30 cm. (Neg. Dep. R. 17845/9).

Clay figurines. Two examples of humped bulls in fired clay have been found at the bottom of Pit B17. They are shaped in a roughly naturalistic style (Figs. 9a, 17), reminiscent of similar figurines from Loebanr 3 (Stacul 1987: pl. XLVIa).

Bone artefacts. As already noted, the introduction of the copper metallurgy led to the end or reduction of the bone industry. Some points (Fig. 9i) and a holed pipe (Fig. 9h) are included here.

b. Periods VII and VIII

Pottery. Red and grey wares are turned with a slow wheel, apart from a few examples made with a fast wheel. Some forms exhibit very carefully polished surfaces. Peculiar shapes from Period VII are the biconical beakers and vessels with flared rim

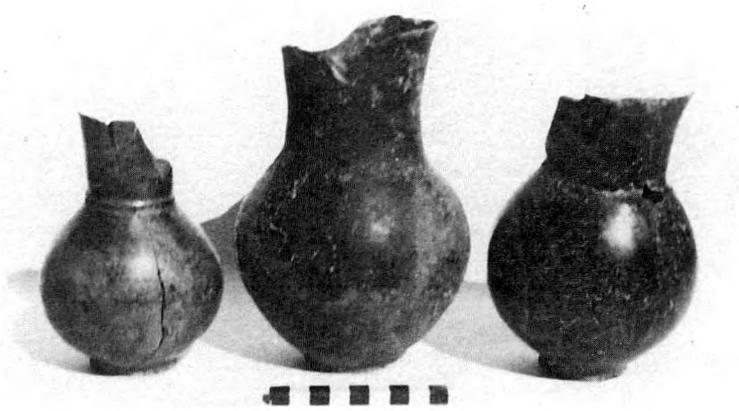
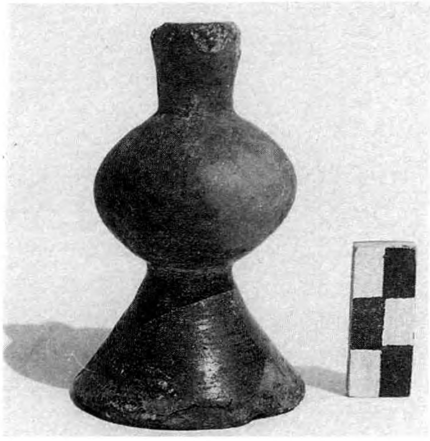


Fig. 15 - Kalako-ḍeray. Grey ware from Period IV. From the left: KL 362 (= Fig. 9m); KL 352 (= Fig. 9l); KL 363 (= Fig. 9k). (Neg. Dep. R. 17748/5).



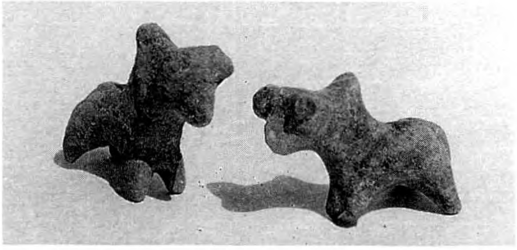


Fig. 17 - Kalako-ḍeray. Clay figurines from Period IV. From the left: KL 353 (= Fig. 9a); KL 354. (Neg. Dep. R. 17749/11).

Fig. 16 - Kalako-ḍeray. Grey ware from Period IV, KL 364. (Inv. Dep. R. 17748/9).

(Fig. 18a, g, m, n, o), the pedestalled beakers (Figs. 18e, k, l, 19), the carinated bowls with incurved sides (Fig. 18j), and the very large club-rimmed storage jars (Figs. 18p, 20). The top of a massive jar with double flanged shoulder is also included (Fig. 21). Grooved and cordoned decorations usually occur, although impressed rosettes (Fig. 18c) and incised horizontal rows of triangles (Fig. 18j, k) have been also recorded.

Carinated dishes (Fig. 24c, d) and carinated bowls with everted rim (Fig. 24g, j), both with polished surfaces, characterized large part of the pottery from Period VIII. The same assemblage also includes a handled jar with narrow and grooved neck (Fig. 24h).

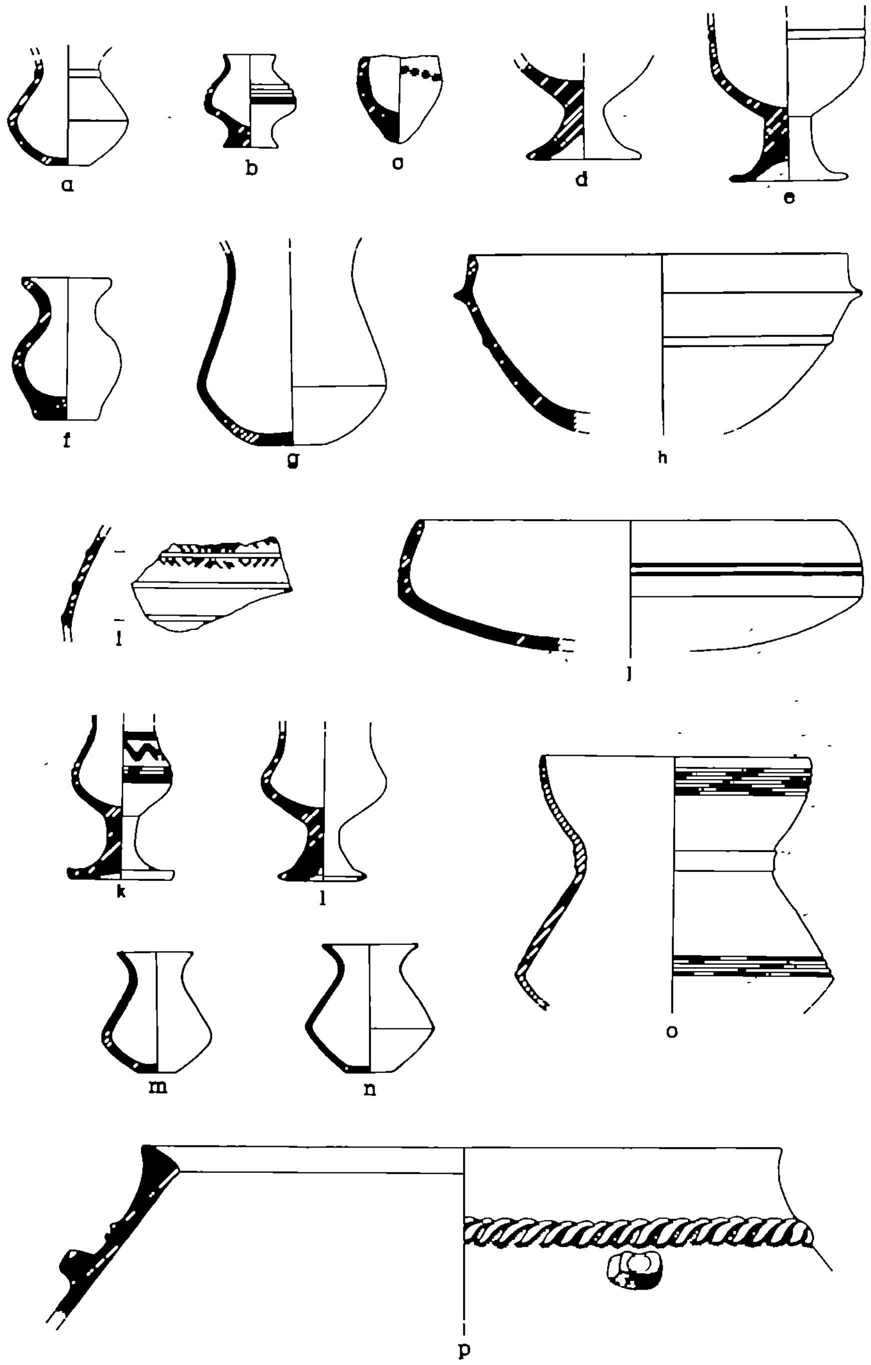
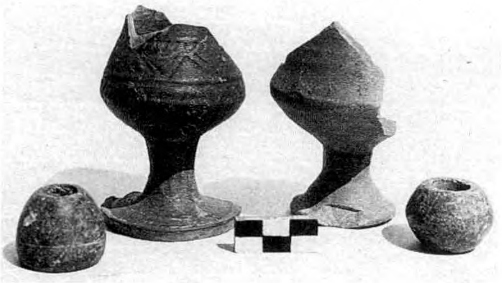


Fig. 18 - Kalako-ḍeray. Pottery from Period VII. Pit C1: b; Pit C2: a, c, f, g; Pit C3: d, e, h, i, j. Red ware: b, c, f-h, n-p. Grey ware: a, d, e, i, k, m. a: KL 321; b: KL 315; c: KL 323; d: KL 325; e: KL 326; f: KL 322; g: KL 320; k: KL 337 (= Fig. 19, in the middle); l: KL 338 (= Fig. 19, in the middle), m: KL 393; n: KL 381. Scale 1:4.



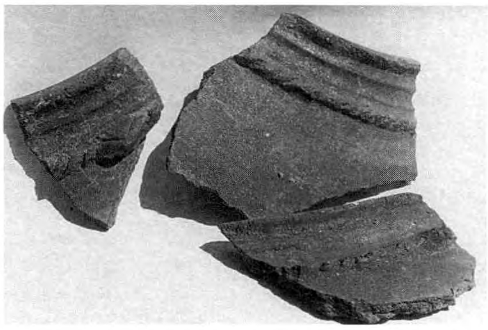
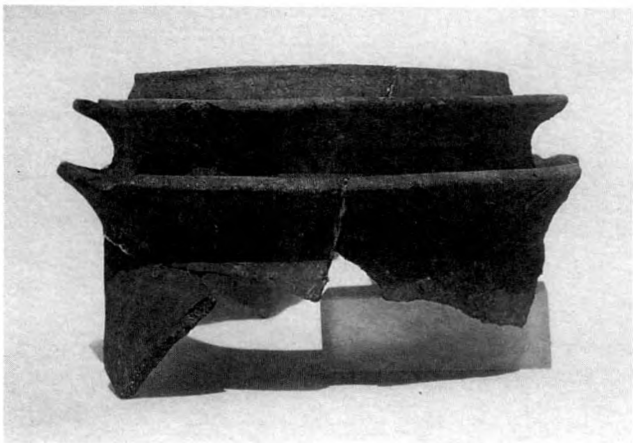


Fig. 19 - Kalako-ḍeray. Period VII. From the left: stone spindle-whorl KL 339; grey beaker KL 337; red beaker KL 338; terracotta spindle-whorl KL 342. (Neg. Dep. R. 17749/10).

Fig. 20 - Kalako-ḍeray. Period VII. Fragments of a red jar. (Neg. Dep. R. 17843/7).



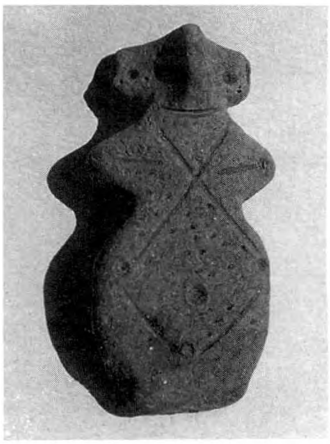


Fig. 21 - Kalako-ḍeray. Period VII. Top of a red jar, KL 382. (Neg. Dep. R. 17876/2).

Fig. 22 - Kalako-ḍeray. Terracotta figurine from Period VII, KL 384 (= Fig. 23a). (Neg. Dep. R. 17875/2).

Stone spindle-whorls. Beehive-shaped examples made from green schist, with plain, polished surfaces, occur in layers from Period VII (Fig. 19, to the left), while Period VIII is featured by whorls with convex sides decorated with incised motifs (Fig. 24b).

Clay and terracotta figurines. Two human figurines from Period VII exhibit a flat body, a prominent nose and incised or perforated eyes and ears. The terracotta specimen is well-preserved (Figs. 22, 23a). It is featured by a violin-shaped body, an incised crossed belt (?) on the breast, a pointed necklace and an impressed rosette symbolizing the sex. The specimen made from fired clay is only in part preserved

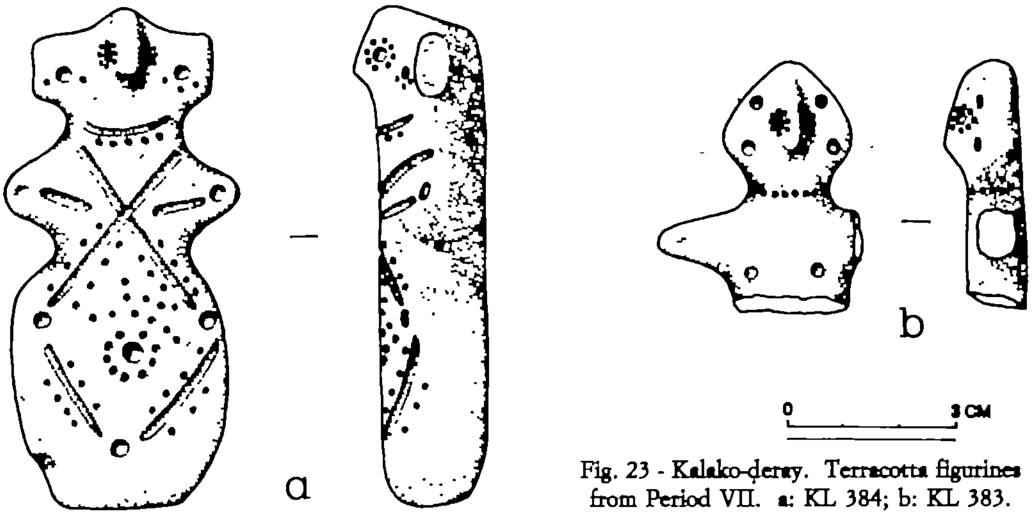


Fig. 23 - Kalako-ḍeray. Terracotta figurines from Period VII. a: KL 384; b: KL 383.

(Fig. 23b). It is fashioned by incised eyes and perforated ears, suggesting a similar example from Loebanr I, grave no. 135 (Silvi Antonini & Stacul 1972: pl. LIa, b).

Iron. A holed iron axe with convex cutting edge (Fig. 24g) was found from a layer of Period VIII.

c. Upper layers

Pottery. The pottery mostly consists of wheel-turned red ware with grooved decorations. Large roll-rimmed, club-rimmed and flange-rimmed bowls and storage jars are included (Fig. 24l-o). A bowl set on pedestal was also found (Fig. 24k).

Terracotta spindle-whorls. Grey and reddish specimens are featured by a rather small, sub-spherical body.

Observations

1. The structural remains from Period IV consist of pits dug in the natural soil. No occupation debris from the same period has been located above. Conversely, levels and structures from Period VII cover the natural soil and seal the cavities. As a consequence, the stratigraphy of the site suggests some considerations, such as:

a) The occupation debris from Period IV, connected with the pits, was eroded by natural agents.

b) The same debris was removed owing to the occupation from Period VII, in order to level the ground or according to ideological reasons. The well-preserved pots and objects from Period IV recovered at the foot of the hill (Stacul 1993: 69-71), support this assumption.

2. Pit-structures from Period IV, such as pits B5, B7, B17, B18 and B19, consist of comparatively large and deep cavities, rich of pottery, stone artefacts and other finds. They are mostly located in the middle of the hilltop or close to the northern edge. Other pits from the same period, defined in surrounding or peripheral areas, are rather small or shallow in shape and include only few finds.

3. In spite of the lack of well-defined post-holes, the use of wooden roofings covering some cavities is suggested by several fragments of daub, with wattle impressions on one side, from Pit B14 and Pit B18.

4. Grinding slabs (36 examples in total), mortars (7) and holed sickles (13), emphasize the importance of the agricultural activities at Kalako-ḍeray during Period IV. A double-holed sickle, suggesting similar items from Kashmir (Thapar 1985: fig. 14), was recovered for the first time at this site in Swāt (Figs. 9b, 12).

5. Two clay figurines representing the humped bull have been found below a clayey floor-level at the bottom of Pit B17 (Figs. 9a, 17). Previously, six well-preserved miniature pots and a fine black-burnished bottle were recovered below a paved floor-level at the bottom of Pit B7 (Stacul 1993: figs. 13, 15). These singular findings suggest a symbolic or ritual significance of such depositions.

6. The fine, decorated pottery from pits B15 and C2, in addition to the forniture from Pit B4 (Stacul 1993: 56), represents a very selected ware with respect to the assemblage from other cavities of Period VII. Moreover, the recovery of a pair of muntjak horns from the bottom of Pit C2 (a cavity less than 0.80 m wide, where no further faunal remains were found), at its turn is worthy of mention. In fact similar evidence suggests a possible non-utilitarian (ritual?) purpose of these pits.

7. The top of a very large jar from Period VII (Fig. 21), may in part be compared with a shape from Butkara II, grave no. 17 (Silvi Antonini & Stacul 1972: II, pl. XLIIIb). Both are expression of new ceramic forms with respect to the previous periods.

8. Of course the archaeological assemblage of Kalako-ḍeray Period VII exhibits close similarities with the furnishing of the late protohistoric graves from Swāt and surrounding areas (Stacul 1966: 74, 75; Dani 1967: 133-43; Silvi Antonini & Stacul 1972: II, pls. CXLV, CXLVI, CCXXXV, CCXXXVI, CCLV). However, in contrast to the evidence from the main Valley, suggesting a process of integration and fusion, at Kalako-ḍeray Period VII represents a new occupation of the site, as was already stated at Loebanr II (*EW*, 30, 1980: 295) and at different sites in Buner (Stacul 1967). These evidence supports the assumption that Period VII was expression of a new episode in the cultural development of this area. The spread of the iron metallurgy, the appearance of pots with lugs and handles, the flat-shaped human figurines with holed eyes and ears, the stone beehive-shaped spindle-whorls, etc., are suggestive of deep stylistic and cultural changes in the country (on the subject see also Vogelsang 1988: 110).

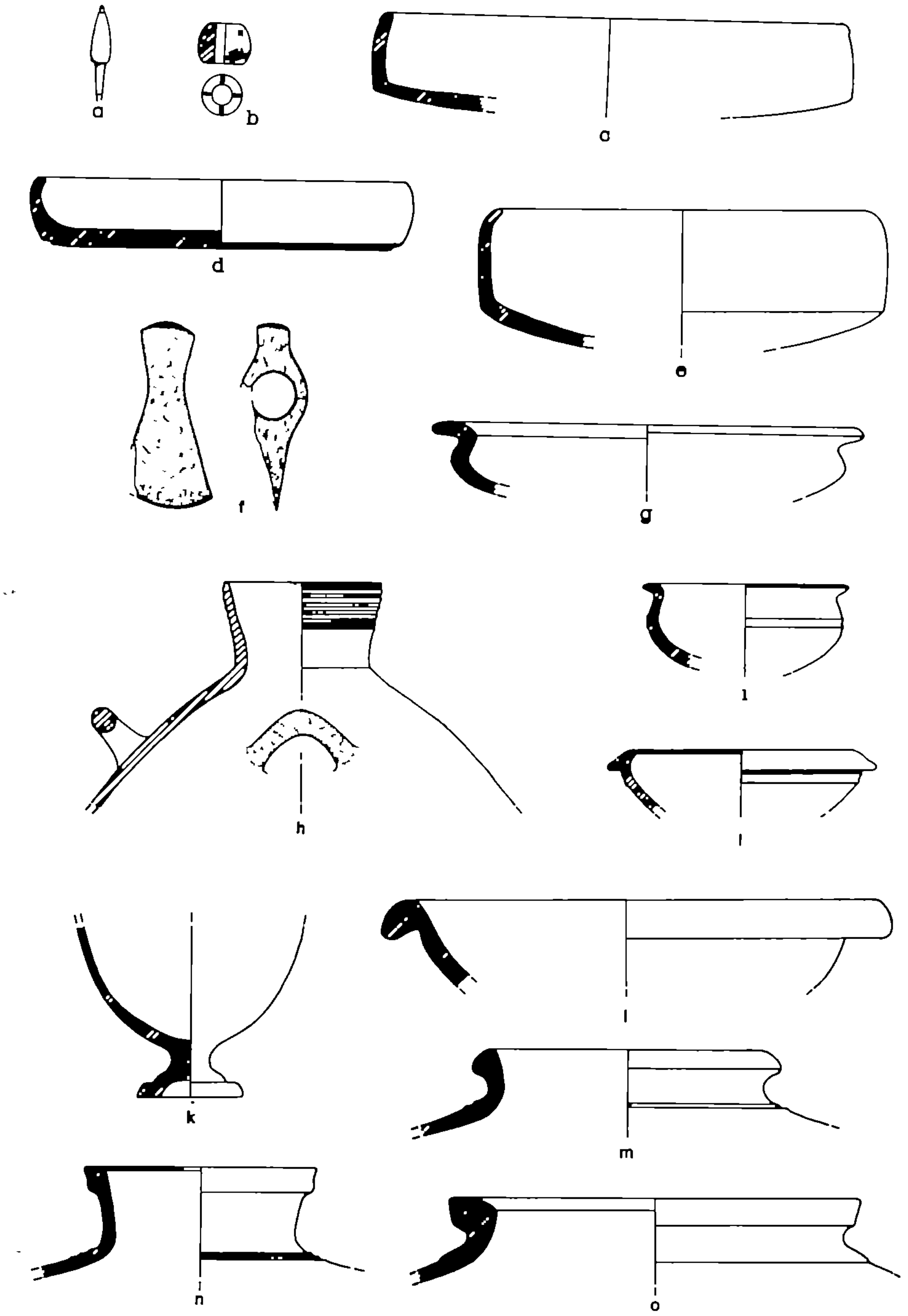


Fig. 24 - Kalako-ḍeray. Period VIII: a-j; upper layers, Area C: k-o. Bone: a; stone: b; iron: g; pottery, red ware: c-f, h-o. Pit B12: a; Pit B16: g, h. a: KL 312; b: KL 336; f: KL 333. Scale 1:4.

9. Apart from the disappearance of some ceramic forms, and the increase of the machine-made ware, a gradual evolution characterises the archaeological assemblage from Period VII to Period VIII. However no graves from Period VIII have been as yet located in the Swāt Valley. This means that the deep stylistic and technological changes which took place around the mid-1st millennium B.C. were very probably expression of wide innovations including the ideological sphere and the burial customs as well.

10. In early historic times (early Kushan?) the hill-top turned into a hill-fort. At Kalako-ḍeray this change is suggested by the very thick stone-walled structure running along the edge of areas B2 and B3, close to the steep slope of the hill.

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The First Sermon

by PATRICIA EICHENBAUM KARETZKY

The First Sermon is one of the four most important events in the life of the Buddha. It represents the first time Buddha Gautama shared his hard won knowledge with mankind. Despite its prominence, the story of First Sermon is fraught with inconsistencies and contradictions which have been largely ignored. This paper seeks to both demonstrate that it was late in evolving and to analyse its creation using the scriptural and artistic traditions. However, it is not within the scope of this paper to offer a detailed study of the theological content of the First Sermon.

Unlike the sacred locale of the Bodhi tree, today's pilgrim is no longer able to identify the exact spot where the First Sermon took place. Doubt about the veracity of the legend was first raised by the venerable Foucher who questioned the considerable distance, 150 miles, between the sites of the Enlightenment, Bodh Gaya, and that of the First Sermon, the city of Benares (1). Located near the sacred river Ganges, Benares (the modern Varanasi, the ancient Kāśī), was a most appropriate place for the Buddha to convert his first followers. Sanctified for centuries by religious eremitic practices, it was, since antiquity, one of the holiest cities; amidst its lushly wooded forests ascetics lived in reclusion (2). Although the Mauryan King Aśoka, in his pilgrimage to the sites important in the life of the Buddha, erected a column at Benares, it is not recorded whether this was to commemorate the First Sermon, or merely one of the many places where the Buddha visited and preached. It lacks an inscribed edict like the one found at Lumbini which commemorated the place of the Buddha's birth (3). The location of the First Sermon was barely mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Xian in the 400 A.D. in the account of his pilgrimage to India (4) and by the time that Xuan Zang visited it in the 7th century, it was relatively deserted with only a small community of Hinayana monks. Xuan Zang described the Asokan column and a much later statue of the Buddha (5).

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(1) A Foucher, *The Life of the Buddha*, transl. S. Boas, Wesleyan, Conn. 1963, p. 136.

(2) D.L. Eck, *Benares* (Princeton, 1982), p. 57.

(3) 'When King Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped [this spot] because Sakyamuni was born here. He caused to be made a stone bearing a [horse] [?] and caused a stone pillar to be set up [in order to show] that the Blessed One was born here, [he] made the village of Lumbini free of taxes and also the recipient of the [king's] share of produce'. S. Lad, *The Way of the Buddha*, India, 1956, p. 119.

(4) S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London 1888, repr. 1968, p. lxviii.

The story of the First Sermon appeared late in the sutras. Thomas, in his study of the life of the Buddha, pointed out that although the Pali canon ends with the First Sermon, in his opinion, it evolved considerably later (6). The earliest of the Chinese scriptures to tell the story of the life of the Buddha, the *Xuxing benji jing*, translated in 197, ends with the Enlightenment and excludes the First Sermon altogether (7). The *Taizu ruiying benqi jing*, translated in the second quarter of the 3rd century, the first of the Chinese scriptures to narrate the event, treats it in a cursory and confused way (8). Both the *Mahavagga* of the Pali Canon and the *Guoqu Xianzai Yinquo Jing* translated in 420-479 (9) have an extended narrative cycle of the events of the First Sermon. Compared to the narratives of the Enlightenment, scriptural versions of the First Sermon in both the Pali Canon and the Chinese translations vary and abound in disparities. Among the anomalies is the fact that at first the Buddha had no interest in preaching, but importuned by the gods, finally acquiesced. Secondly there is a long passage describing the Buddha's consideration of who was most worthy to hear the sermon. He contemplates the various sages he encountered in his years of asceticism, and in each case he is informed by angelic voices that they are already dead.

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(5) *Ibid.*, p. 45. Xuan Zang wrote of the city with thirty ***sangharamas*** and 3000 priests of the Hīnayāna school, a *stūpa* and column erected by Aśoka as well as a *vihāra* or temple inside of which was a large copper statue of the Buddha in the act of Turning the Wheel to mark the spot of the First Sermon. At present the Museum of Sarnath houses an Aśokan lion capital, presumably of the column described by Xuan Zang, which is now lacking both the 60 foot support and crowning element of the wheel. The capital itself is a very complex symbolic representation of time and space — the four seasons and four directions. The statue is seated and in *dharmacakramudrā*.

(6) E.J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, London 1927, p. 84: the canon ends with the First Sermon, but the life story continues in *Mahaparinibbanasutta*. The *Vinaya* version he believes evolved late, p. 86, 'In other words the legend of the first sermon had not yet originated'.

(7) *XBJ*, no. 184.

(8) *TRBJ*, p. 480: 'The Buddha already [knew] Brahma was thinking about who would be the first to cross. [He thought]: "Formerly my father, the king, sent five men to wait on me, who are now in the mountains". So he returned on the road [to them]. When the five men saw the Buddha and his [changed] bodily appearance they said, "Be wary of the man who is coming [here now], Do not get up!" But when the Buddha arrived, the five men got up and although they did not feel like making obeisance [to him], they did. The Buddha said: "You [decided to] hold back your hearts, why were you not firm and certain? Saying nothing you got up. Why did you make obeisance [to me after all]?" The five men did not face him. They wanted to become monks. The Buddha then put his hand to his head, [and said] in order to be a *sramana* you must return to the way and sit under the tree, and each meditate on the Buddha'.

(9) *GXYJ*, p. 643.

The *Guoqu Xianzai Yinquo Jing*:

> On the seventh day the World Revered One acquiesced to Brahma's and the other gods' request [to preach]. With the vision of a Buddha he saw that the various living beings, above, on, and below the earth were in trouble. He observed those below, on, and above the earth for twenty-seven days. Then the World Revered One solemnly thought, 'I now should open the door the Law of Sweet Dew. Who should be the first to hear it? The Bhagava sages are intelligent and easy to awaken, furthermore they were the first to come forth wanting me, [after] the Way was achieved, to return'. He was thinking this when in the sky there were voices who spoke, 'The Bhagava sages died last night'. The World Honored One answered the voices in the sky saying, 'I also know they died last night'. He further thought to himself, 'The sage Kalama is fundamentally enlightened, he should be among the first to hear [the sermon]'. [The voices] in the sky said 'Kalama died last night'. The World Revered One answered, 'I also know that he died last night'. Then the World Revered One further thought to himself, 'The five men who were dispatched by the king, his advisors, and ministers all look up to me. They are intelligent and in the past informed me that they desired to (be the) first to hear the Law. I now should preach the Law to these five men'. He thought to himself, 'The place where all the Buddhas of the Past turned the Wheel of the Law was in Benares's deer park [Mrgadava park], the place where sages live, and it is also the place where the five men are living. I shall now go there to turn the great Wheel of the Law'. Solemnly thinking this, he got up from his seat and went to Benares (10).

According to this and another Chinese translations, Buddha remembers the five members of the search party who were fearful of returning home without the crown prince and abandoned their mission to live as ascetics. Having decided on both a worthy audience and appropriate location, he eats a meal and proceeds to Benares. In both the Pali and Chinese scriptures many other divergences evince a belated state of the story's creation; it is clear that there were different traditions and the details were not yet fixed. First, in both scriptures Buddha, on the way to Benares, meets an ascetic, identified as an Ajivaka Jain in the *Mahavagga*. Buddha informs him that he has been enlightened but the Jain walks away shaking his head. Bareau, in his study of the Vinaya sources of the life of the Buddha concludes that this episode, present in all of the texts under his analysis, is a later addition (11). Its meaning is clear, not everyone is enlightened enough to appreciate the teaching. In addition, unbeknownst to the Buddha, the group of five men to whom he plans to preach have rejected him because he resumed eating and no longer practised self mortification. They agree among themselves to reject him, but when confronted with him they forget their resolution. This too Bareau deduced was a later addition to the narrative, inferring that the Buddha had no prior knowledge of these men (12). Finally, the Buddha preaches the all important Four Truths first to one man, and when he has achieved understanding of it, it is said 'The Wheel has been turned'. Miraculous celebrations are enjoyed throughout the universe. Then the four other disciples request him to preach and he briefly sermonizes to them. Similarly, in the *Mahavagga* although the Buddha preaches to all five monks, only one, Kondanna, 'obtained the pure and spotless Dhamma-eye' and was invited to join the order with the words, 'Come monk'. The four others were taught in succession: next came Vappa and Bhaddiya, after them Mahanama and Assaji (13).

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(10) *GXYJ*, p. 643, chap. 20.

(11) A. Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sutrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka anciens*, 3 vols., Paris 1963, vol. I, pp. 156 ff.

> Then the World Revered One walked to Benares, and came to the garden in the Mahanamabhapia (14) of Kaundinya, and stopped in Prajabhatobaja. The five men saw the Buddha from afar, and said, 'Shamen Shakya, rejecting the practice of austerities, has begun to eat again. No longer is his mind set on [finding] the way. He is coming here now. Let's not trouble ourselves to welcome him or make obeisance, [but] arrange a seat [for him] to sit (with us) and to discuss his ideas'. After thus conversing, each was silent. As the World Revered One approached them, the five men forgot [their oath]. Each got up from his seat, made obeisance and welcomed him. One [offered] to hold his clothes and begging bowl, another obtained water for him to rinse his mouth, another had some for washing his feet. Each broke their promise [to ignore him]. Although they considered him Buddha, they called him Gautama. The World Honored One spoke to Kaundinya saying, 'You agreed among yourselves not to get up when you saw me. Why did you break your vow and excitedly get up [offering] to carry something for me'? The five men, hearing the Buddha's words felt deeply ashamed, came forward, and said, 'You, Gautama, have been walking on the road a long time and are undoubtedly are weary'. The World Honored One answered, 'Why do you say so? Most Highly Revered Ones have eminent feelings. My mind is empty, beyond such distinctions. But you are boastful and arrogant. You beckon evil ***karma*** on yourself. It is as if there were a son whose father and mother were renowned as the most righteous in the world, and only he was not able to [treat them so]. How much more am I, now father and mother to all?'. When the five men heard this they were ashamed, and said to the Buddha, 'We are stupid and ignorant. We did not know that you achieved ***nirvana***. Why? Because when we last saw you, you ate only a kernel [of grain] a day, practising austerities for six years. Now you return eating with pleasure. This is why we thought you did not achieve the way'.
>
> Then the World Honored One spoke to Kaundinya saying, 'You have nothing

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(12) *Ibid.*, p. 168. Bareau proposed that in the most ancient recensions the monks had no prior knowledge of the Buddha before the First Sermon (p. 170).

(13) *Mahavagga*, I, 6, 32-37, transl. by I.B. Horner, *Vinaya Pitaka*, *The Book of Discipline* (*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. XIV), London 1962, p. 19.

(14) W.E. Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London 1934, p. 433.

but small knowledge with which to measure whether I have achieved the way or not. Why [have I begun to eat again]? When the body is in pain, the mind is confused. When the body is happy, then the condition of happiness spreads. Therefore neither pain nor pleasure are the way. It is as if [something were] on fire, if you douse the burning fire with water, inevitably there will no longer be any light to break the darkness. Intelligence bores like fire, and the water is pain and pleasure, [preventing] the rays of wisdom (from being) produced. If these rays [of wisdom] are not produced then one cannot lift the black veil of life and death. But if you can reject pain and pleasure, practice the middle path, and maintain the mind in solitary meditation, the result of such practices is entering the true path of the sage. Then you are far from the grief of birth, old age, sickness, and death. I, having followed and prospered by the middle path, have obtained complete samadhi'. Now the five men heard these words and their hearts were very happy, boundlessly joyful. They looked reverently at his face for a long while.

Then the World Honored One, seeing the five men were at the point of receptivity to the way, said, 'Kaundinya know that the five sufferings derive from the *skandas* (15): There are the pains of birth, old age, sickness, death, being separated from a loved one, anger, and hatred. If you seek to not have pain, then you [must] cast off pain as well as happiness and glory. Kaundinya, there is a form without form. All living creatures, whether they have no feet, one, two, four or many feet, have this pain. It is as if one [tried to] put out a fire by only over-turning the ashes. If dry grass comes in contact with it, it will burn again. The various pains are made from one's own body. Even if it is but a small matter that arises in my thoughts, it still causes me pain — coveting, desire, anger, and rage, and then I encounter doubts. All karma is produced [by] oneself. These three evils are the causes of pain. Like a young sprout, everything is produced in this way and turns in the three [evils]. (When) pain diminishes, then one thinks of reaching (the roots of) covetousness, desire, anger, and rage. Only then pain will be cut off. There is nothing that does not [derive] from these. The Eightfold True Path is like water people use to completely extinguish a fire. If one does not know that all the various pains are produced by oneself, then one forever will turn and return in life and death. Oh Kaundinya, you should know that pain must be gathered and cut off. Its subsiding is the proof. This is the way one should practise. Kaundinya, know this pain, then cut it off. With the evidence that it has abated, one practises the way and obtains *samadhi*. Know that when pain is cut off, and one has gathered proof of its having dwindled, that is practising the way. If people do not know the Four Truths, then they can not understand the Four Truths. This is the Truth, it is real. Pain is really hurtful. To amass it really is to really accumulate it. If it is reduced, it is really diminished. The way is real. Oh Kaundinya do you understand it or not?' Kaundinya said, 'I understand World Revered One. I know it, World Revered One. With this truth, I have obtained understanding. Thus call me Ajnata-Kaundinya'.

Thus the Buddha turned [the wheel three times], [Preaching] the Four Truths, the Twelve Practices. 'The [Wheel of the] Law was turned. Oh Ajnata-Kaundinya.

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(15) *Ibid*, p 122.

> In the Law one is far removed from dirt and defilement, when one attains the Law, he sees purity'.
>
> In the sky the 80,000 *navuta* (one million) devas, also far from defilement, attained the Law and saw purely. When the earth spirit saw that in the countryside the Wheel of the Law was turned, his heart was very happy, and he sang out in a loud voice, '[He has] turned the miraculous Wheel of the Law'. The gods in the sky heard this and were very happy, and they sang out to Brahmalokas heaven, where devas heard it and were happy without limit. They in turn sang out in loud voices, 'It was today in the deer park of Benares where the sages live, that the Wheel of the Law was turned. No one else in the whole world with its gods, men, Maras, Brahmas, shamen, and Pala guardian of the gates could turn it'. The ground shook eighteen times. The celestial dragons of the eight quarters made music in the sky. Heavenly drums beat out by themselves; incense burned; a multitude of miraculous flowers were scattered; precious banners and canopies hung; there was singing and chanting. By itself a great light shone in the world. Ajnata Kaundinya, thus was the first disciple to awaken.
>
> The four disciples of the Mahanamas heard the Buddha had turned the Wheel of the Law and Ajnata Kaundinya had been awakened to the way. They thought, 'Would that the World Revered One preach the law to us that we also may be awakened to the way'. While they thought this they reverently looked at his face, their eyes did not leave (him) for a second. The World Honored One saw the four men in the way, far from the dust [of the world], [ready to] achieve [understanding of] the law and see purely. Then these five men saw the traces themselves, they prostrated themselves at the feet of the Buddha and said to him, 'Oh World Honored One, we five men already see the traces of the way. We now want to be on the path of the Buddha, to leave home and practise the way. We only want, World Honored Benevolence, to listen to your views'. Thus the World Honored One invited these five men to become Bhiksus. They cut off their hair themselves, putting on *sramana* clothing, they became *sramana*. Then the World Honored One asked these five men, 'You all are bhiksus. Do you know lewdness, think and practise discrimination between what is constant and what is transient, between what is painful and not painful, between what is emptiness and not emptiness, between what is the self and what is not self'. When the five bhiksus heard the Buddha [preaching] on the five *skandas* of the way, they exhaustively understood it and achieved the state of arhatship and said, 'World Honored One, we accept discriminative thinking and actions, distinguish the real, the transient, pain, emptiness and the self'.

The true importance of the First Sermon is revealed in the closing passage of the *Guoqu Xianzai Yinquo Jing*:

> These were the first six arhats in the world. Of the (three) jewels, the first is the (person of the) Buddha; [the second] jewel is the Four Truths, or *Dharma*; and the [third] jewel is the five arhats of the *Saṁgha*. These three jewels are the greatest of all the riches in the world for men and gods.

Thus the First Sermon marks the formulation of the third of the Three Jewels, for the audience were the first members of the *Saṃgha*. Although in the beginning the ordination of monks was undertaken by the Buddha himself with the formulaic expression 'Come Monk', as in the First Sermon (16), the authority of initiation was gradually transferred to the monastic community. According to I.B. Horner's study of the *Mahavagga*, this convention of 'Come Monk' is rather short lived. He pointed out when Buddha sent his monks out to proselytize, bringing the new devotees back to the order became problematic, so the induction formula changed, and the monks themselves administered to the noviates request for admission and ordination. In the end 'the order alone had the authority, power, and legal right to ordain' (17). Thus the First Sermon commemorates the creation of the monastic community. The importance of the *Saṃgha* cannot be underestimated, for the sacred sayings were not, until many hundreds of years later, committed to written form. In the absence of a written canon, the authority of the tenets was entirely dependent on the eldest and most revered monks. Specialization arose so that no single person was responsible for the whole of the body of knowledge (18). At the famous First Council, which met after the death of the Buddha to regulate ordination and to confirm points of doctrine, the means of transmission was oral recitation. The authoritative monks, like Ananda, recited the discourses and the *Saṃgha* chanted their assent. The *Saṃgha* was the living body of the *dharma*. As Buddhism was largely dependent on conversion, unlike the hereditary Hindu religion, the *Saṃgha*, as the vessel of the Law and the means of ordination, was its life. It seems that the First Sermon, whether entirely factitious or a reconstruction of the events as they were thought to have occurred, perhaps at the First council, is really an attestation of the investment of authority in the *Saṃgha* as well as a celebration of its beginning. It was important to make everyone aware of the authority of the monastic community as possessor of the doctrine, thus the cycle of events relating to the First Sermon was added to the scriptures and depicted on the religious monuments.

Artistic Evidence

Among the earliest extant Indian artistic monuments so far known, clearly identifiable representations of the First Sermon are absent. The symbol repeatedly associated with the preaching of the Dharma in the texts and artistic monuments is the Wheel. It is a multivalent ancient symbol. Likened to a solar body, the wheel

(16) Confusion is occasionally apparent in Chinese texts which use the three refuges, (taking refuge in the Buddha, the Law and his community), prior to the foundation of the community of monks. One example is found in the narration of the first meal after Enlightenment in the *TRBJ*, p. 479, and *GXYJ*, p. 643.

(17) Transl. Horner, *cit.*, p. ix. This occurs in the Second Discourse.

(18) Ch. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 3 vols., London 1921, vol. I, p. 287.

is an emblem of the illumination of the world. In ancient India the wheel was also one of the marvelous possessions of the Cakravartin, the Wheel King; as such it is a most powerful weapon that conquers all foes. Representing the Dharma, the Wheel symbolically conveys the enlightening power of the doctrine that conquers all fears (19). Foucher identified the aniconic symbol of the wheel with the First Sermon, and though in later Indian art this is certainly the case, even a cursory view of the most ancient monuments calls this into question. Undoubtedly a metaphor for preaching, specific identification with the First Sermon is less certain (20). Among the remains of the railing that once stood at Bharhut (*c.* 2nd century B.C.), now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, the wheel is not as frequent in comparison to other symbolic emblems like the *stūpa* or Bodhi tree and it occurs without a clue to identify it with the First Sermon. The wheel appears as an auspicious emblem on top of a column in a decorative role, as on the east gate (21) as well as in a narrative setting. The carving at the top of the Prasenajit pillar has the wheel at center draped with garlands, shaded by a parasol, housed in a two-story palatial enclosure, and flanked by two princely worshippers. King Prasenajit, drawn in his quadriga, approaches in the lower left section. The inscription reads *Bhagavato dhamma cakam*, 'The Wheel of the Law of the Buddha'; a second inscription identifies: *Raja Prasenaji Kosalo* (22). The wheel is seen elsewhere, garlanded and worshipped, but none have any indication that the wheel represents the First Sermon (23).

On the decorated gateways of Stūpa I at Sanchi, two centuries or so later in date, emblematic and narrative depictions of wheels continue. Shown both as a wheel on a throne and as the crown of the Asokan column with ornate capitals, the Wheel of the Dharma is still less frequently employed than the other emblems (Fig. 1). These columns as isolated emblems appear on the square dies on the gateway in between the lintels of the architraves and in one narrative scene on the south gateway pillar of the North Toraṇa (Fig. 2). This relief has been identified as the First Sermon because the wheel, supported on a lion capital, has a herd of grazing deer at the base of the column indicating the Deer Park location. But monks are not present among the fourteen people gathered around the column. Marshall, observing the absence of portrayals of monks at Sanchi, reasoned that there may have been an implicit

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(19) In the relatively late scripture the *Lalitavistara*, a special Bodhisattva brings Śākyamuni a precious wheel; see Foucher, *op. cit.*, p 151.

(20) A. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Paris n.d., p. 88.

(21) Cunningham, 1874: pl. VI. South east gate, inner face, pl. XIII.

(22) *Ibid.* for inscription, p. 110. Cunningham also discussed the story of how King Prasenajit put up an image in the Buddha's absence. Cunningham believes that image was the Wheel of the Law. In a second carving the wheel is circumambulated: On the left the rear of an animal mount is visible, on the right two turbaned figures on horseback emerge, additionally four figures worship it. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI, 2: the wheel is shown supported by a column with elaborate capital, also flanked by worshippers.

(23) *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI 2 and pl. XXXIV 4 respectively.

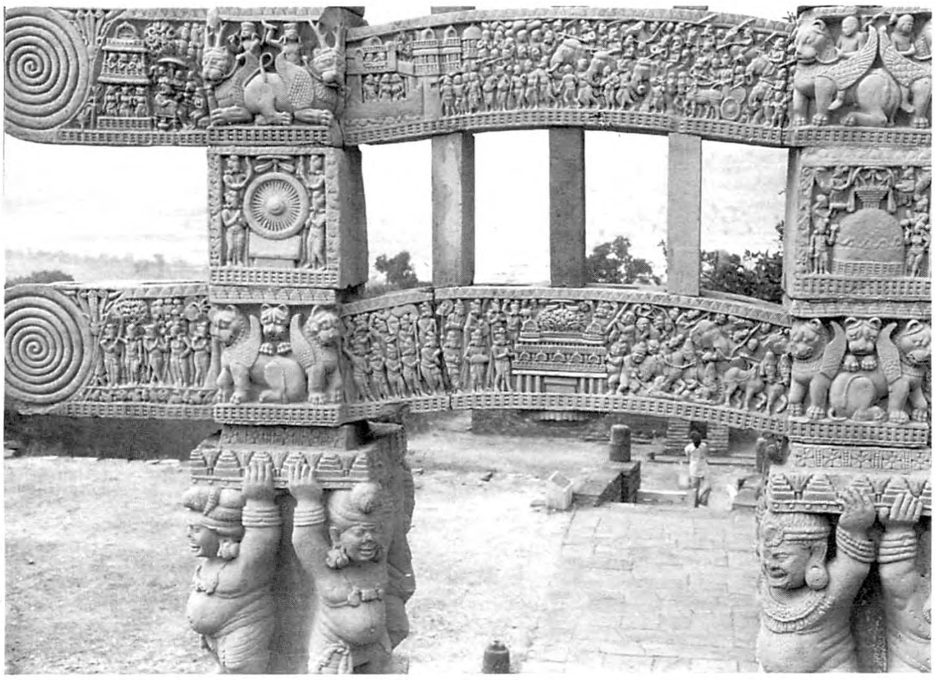

Fig. 1 - Aniconic First Sermon, Sanchi Great Stūpa, North gate, lowest lintel, rear view.

proscription against representing members of the *Saṃgha*, in addition to the presumed ban on illustrating the Buddha in anthropomorphic form (24). In the scenes carved below, kingly processions are headed up towards the preaching Buddha and thus suggest the previous composition at Bharhut.

By the time of the Kushan era in Gandhāra, clearly identifiable compositions of the Buddha preaching the First Sermon are fairly numerous. However, unlike scenes of the Enlightenment which were standardized compositions since antiquity, there are a great many variations among the depictions, indicating the lack of a hallowed prototype. All Gandharan representations, like one in Calcutta (25) show the Buddha seated surrounded by his monks (Fig. 3). This is the first scene in the life of the Buddha which calls for monks to be portrayed. With the creation of the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha, came the portrayal of his disciples. They are distinguished from him in several ways, despite the similarity of dress. Aside from

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(24) J. Marshall & A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, 3 vols., Calcutta 1940, vol. I, p. 189.

(25) Indian Museum, Calcutta, Inv. no. 5054, from Loriyan Tangai (A 23277).

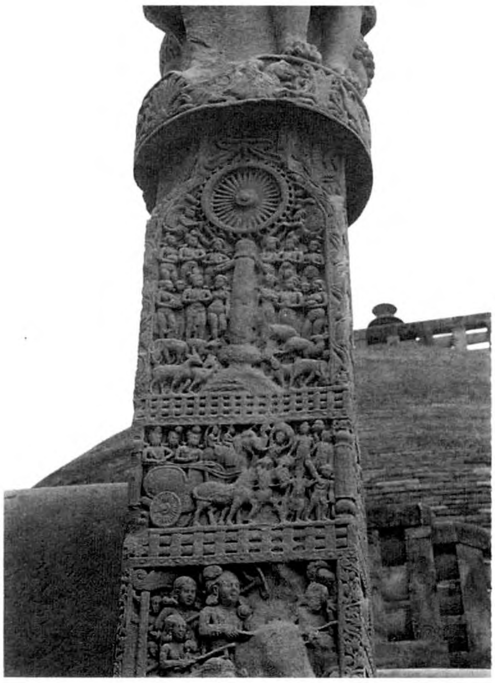

Fig. 2 - First Sermon, Sanchi, Great Stūpa, North gate, South Pillar.

hierarchical placement and scale differentiation — the Buddha is usually slightly larger (in a few cases much larger), he has short, curly hair, and more importantly an *uṣṇīṣa* or cranial protrusion, in striking contrast to the bald monks. The Buddha also has a halo, and his entire person was usually covered with gold. Among the various details in Gandharan narratives of the First Sermon is the changeable number of members in the audience. Often they are limited to the traditional five monks, but in some examples their number ranges from six to seven. In addition there are attendant celestials and Vajrapāṇi. This enigmatic deity, the wielder of the thunderbolt, is almost always present (26). A sculpture in the Freer is rather odd for although only three of the presumably original five monks are extant (in addition to celestials), a Kushan devotee and a brahmin immediately flank the Buddha, usurping the important position of the monks (Fig. 4) (27). Foucher has identified other strange members in the audience of the First Sermon, two examples have a woman present, and one relief has two Vajrapāṇis (28).

Although in Kushan art the Buddha is most often in *abhayamudrā*, the fear not gesture with the right hand raised, palm facing out, fingers pointing upwards, this is also not consistently applied. Several examples, like two reliefs in Taxila

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(26) The Sikri Stūpa in Lahore has six monks, but no wheel or deer, Lahore Museum, Inv. no. 1254 or 827. A lunette representation has six monks and two celestials, one of which is damaged beyond recognition, Inv. no. G-89.

(27) A. Lippe, *The Freer Indian Sculptures*, Washington 1970, fig. 14, Inv. no. 49.9.

(28) A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, Paris 1905-51, 3 vols., vol. I, p. 434, cites a relief in the Lahore Museum, Inv. no. 208 and another in Calcutta Indian Museum, Inv. no. 6.32. Both have a woman to the right of the Buddha; the two Vajrapāṇis appear on a relief in Lahore Museum, Inv. no. 534.

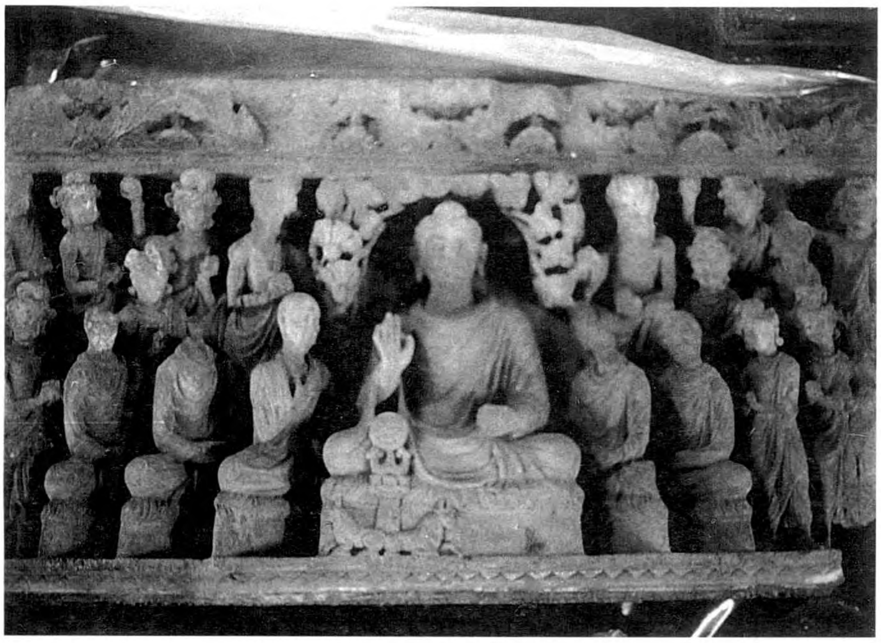

Fig. 3 - First Sermon, Indian Museum Calcutta, Inv. no. A23277 (author's photo).

(Fig. 5) and Peshawar show his right hand actually turning the wheel ([29]); and there is one rare example in Karachi ([30]) of the Buddha in *dharmacakramudra*, the gesture known as Turning the Wheel of the Law which becomes dominant in the later Guptan era depictions (Fig. 6). This gesture does not appear to evolve from his turning the wheel, which is excluded entirely, but seems to represent discoursing on the numbered points of the doctrine ([31]). One unusual example in the British Museum has Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, the gesture for the Temptation scene; five monks and deer flanking the wheel assure however that this is the First Sermon ([32]).

Although the First Sermon is created around the anthropomorphic image of the

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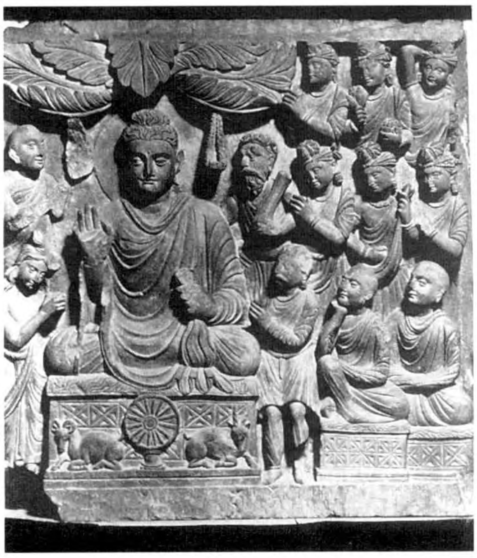
([29]) Taxila, Dharmarājika Stūpa, Building L, Inv. no. 361; Pakistan, Peshawar Museum, Inv. no. 2081, formerly Guides Mess Mardan (this one is badly damaged with only Buddha and Vajrapāṇi; deer flank the wheel), and Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum, Inv. no. 14.30. National Museum of Karachi, Inv. no. 5-e.

([31]) Sh. Weiner, *Ajanta*, Berkeley 1977, pp. 56 ff. In her study of Ajaṇṭā Sh. Weiner has concluded that the *mudrā* evolved relatively late and may have originated at Ajaṇṭā and later spread to Sarnath. She found it absent in early Gandharan art and at Mathurā as well, and proposes that the scene of the First Sermon in aniconic form first evolved at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa symbolized by a wheeled crowned pillar above a cushioned throne, p. 60.

([32]) British Museum, Inv. no. DA 1979, I.-30.1. See W. Zwalf, *Buddhism*, London 1985, no. 22, p. 35.



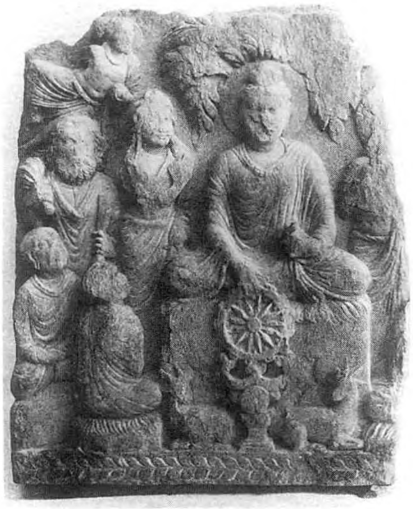


Fig. 4 - First Sermon, Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Inv. no. 49.9 (by permission Freer Gallery).

Fig. 5 - First Sermon, Dharmarājika Stūpa, Taxila Museum, Inv. no. 361 (author's photo).

Buddha, the symbol of the wheel is almost always included. Its depiction is also not standardized, it can be shown in profile, or frontally, mounted on either a column or as the *triratna* symbol of the Three Jewels. This inclusion of the wheel suggests the late date of the invention of the story, whose representation is fostered by a symbol that clearly indicates preaching. In fact aniconic representations of the First Sermon are found in the Kushan era, for example a relief from the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 7), and two others in Peshawar and Lahore (33) show monks worshipping the symbol. Here too the number of monks can vary from the traditional five to six (34). The *triratna* symbol of the Three Jewels, which often supports the wheel, is perhaps a more appropriate emblem of the First Sermon. The Three Jewels, as three wheels or lotus flowers mounted on a trident, appear as early as Bharhut as a crowning element on the gateway, as an object of worship, and even as jewerly decor (35).

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(33) Peshawar Museum, Inv. no. 114; Lahore Museum, Inv. no. 911 from Jamal Garhi.

(34) J. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, London 1960, repr. 1980, pl. 46 and 37 in the Indian Museum of Calcutta have six and four respectively. Other examples are found in Swat, Pakistan: D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, Rome 1962-64: Inv. no. 3282, pl. LIV; Inv. no. 3493, pl. DXXX; Inv. no. WS50, pl. DXXXVII.

(35) Cunningham, 1874: pl. XXIX:2.

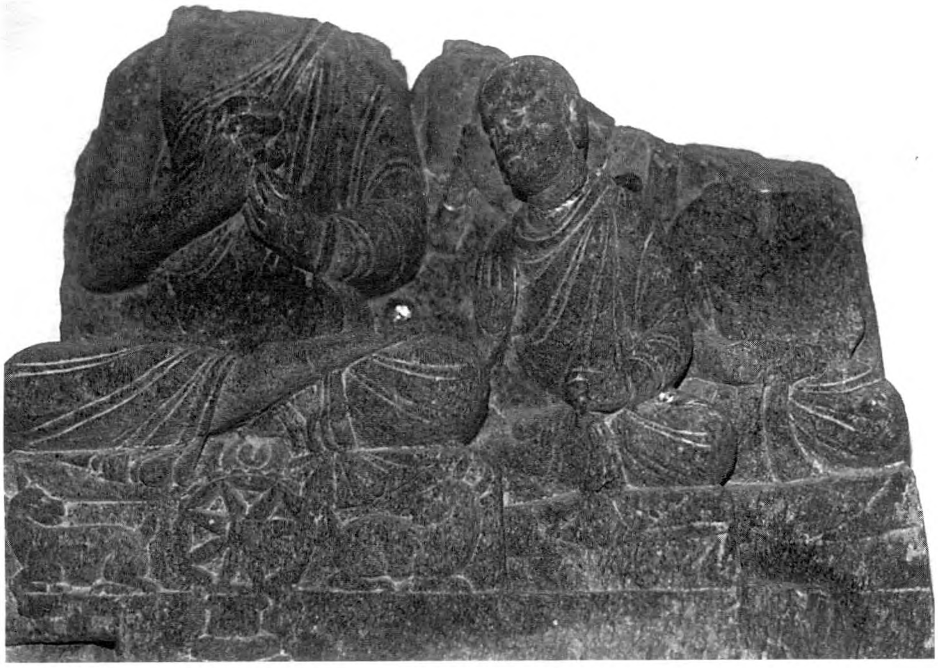

Fig. 6 - First Sermon, National Museum Karachi (author's photo).

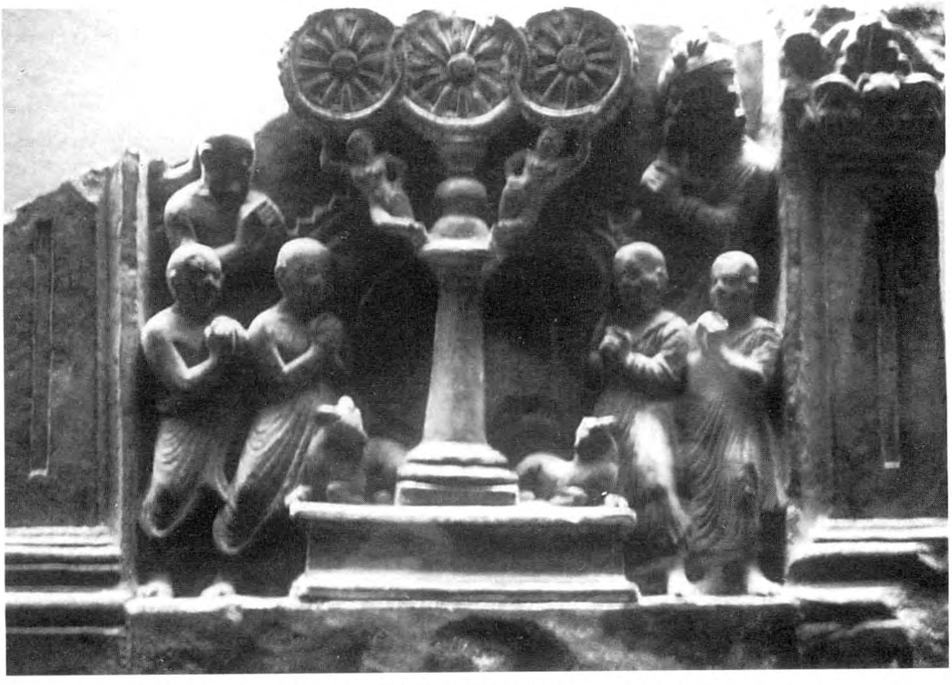

Fig. 7 - First Sermon, Tokyo National Museum (author's photo).

Two deer are often carved in small size at the bottom of the frieze flanking the wheel to indicate the site of the event as in the Freer sculpture (Fig. 8). But several examples can be cited that lack representations of the deer but show the five monks (36). In contrast to the depictions of the Birth, Enlightenment, and Death the celestial celebrations of music making and falling flowers narrated at length in the texts are not ever represented with the First Sermon.

Gandharan artists also attempted to depict secondary scenes of the Benares cycle narrated in the extended textual accounts, in particular the offering of a seat by the five ascetics before the First Sermon. One sculpture in the Peshawar Museum (Fig. 9) and another in the British Museum show the standing Buddha approached by the monks offering a seat (37).

Parallel developments of the scene of the First Sermon are found at other Buddhist sites. Among a group of Mathuran icons ascribed to the period of Kaniṣka, five have bases with small-scale worshippers flanking a wheel, there are neither monks nor deer present. These sculptures, like the one in the Mathura Museum and another now in Taxila (Fig. 10), belong to the early stage when the wheel was used to indicate preaching in general, but not yet identified with the specific event (38). It is important to note that the same format is used for icons of the Jain founder Mahāvīra, several of which are in the Mathura Museum (Fig. 11) (39). True pictorial narratives of the First Sermon appear much later and are rare, probably they are based on Gandharan examples. They are found among synoptic treatments of groups of biographical scenes told in an extremely abbreviated fashion, characteristic of the late phase in narrative development. *Mudrās* employed in these compositions also vary. In one relief in the Mathura Museum, Buddha is seated in *abhayamudrā*; relegated to the area below are the secondary figures of two monks flanking a profile view of the wheel (40). Two Mathuran stele, one in Lucknow (Fig. 12) the other in the Mathura Museum (Fig. 13) show the Buddha actually turning the wheel with his right hand, as in

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(36) Pakistan, Dir Museum, Inv. no. Chatpat 166 and Inv. no. Amlokdara no. 13; Pakistan, Lahore Museum Inv. no. 1254, 827; and Lahore Museum, Inv. no. G-89; or Calcutta, Indian Museum, Inv. no. 5065.

(37) Peshawar Museum, Inv. no. 1968; and Peshawar Museum, Inv. no. 1896, a badly damaged relief broken into several parts; British Museum, Inv. no. 1940-7-13.3.

(38) R.C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathura*, Delhi 1984, illustrates the following: fig. 84, fig. 85, fig. 86 is a fragment dated in the fifth year of Kaniṣka; p. 181, fig. 91 is an icon of a bodhisattva, and it has a *triratna* worshipped by devotees; its inscription dates its installation in the 23rd year of Kaniṣka's reign, fig. 101, fig. 118 and fig. 128.

(39) G. von Mitterwallner, *Kushana Coins and Sculptures from Mathura*, Mathura 1986, figs. 26-32.

(40) Jitendra Kumar, *Masterpieces of Mathura Museum*, Mathura 1989, Inv. no. 00.H1.4 from Raj Ghat, Mathura, p. 125; the other scenes are the nativity, temptation, miracles at Samkassa and Śrāvastī, and the death.

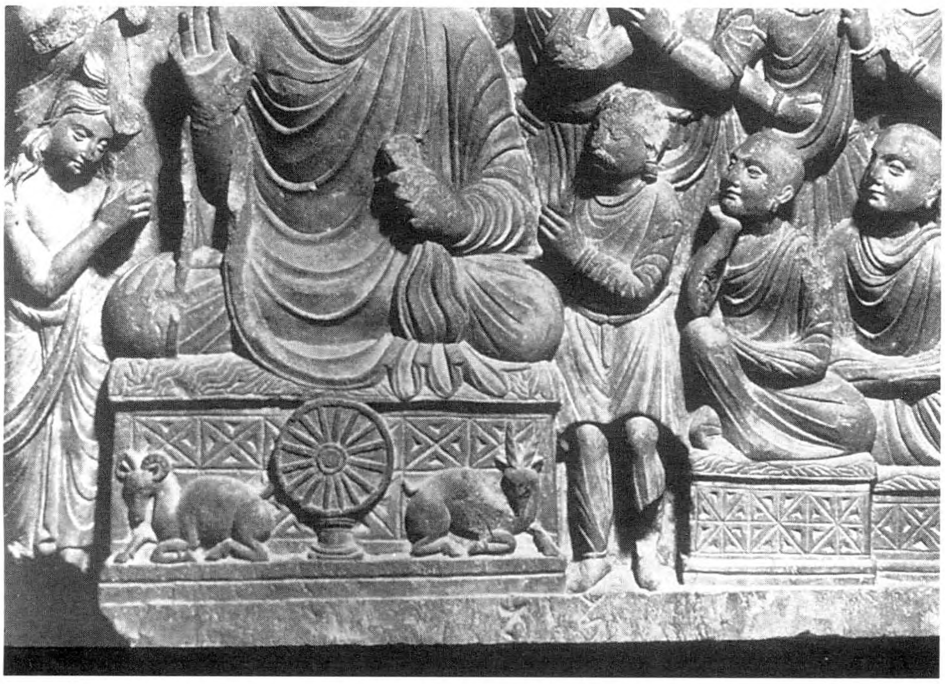
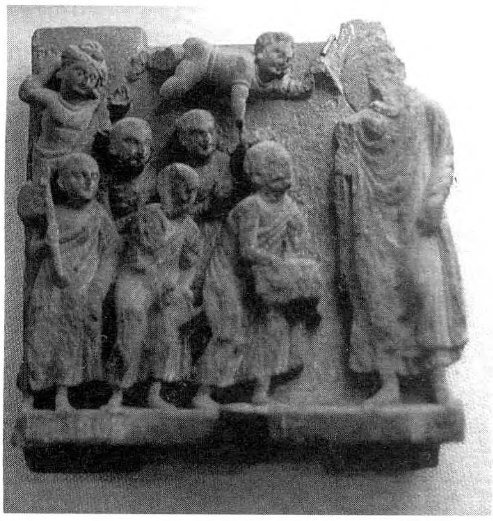


Fig. 8 - Detail of Fig. 4: First Sermon, Freer Gallery (by permission, Freer Gallery).



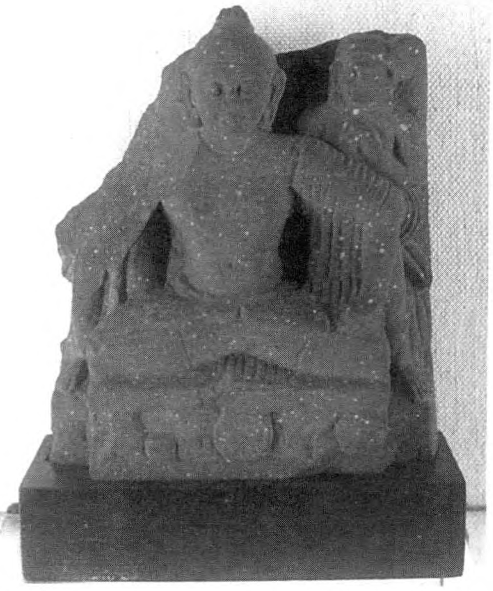


Fig. 9 - Preparations for the First Sermon, Peshawar Museum, Inv. no. 1968 (author's photo).

Fig. 10 - First Sermon, Taxila Museum, Inv. no. 9080 (author's photo).

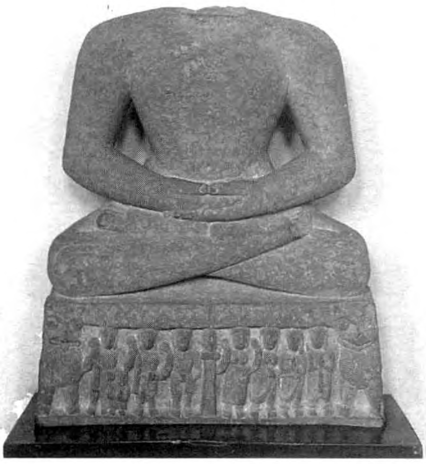


Fig. 11 - Mahāvīra, Mathura Museum, Inv. no. 00.B12 (author's photo).

Gandhāra (41). One Mathuran stele has the Buddha in *dharmacakramudrā*; two gazelles are carved before his throne; three monks are on the left and two on the right; this is one of a set of Four Scenes (with the Nativity, Temptation and Parinirvāṇa) (Fig. 14) (42).

Similarly, at Amarāvatī, the Wheel of the Law in the early period is used to symbolically present the *dharma*, without reference to the event of the First Sermon. Later scenes can be associated with the First Sermon, but only by their context: Several examples are found among sets of the key events in the life of the Buddha. A mid-period relief in Madras has the aniconic treatment of the First Sermon with the Enlightenment below. But neither monks, deer, nor the *triratna* are present (Fig. 15) (43). A comparable format from the late period also from Madras has Buddha seated in *abhayamudrā* on a tall base flanked by figures, deer are in front of the base, but no wheel is carved (Fig. 16, detail Fig. 17) (44).

In the last stage of evolution during the Guptan era, the icon of the Buddha seated in *dharmacakramudrā* dwarfs the narrative elements carved on the base. Examples from Ajanta abound; one sculpture in the Sarnath Museum has all of the details of the story formalized: The Buddha sits on a high back throne his hands counting the

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(41) De Young Museum: *Ancient India*, 1964, pl. 54, Inv. no. B208; provenance Uttar Pradesh, measuring 22 7/16'' × 51; and Lucknow Museum: J. Vogel, 'Études de sculpture bouddhique: Les bas reliefs du stupa de Dhruv Tila', *BEFEO*, VII, 1908, p. 497.

(42) J. Williams 'Sarnath Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life', *Ars Orientalis*, X, 1975, fig. 13, Inv. no. 46.17.

(43) C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras 1977, from the late period, pl. XXXVII, fig. 3, p. 181; aniconic representations of the wheel flanked by divinities include fig. 1, pl. XX from the second period of carving; or pl. XXXIV, an upright from the third period with a small scale rendering under a large rosette: two worshippers flanking the wheel supported on a column; or pl. LIX where the whell is supported by two very tall columns with a lion capital flanking a portrayal of a *stūpa* from the fourth period.

(44) *Ibid.*, pl. LXIII.

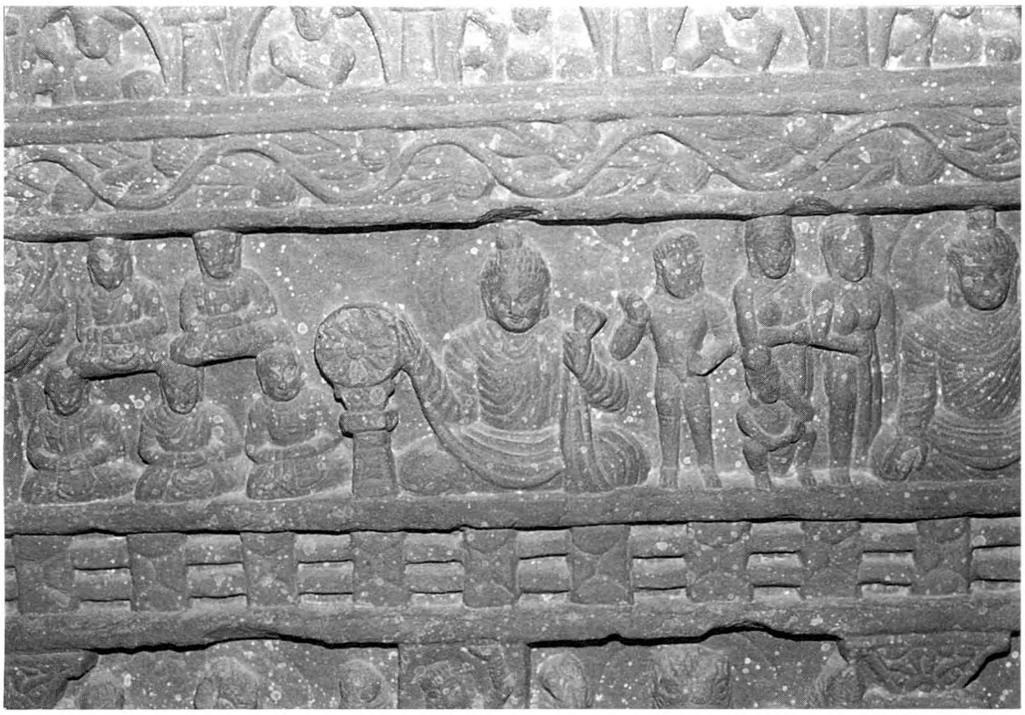


Fig. 12 - First Sermon, State Museum, Lucknow, Inv. no. B 12B (author's photo).

points of the *dharma*, below five monks and two deer in minute scale flank the profile rendering of the wheel; the sixth figure on the base is a female, whose identity is somewhat enigmatic (Fig. 18).

In summation the story of the First Sermon is a celebration of the new authority of the *Saṃgha*. The date when the myth emerged in the texts is hard to determine; it is not present in the Chinese translations until the 3rd century. In the extant artistic evidence the representation of the First Sermon appears as early as the 1st century A.D. at Sanchi. Gradually the scene develops under Kushan patronage when so many other events of the life of the Buddha are illustrated. Evolution of the depiction of the First Sermon can be divided into four distinct phases in the major regional styles of Gandhāra, Mathurā, and Amarāvatī: At first the image of the wheel only represents the Buddha preaching. In the second stage the wheel is associated with the event of the First Sermon but the iconographical details are not yet codified, the number and identity of the listeners, gesture of the hands, inclusion of the deer and rendering of the wheel are irregularly employed. In the third phase all of the

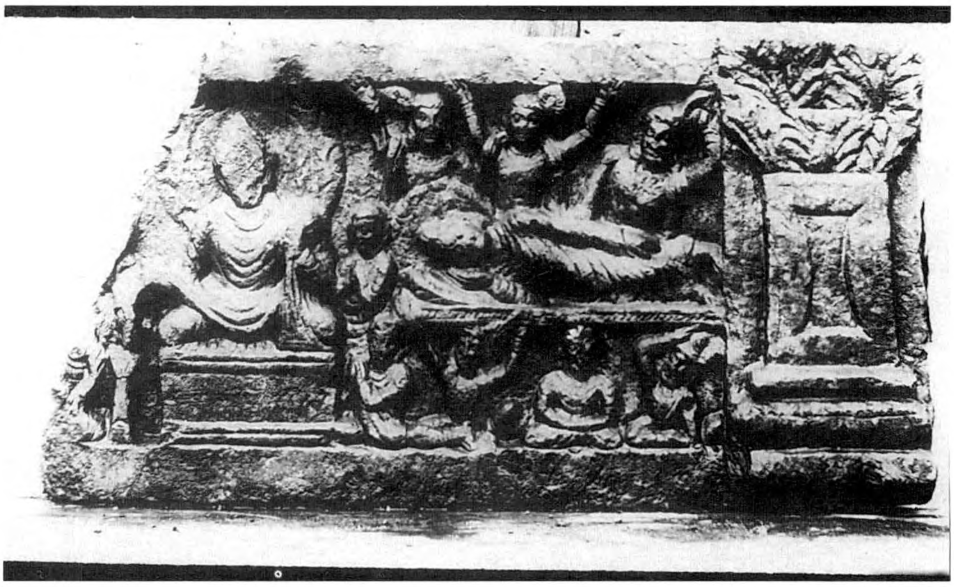


Fig. 13 - First Sermon and Parinirvāṇa, Mathura Museum.

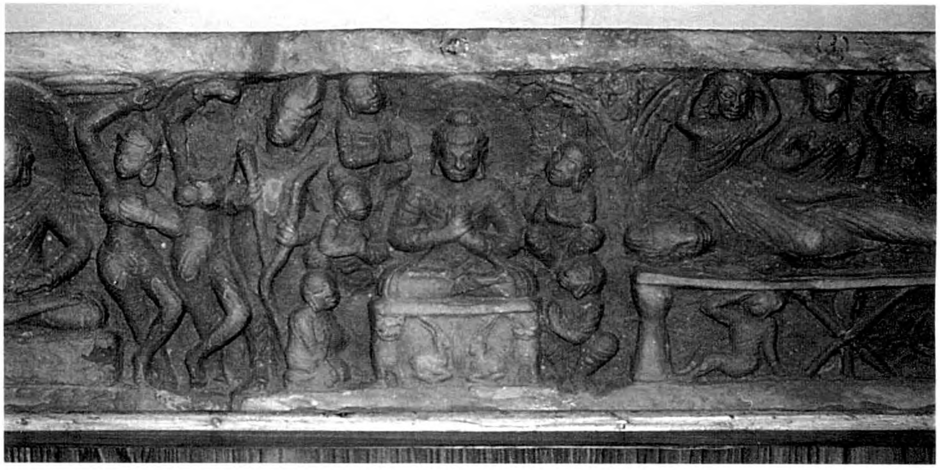


Fig. 14 - Detail First Sermon, State Museum, Lucknow Museum, Inv. no. 46.17 (author's photo).

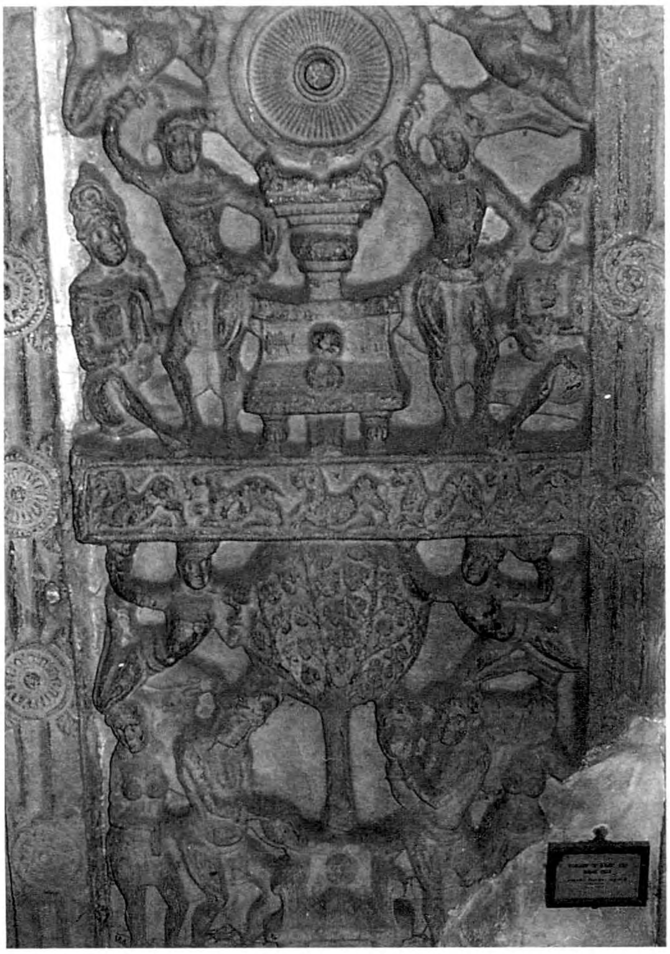
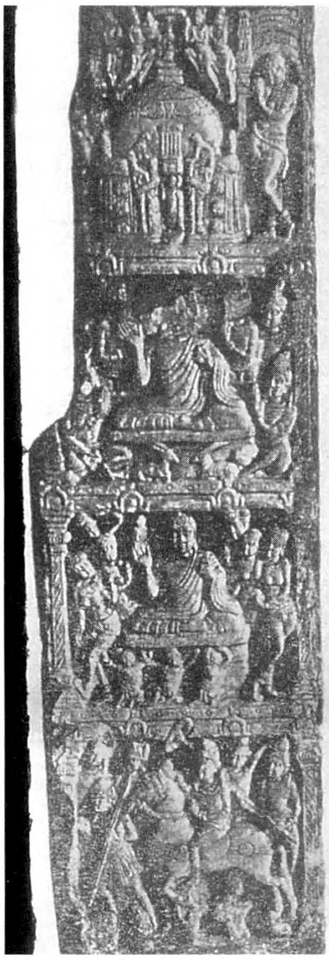


Fig. 15 - Detail First Sermon, Amaravati, Madras Museum (author's photo).



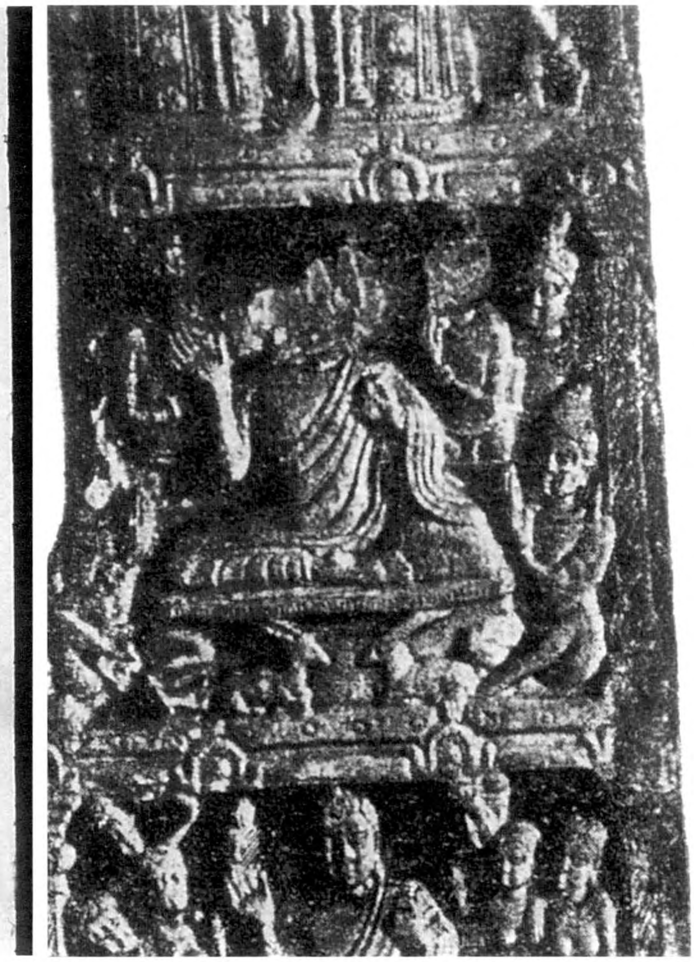


Fig. 16 - Detail First Sermon, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

Fig. 17 - Detail of Fig. 16: Detail First Sermon, Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

details are present in a more standardized way. In the last stage, the narrative elements become very small in relation to the colossal Buddha. It was at that point, through the dramatic contrasts in scale, that the universal significance of the event becomes paramount and eclipses its quasi historical meaning.

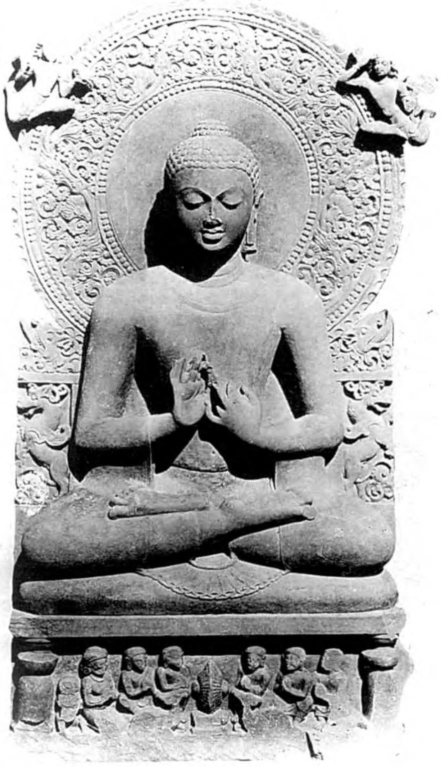


Fig. 18 - First Sermon, Sarnath Museum, Gupta era (author's photo).

CHINESE SUTRAS

1. *Xuxing benji jing* [*XBJ*], transl. by Zhu Da-li & Kang Mengxiang, in B. Nanjio's *Daizokyo*, (Taisho era edition), vol. III, no. 184.
2. *Taizu ruiying benqi jing* [*TRBJ*], transl. by Zhi Qian, *Daizokyo*, vol. III, no. 185.
3. *Guoqu Xianzai Yinquo Jing* [*GXYJ*], transl. in 420-479 by Gunabhadra, *Daizokyo*, vol. III, no. 189.

Antiquities of Graeco-Roman Affinity from Adam An Inland Mart of Central India

by AMARENDRA NATH

On the peninsular map of India there are several sites marked with Graeco-Roman antiquities, of which some are categorized as stray or isolated find sites and others as contextual find sites (Fig. 1). The majority of these are considered as port cities and have either been located between the Gulf of Khambat and the Malabar coast (1) or along the Coromandel coast (2) and on the mouth of the Krishna, Godavari and Ganges (3), while a good number of sites, treated as inland marts, have been reported in the greater flood-plains of the Krishna-Godavari valley. Adam (21°00′ N, 79°28′ E), District Nagpur (M.S.) is one such hinterland mart on the right-hand flood-plains of the Wainganga river, a tributary of the Godavari, from where Roman antiquities in the form of gold and silver coins, silver, clay and faience ***bullae*** and Rouletted ware have come to light from the stratified deposits of Satavahana times (Period V) (4).

(*) Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Archaeological Survey of India for the photographs and to Sarvashri N.C. Prakash, S. Pratapchandran, C. Babjirao, N.K.S. Sharma, S.V. Sutaone, P.M. Bhope, H.J. Barapatre, D.K. Kasbi, D.S. Shambharkar, S.R. Gulrandhe, S.M. Khairkar, J.N. David and Mrs Indira Tiwari for their kind assistance.

(1) C. Margabandhu, 'Trade Contacts between Western India and the Graeco-Roman World in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era, *JESHO*, 8, 1965, pp. 316-22; B.A. Saletore, 'Ptolemy and Western India', *Journal of Indian History* (*JIH*), 40, 1962, pp. 41-84; 'Across the Oceanic Frontier of Karnataka', *JIH*, 39, 1961, pp. 211-23; T.K. Joseph, 'Ports and Marts of Malabar (A.D. 50-150)', *JIH*, 26, 1948, pp. 121-29; T. Sathyamurthy, *Catalogue of Roman Gold Coins*, Thiruvananthapuram 1992, p. 27, map on p. 31.

(2) R. Nagaswamy, 'Roman Sites in Tamilnadu: Recent Discoveries', in *Madhu: Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History*, ed. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, Delhi 1981, pp. 337-39; C. Margabandhu, 'Ancient Sea-ports of South India — Their Trade Relationship with the Western World during the First Century B.C. to Second Century A.D.', in *Śrī Dineśacandrika: Studies in Indology*, ed. B.N. Mukharjee et al., 1983, pp. 185-202.

(3) T.N. Ramachandran, 'Tāmraliptī (Tamluk)', *Artibus Asiae*, 14, 1951, pp. 226-39; P.C. Dasgupta, 'Graeco-Roman Finds from Bengal', *Indo-Asian Culture*, 8, 1960, pp. 386-92.

(4) For the chronology of the site see Amarendra Nath, 'Archaeology of the Wardha-Wainganga Divide', *Puratattva*, 20, 1989-90, pp. 93-98; also his 'Adam — An Index to Vidarbha Archaeology', in *New Trends in Indian Art and Architecture*, Felicitation to Dr S.R. Rao on his 70th Birthday, ed. N.C. Ghosh & U.B. Nayak, Panaji 1992, pp. 69-79.

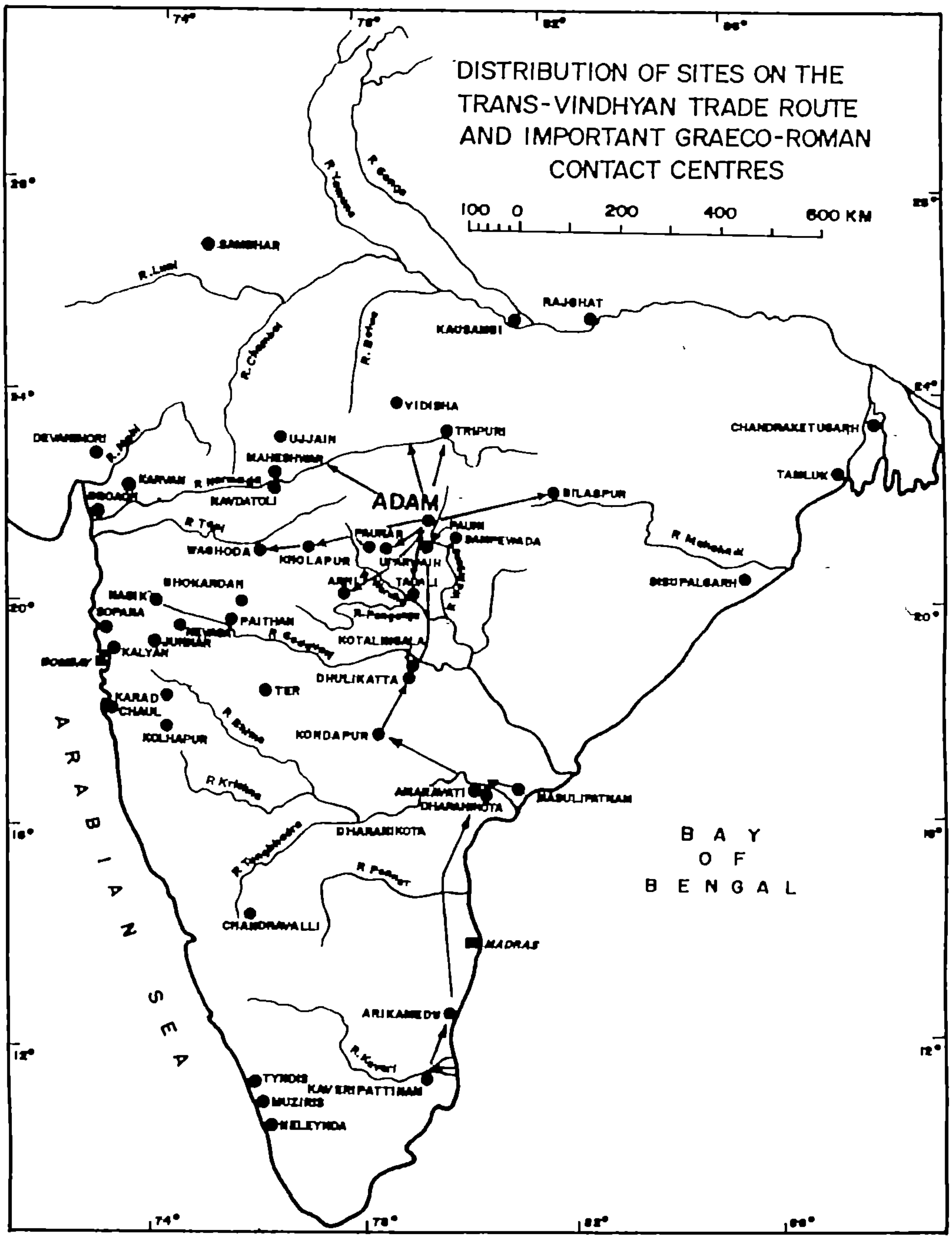


Fig. 1 - Distribution of sites on the Trans-Vindhyan trade route and important Graeco-Roman centres.

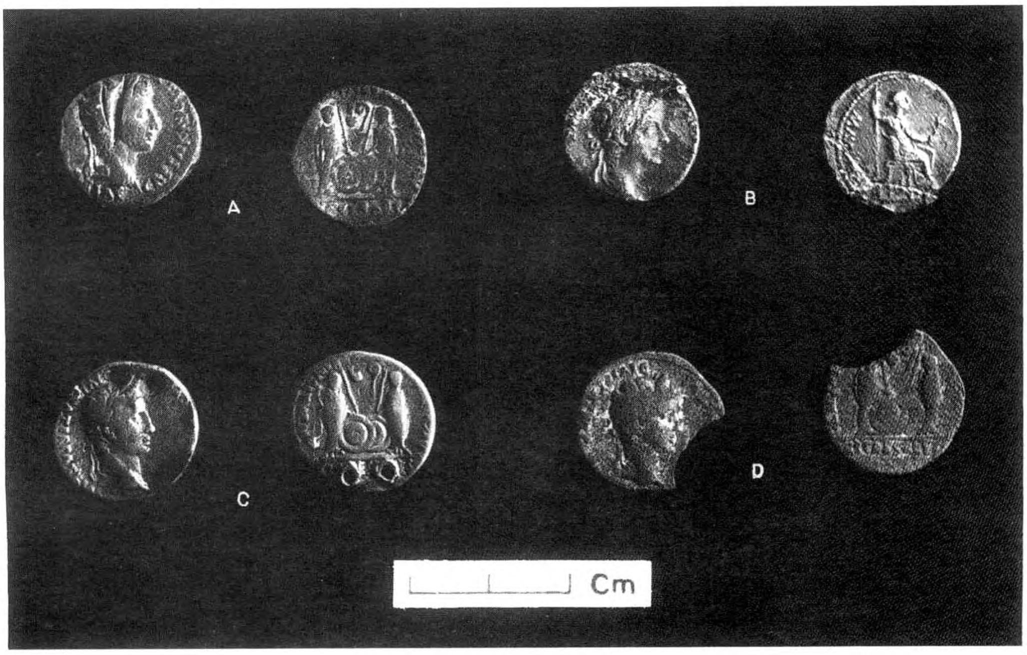


Fig. 2 - Adam. Roman silver coins.

The material richness of the excavated finds overwhelmingly supports the etymological meaning of Adam i.e. 'prominent settlement' (*ada*: prefixed with [*guṇā*] or [*dhanā*] *āddya*: rich or wealthy, and *ma* short form of [*grā*]*ma*: village or settlement (5). Besides some of these 'typical' Roman finds at the site there are a few other antiquities such as decorated potsherds, terracotta figurines, metal and glass objects produced in the vernacular idiom showing cognizable Graeco-Roman inspirations.

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(5) The other etymological derivation for Adam could be 'forest-clad settlement' provided it is considered as a borrowing from *aṭāvi* i.e. forest (Grateful acknowledgement is made to Prof. V.S. Pathak, Prof. R.N. Mehta and Shri M.N. Deshpande for their kind etymological suggestions, as noted above).

It is quite likely that during ancient times there were intervening forests between Adam and the other clusters of settlements around it. There are several traditional sources which speak of forests in the vicinity of towns. Incidentally, the physiography of Adam and its neighbourhood suggests that it must have had a thick forest. However, the facts remain to be examined by the palaeo-environmentalist.

Incidentally, the above etymological analysis has some parallels in the Vāniya-gāma (village of traders) or '*vaṇig-grama*, which spread into the south as *maṇi-grāmam*'; '[it] was an association of traders related by common interest in trade that had to pass through a particular centre. These traders were given royal charters [... and] enjoyed social immunities, but were restrained from excesses against their hired workers' (D.D. Kosambi, 'Indian Feudal Trade Charters', *JESHO*, 1959, p. 282). In the light of above it is not unreasonable to presume that Adam too had a kind of demographic management leading to some kind of social parameters in which the mutual interest of traders and trade was kept over and above other aspects, with a primary objective to earn greater richness for society, for which *Āddya-gāma* (Adam) became a synonym.

As regards the Roman gold coins, eleven of them were found in a hoard in July, 1970 while a field was being ploughed on the northwestern side of Adam village. The hoard, found in good state of preservation, contained the famous *aurei* of the imperial series of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (6), one of which was ascribed to Caius Octavius Caesar Augustus (31 B.C.-A.D. 14), and the rest attributed to Tiberius (A.D. 14), Claudius (A.D. 41-54) and Nero (A.D. 54-68) (7). Incidentally, the recent excavations at the site did not yield any Roman gold coin, but the discovery of a few silver coins from the stratified deposits has consequently helped to fix the chronology of the above hoard as the second half of the Satavahana regime. Out of the four silver coins occurring within the rampart enclosure, one is attributed to Tiberius (Fig. *2a*) and three to Augustus (Fig. *2a, c, d*). One of the Augustus coins has silver coating over the potin base (Fig. *2d*), while the rest have been struck over better quality silver. The one subsequently used as a *bulla* (Fig. *2c*) is of better intrinsic value than the rest and was recovered along with other clay and faience *bullae* from layer ①. The remaining three circulated exclusively as coins have been reported from layer ③. The native coins associated with this layer are the copper and lead issues of the Satavahanas and Kshatrapas concurrent with copper punch-marked coins.

The coins of Augustus are circular in shape with marginal variations in diameter from 18.5 mm to 19 mm, while thickness is around 2.5 mm; the weight balances between 3.7908 g to 3.4367 g, except for the mutilated potin based coin, a local imitation (8), which now weighs 3.0736 g. Had it been complete, it would have also shown the same standard weight as bracketed above. The obverse device of the Augustus coins invariably shows laureate head of the king to right encircled by the legend, from left to right, CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE. The reverse devices show Caius and Lucius togate, veiled standing facing as left and right of two shields; behind the shield are seen two crossed spears and priestly instruments. The legend reads AVGVSTI COS DESIC PRINC IVVENT; in exergue C.L. CAESARES. One of his coins (Fig. *2a*) has two carefully marked slashes on the obverse, damaging the bust; such marks have also been noticed on the gold coins found in a hoard at the site but on those the marks are no so deliberately placed across the bust, in some cases the head is missing altogether (9).

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(6) R.A.G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, London 1990, pp. 3-17.

(7) *Indian Archaeology 1970-71. A Review*, p. 62; K.D. Kawadkar, 'Adam Hoard of Roman Coins', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (*JNSI*), 34, 1972, pp. 243-47.

(8) It is generally believed that the plated Roman coins were struck for the trade with peninsular India where the natives were less familiar with distinguishing the original from imitations; see P.L. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*, Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series No. 10, Hyderabad 1965, p. 64; for other views cf. fn. 9.

(9) Some well-balanced views on the slashing and imitation of Roman coins have appeared in a book by P.J. Turner, *Roman Coins from India*, London 1989, pp. 29-41.

The only example of a Tiberius coin is 18 mm in diameter and 2.5 mm in thickness, and weighing 3.3127 g (Fig. 2*b*). The obverse device shows the diadem bust of the king encircled by legend, left to right, T.I. CAESAR DIVI A·VG. F. AVGVSTVS. The reverse device shows Livia seated right on a throne, holding sceptre and ears of corn in her right and left hands, respectively. The legend reads: PONTIF MAXIM.

On examining the Roman silver coin *bulla* it was noted that its prototypes on materials like clay and faience have also been unearthed. These objects appear to be local imitations from the *aurei* or *denarii*, issued either by Augustus or Tiberius and showing a somewhat indigenous portrayal of the royal bust on the obverse, and the Graeco-Roman deities on the reverse. Invariably of circular shape, these are casts from double moulds, made by cementing together two different casts, back to back. But technically speaking, with regard to suspension, two categories have been formed; one example in terracotta found from layer ③ shows a perforated projection of cylindrical shape attached, horizontally, to the top of a circular disc (Fig. 3*c*), while others without any attachment have been recorded from layers ② and ① and show two holes pierced side by side on the top portion of the disc (Fig. 3*a*, *b*, *d*, *e*). Broadly speaking, the former type may be compared with the Sisupalgarh (10) findings while the latter with Bhokardan (11). The stratigraphical position and frequency of occurrence of these *bullae* demonstrate that the former type, qualitatively far superior to the latter, remained quantitively inferior perhaps for simple reason that the former required more technical accomplishment than the latter. The solitary example of the former type is a tiny terracotta piece showing a grooved attachment joined to a broken disc displaying on either side a circular beaded band flanked by two concentric lines along the flan. With regard to the central figure nothing substantial can be said. However, the possibility of either an animal or a diadem bust of a king may not be ruled out (Fig. 3*c*) (12).

In the latter type, besides the Roman silver coin bulla, there are four specimens, two of which are of baked clay (Fig. 3*a*, *b*), one of faience (Fig. 3*d*) and one of glazed terracotta (Fig. 3*e*). On the basis of the reverse device two of these may safely be called imitations of Tiberius (Fig. 3*d*, *e*) and one of Augustus (Fig. 3*a*); the reverse device on the fourth specimen is feeble and so nothing substantial can be said about it (Fig. 3*b*) (13). The diameter of the latter type of bullae varies

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(10) B.B. Lal, 'Śiśupalgarh 1948: An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India', *Ancient India*, 5, 1949, pp. 101-2, pl. L*A*, *B*.

(11) S.B. Deo & R.S. Gupte, *Excavation at Bhokardan* (*Bhogavardana*), Nagpur-Aurangabad 1973, pp. 74-77, pl. XXXII *1-6*.

(12) This may be compared with Kondapur and Ter finds as well, see S.B. Deo, 'Roman Trade: Recent Archaelogical Discoveries in Western India', in *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (*RIAST*), ed. Vimala Begley & R.D. De Puma, Delhi 1992, figs. 3.*1*-*2*.

(13) It vaguely gives an impression of a kneeling figure, which may tentatively be compared with the Augustus coin. Cf. Carson, *op cit.*, pl. 1.*4*.

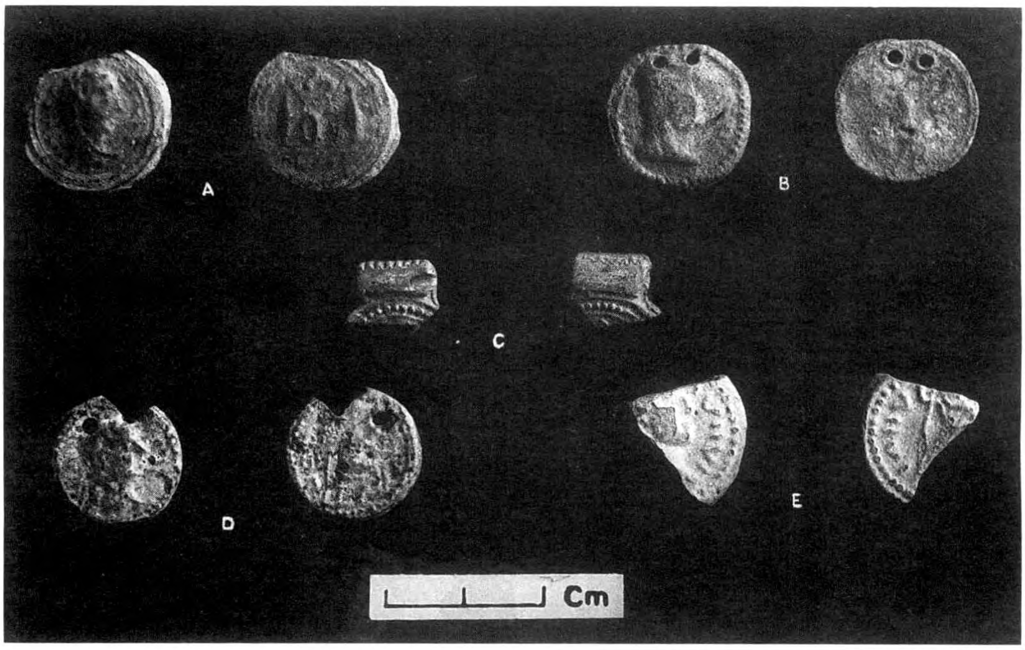

Fig. 3 - Adam. Graeco-Roman *bullae.*

marginally from 18 mm to 20 mm, and its thickness from 3.25 mm to 4 mm (14).

An analogous terracotta mould, possibly used in producing imitations of the Roman coin *bullae,* has been discovered in the same deposit in which the actual prototypes were found. Almost circular in shape (diam. 24 mm to 26 mm) it bears, in sunken relief, the negative obverse device of a sovereign bust to left (Fig. 4). The diameter of the incuse (21 mm) and the height of the bust (14 mm) are apparently consistent with the measurements noted in the case of silver, clay and faience *bullae.* In fact, no actual casts from the said mould have been reported in any form. Nevertheless, the above finding supports the possibility of a local enterprise imitating Roman coin *bullae* to meet native demand (15).

Coming to the terracotta findings, it should be noted that some of the figurines, not imported from the Mediterranean region, are far removed in their plastic expression

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(14) The *bullae* had a fairly wide distribution in different parts of India, for example at sites like Rajghat, Koshambi in Uttar Pradesh; Ujjain, Vidisha, Chakerbedha in Madhya Pradesh; Sisupalgarh in Orissa; Kondapur, Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, and Chandravalli in Karnataka. It is worth noting that Maharashtra had the privilege of reporting *bullae* from the maximum number of sites which demonstrated a close knitted distribution pattern both in time and space.

(15) Amarendra Nath, 'A Portrait Coin-Mould from Adam', *JNSI*, 54, 1992, under publication.

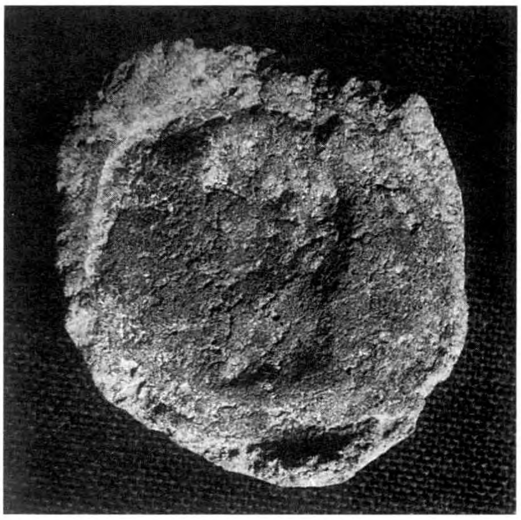

Fig. 4 - Adam. Terracotta coin mould.

from the Deccan School of the Satavahana Art (16). Seemingly, during the sea-borne trade contacts, it became obligatory on the part of the Satavahana artists to experiment some alien faces in order to demonstrate their artistic merit (17). Here five examples have been taken for discussion, four of which are male heads while the fifth is a plaque. All four faces appear identical (Figs. 5-8), but none has been cast in the same mould. Each of the figurines shares some distinct artistic features, such as: clock-turned hair-curls harmoniously tied with a cloth-band knotted on the left side of the head, elongated face, aquiline nose with puffy nostrils, well cushioned moustache with drooping ends, lips with prominent pout and U-cut deep chin. The treatment of the eyes, unlike the Satavahanas, shows an inert expression through their sunken but wide-open eyes with outsized eye-balls and partially cambered eye-brows; the eye-lids are generally drawn in the shape of an almond with a few exceptions where the inner tips are seen to terminate in a short beak; the exalted forehead is more flattish than curved. All these stylistic compositions create an impression of Graeco-Roman idiom of the Classical era.

Another notable find in this category is a terracotta plaque of oval shape depicting a horse-rider marching to the right, within a frame of corresponding shape (Fig. 9). The horse sunk in relief, in all exuberance, has been conceived with rare, majestic

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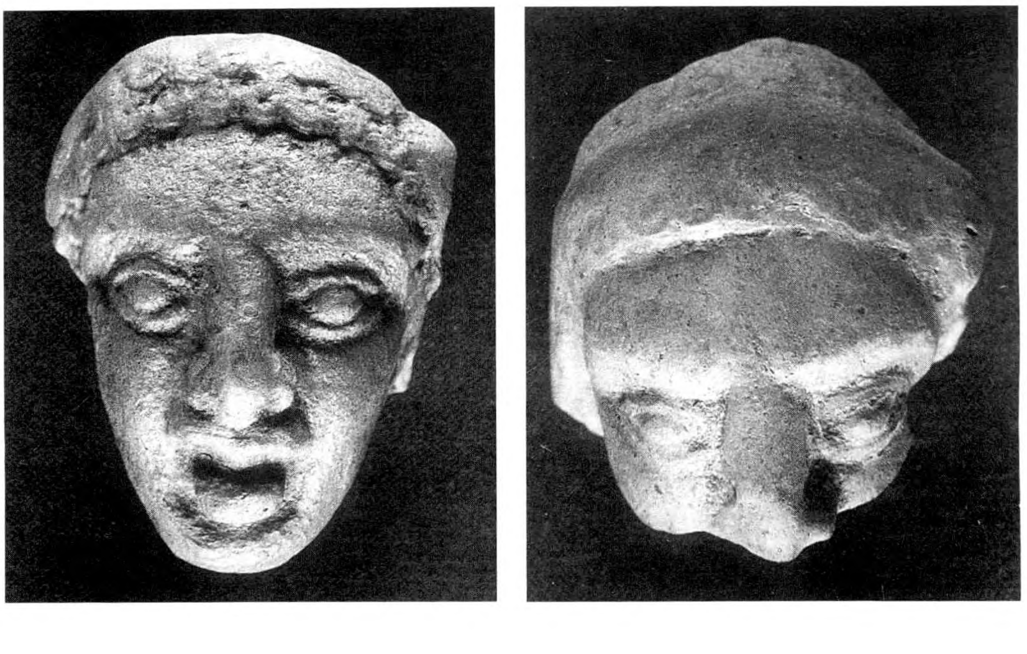
(16) M.N. Deshpande, 'A Plea for the Deccan School of Satavahana Sculpture', in Moti Chandra, ed., *Seminar on Indian Art History*, Lalit Kala Academy, New Delhi 1962, pp. 16-25.

(17) M.N. Deshpande, 'Classical Influence on Indian Terracotta Art', in *Le Rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*, Paris 1965, pp. 603-10.



Figs. 5-8 - Adam. Terracotta male heads of Graeco-Roman affinity.

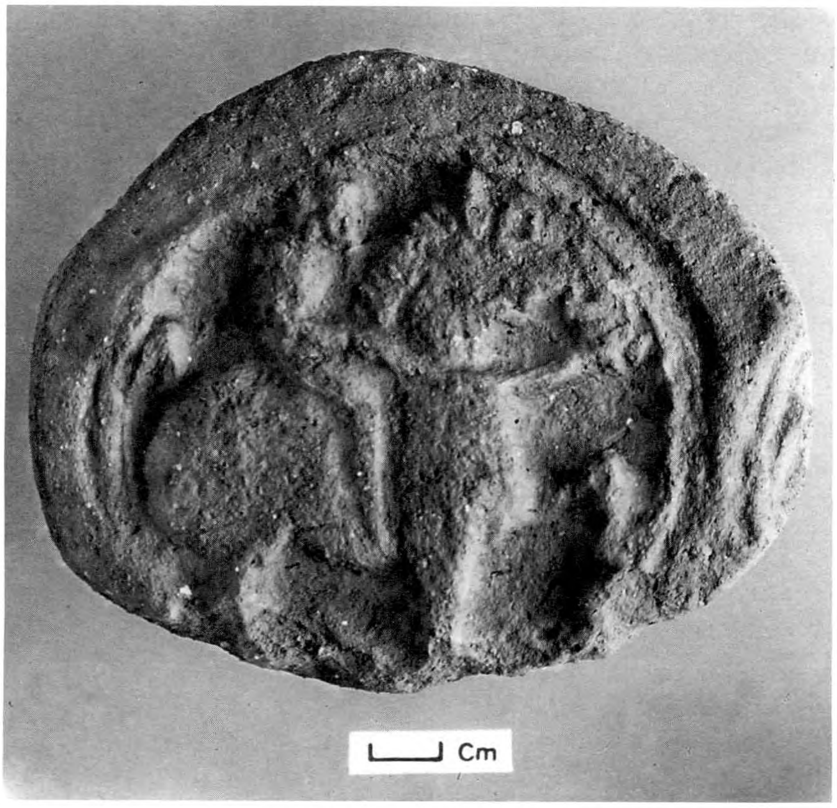


Fig. 9 - Adam. Terracotta plaque.

features, with a somewhat alien physiognomy. It has achieved the supple rhythmic and masculine vigour of the uncaparisoned horse without sacrificing any aesthetic value. The agitated mane with deep oblique incisions and the stimulated legs together suggest some kind of dexterous movement of the horse. Without any exception the majority of the Satavahana horses in terracotta are casts from double moulds (18). Several such types have been reported from the Satavahana horizons of Deccan where they are known standing motionless. Invariably, with or without rider, shown caparisoned with all necessary trappings and horse-bits, it still gives an impression of *hors de combat*. The lanky but nimble looking rider is holding the reins and bent forward and partially compressed within the frame of the plaque. The turban-like head-gear with a protuberance in the centre and *patra-kuṇḍala* are some of the facial details that attract attention. In fact the overall portrayal of the rider does not seem to belong stylistically to the Satavahana terracotta art. Nevertheless, the theme represented on the plaque is indicative either of some extra-mundane narratives or secular games.

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(18) M.K. Dhavalikar, 'Paithan Terracottas', *JISOA*, VII, 1975-76, pp. 62-69.

The occurrence of a Rouletted ware sherd of a dish from layer ③ is further evidence linking the site to the Mediterranean, again through the marts of coastal India. The present specimen, a thin variety, with fine fabric and grey core, has a remarkably smooth surface. It is of brittle and well-fired quality, and has a metal ring. The flat interior is left with a decorated band of rouletted pattern. In view of the quality of production, the Adam example of Rouletted ware may safely be included in the Classical category. However, the pottery with rouletted pattern cannot always be regarded as an importation from the Mediterranean region. Those with distinctly inferior fabric and degenerated rouletted pattern may be taken as of local manufacture. There are a number of sites along the coast-line of India known to have afforded degenerated types of this ware (19). In the neighbourhood of Adam, Arni (Yavatmal) is the only site which has yielded sherds of this type (20). In addition to Arni, Paunar is another early historical site in the vicinity of Adam known for its Roman pottery (21).

Together with the Rouletted ware are found some sherds of Red Polished Ware (RPW) and decorated wares which are logistically analogous with Graeco-Roman pottery, at times making it difficult to distinguish the imported ones from imitations. The RPW of Adam is of fine levigated clay with an evenly fired smooth surface, varying in colour from a lacquer red to dull brown, reminiscent of Roman 'Samian' ware and other red wares of Eastern Mediterranean origin. It occurs in small quantities and in a few distinct forms invariably from the Saka-Satavahana horizons of Western India and South Central Deccan (22). A few important types of Adam include a dish with splayed-out curved rim and externally flanged internally grooved waist (Fig. 10.*1*), a *lota*-type pot with out-turned rim (Fig. 10.*2*), a sprinkler (*kuṇḍikā*) (23) without spout (Fig. 10.*3*), a ring-footed cup with flared mouth (Fig. 10.*4*). A somewhat similar type

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(19) R.E.M. Wheeler et al., 'Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading-Station on the East Coast of India', *Ancient India*, 2, 1946, pp. 45-49, pls. 25A-B, 26A-B, fig. 12.

(20) B.K. Thapar, ed., *Indian Archaeology 1978-79. A Review*, New Delhi 1981, p. 72.

(21) S.B. Deo & M.K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavation (1967)*, Nagpur 1968, p. 48, fig. 19.*139*.

(22) Besides Adam, RPW has been reported from over forty sites, including Amra, Broach, Devnimori, Dhalwa, Dwarka, Jokha, Karwan, Lakhabawal, Nagara, Prabhas-Patna, Rojdi, Somnath, Shamlaji, Timbarva and Vadnagar in Gujarat-Saurashtra, and Arni, Bhokardan, Junnar, Kanheri, Nevasa, Paunar, Pauni, Prakash, Ter and Paithan in Maharashtra. Stray finds of this ware have been reported at other sites like Besnagar, Eran, Maheshwar and Tripuri in Madhya Pradesh and Antichak in Bihar. The Andhra-Karnataka sites associated with this ware are Keesaragutta, Kotilinga, Peddamarurrur, Peddabankur, Satanikota and Vadgaon Madhavpur.

(23) The shape of sprinklers is reminiscent of the Graeco-Roman prototypes. Hence scholars have suggested its non-Indian origin. See M.N. Deshpande 'Roman Pottery in India', in B.P. Sinha, ed., *Potteries in Ancient India*, Patna 1969, pp. 275-84. For other views, cf. Arun K. Nag, 'Identification and Origin of the Sprinkler', in *Śrī Dineścandrika, cit.*, pp. 389-95; S. Kershaw, 'A Chinese Buddhist Water Vessel and Its Indian Prototype', *Artibus Asiae*, 2/3, 1928-29, pp. 122-41.

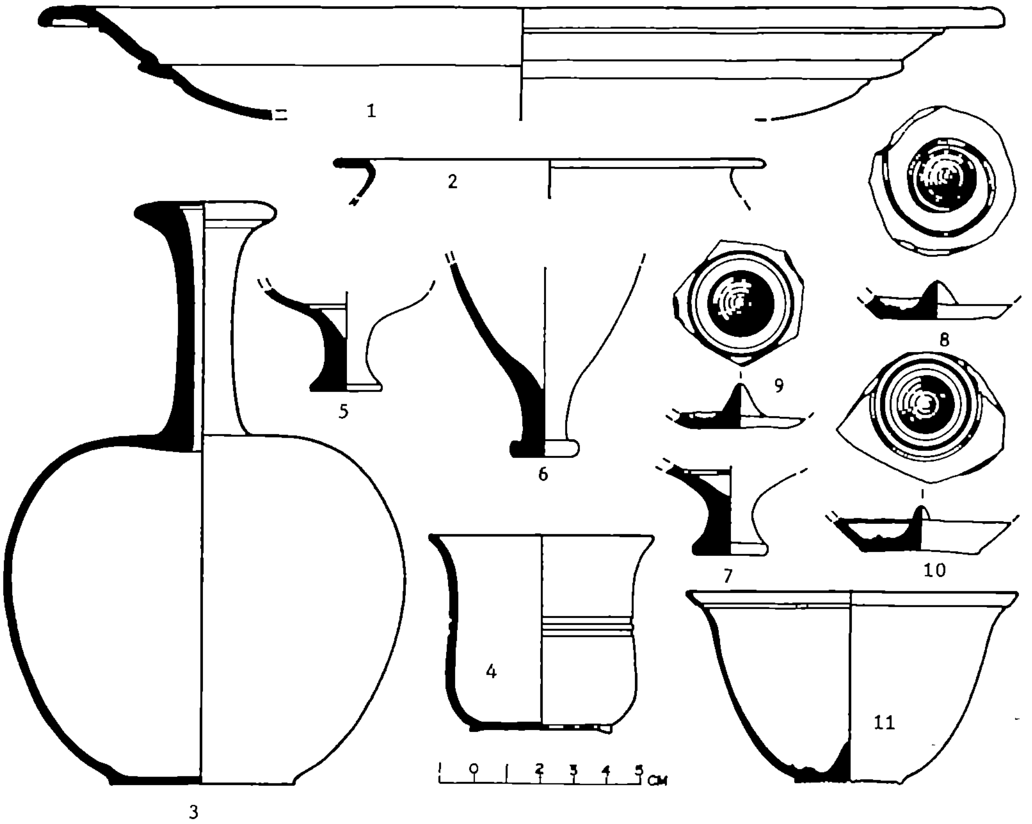

Fig. 10 - Adam. Plain pottery of Graeco-Roman affinity.

of cup (*pyālā*) has been reported in the famous Brahmapuri hoard (24), later recognized as 'calathiscus', a pot of Graeco-Roman origin (25). Again in a Roman context, an identical inverted cup placed over the top of an amphora is seen at the base of a relief from Nagarjunakonda (26). In addition to the above shapes there are a few globular cups with button base (Fig. 10.*5*-*7*). These have been reported at Kanchipuram along with other typical Roman antiquities (27). Together with these shapes there are a few lid-cum-bowls with encircled bosses on the inner base in red, black slipped and black and red wares (28) (Fig. 10.*8-11*).

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(24) Karl Khandalavala, 'Brahmapuri. A Consideration of the Metal Objects Found in the Kundangar Hoard', *Lalit Kalā*, 7, p. 69, pl. XXII, figs. 39-40.

(25) R.D. De Puma, 'The Roman Bronzes from Kolhapur', *RIAST*, *cit.*, p. 95, fig. *5.21-22*.

(26) A.H. Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjuna-konda', *MASI*, No. 54, 1938, pl. XXXIV*a*; Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, fig. 59.

(27) K.V. Raman, 'Further Evidence of Roman Trade from Coastal Sites in Tamil Nadu', *RIAST*, *cit.*, p. 127, fig. 7.*3*.

Concomitant with RPW are the decorated wares, betraying 'Megarian' type pottery of Graeco-Roman origin. Such decorations have been extensively noted on the RPW, red slipped and black wares, with a few exceptions occurring on the grey and kaolin wares as well. These are the local imitations of the Roman relief-decoration made by pressing clay into a mould which had itself been decorated by means of separate stamps. Typical Mediterranean examples commonly have a whorl of gadroons or leaf fronds originating from the base, supplemented by other natural and figural representations (29). Broadly speaking, the mode of decoration on most of the decorated pots at Adam is similar, although some variants break the monotony of the design elements. These variants may broadly be grouped as (i) exterior and (ii) interior decorations. In both categories the decorative elements either cover the entire surface of the pot or part of it and the ornamental motifs occur in segments separated by one or more circular bands; in some cases the segments are further compartmentalized by vertical bands. A few examples are illustrated here for appreciation (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11.*1* represents a red-ware bowl with an externally grooved rim, almost straight-sided, and a saggar base. It has a series of uniform blind perforations pierced half-way up the side wall. Conversely, other fragments of bowls of red-slipped (Fig. 11.*3, 6*) and kaolin (Fig. 11.*2*) wares show raised embossed globules, two of which represent a series of alternating rows of raised globules and plain ridges in vertical order (Fig. 11.*5-6*). One is topped by a circular band at the shoulder height (Fig. 11.*6*). This motif may be compared 'with dotted spaces between concentric circles or semicircles on fragments found in the Athenian Agora, Tarsus, and elsewhere' (30).

A globular pot with short bottle-type neck of RPW is a typical example of a double mould, of which the external joints have meticulously been pared without sacrificing the decorative elements. It depicts drooping lotus petals emerging from the neck band. The gaps between two petals are filled with stylized acanthus leaves originating from the lower band, while the lower segment shows a series of latticed bands (Fig. 12.*1*). The 'Megarian' interaction at the site is further strengthened when the bowls with segmented decoration, in some case compartmentalized, are taken into account. The element of compartmentalized device has been observed in the case of a rosette motif

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(28) Lal has called it 'knobbed' ware, *op. cit.*, p. 89, figs., 6.*1* and 8.*12*, pl. XLVI*B*; also see Vimala Begley, 'Ceramic Evidence for Pre-*Periplus* Trade on the Indian Coast', *RIAST*, *cit.*, p. 72.

(29) R.J. Charleston, *Roman Pottery*, London, n.d., p. 10, pls. 2-3.

(30) In an Indian context these varieties have been reported from other sites like Kondapur and Bhokardan; see G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXII, 1941, pp. 171-85, pl. VII; Begley, *op. cit.*, p. 168, fig. 10.*18-19*; Deo & Gupte, *op. cit.*, fig. 16G. Land-locked Nepal has also reported this type of sherd. Cf. G. Verardi, 'A Trial-Trench at Dhumvarahi, Kathmandu', in M. Taddei, ed., *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, Rome 1990, p. 902, fig. 53.

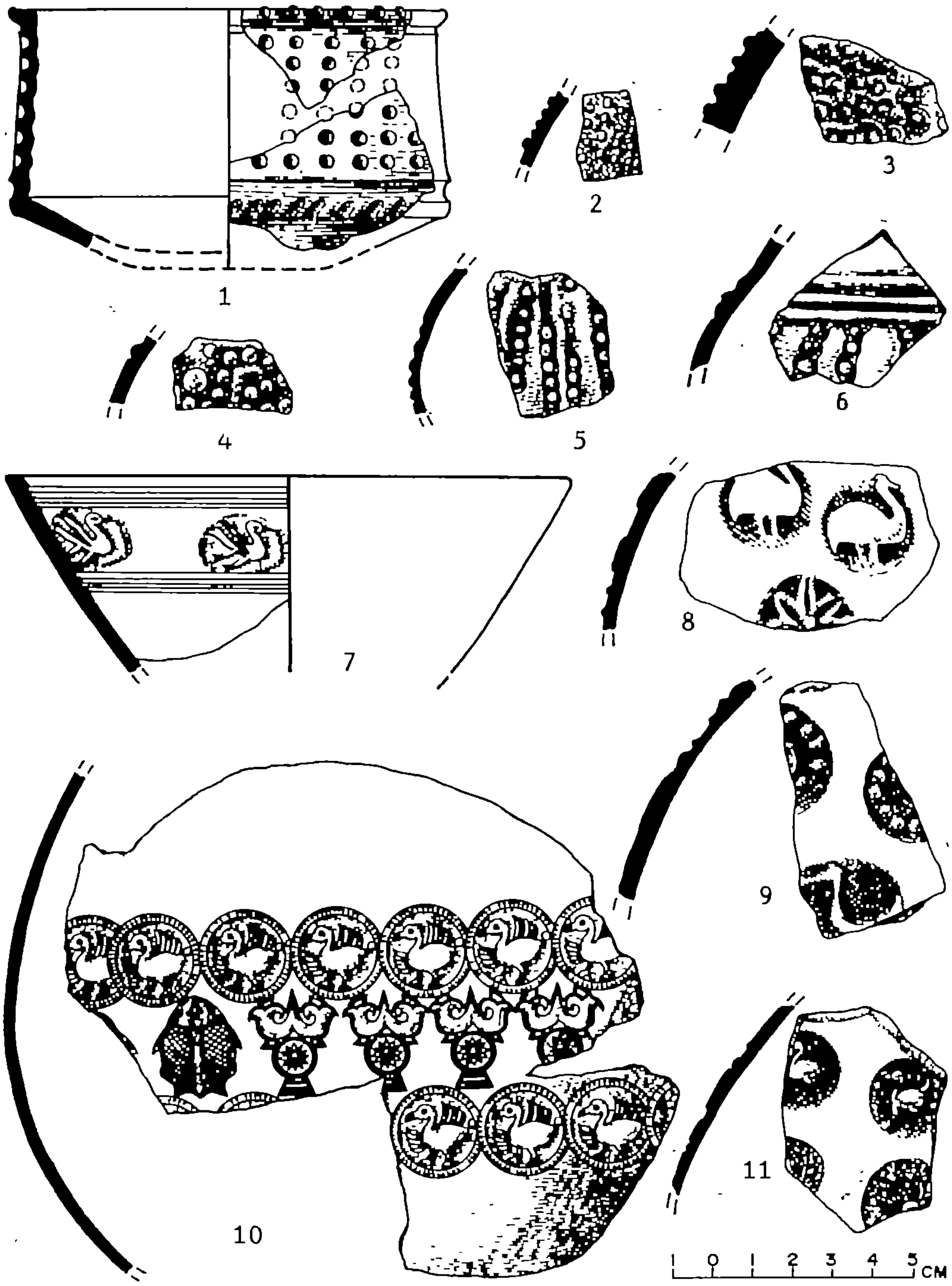

Fig. 11 - Adam. Stamped pottery.

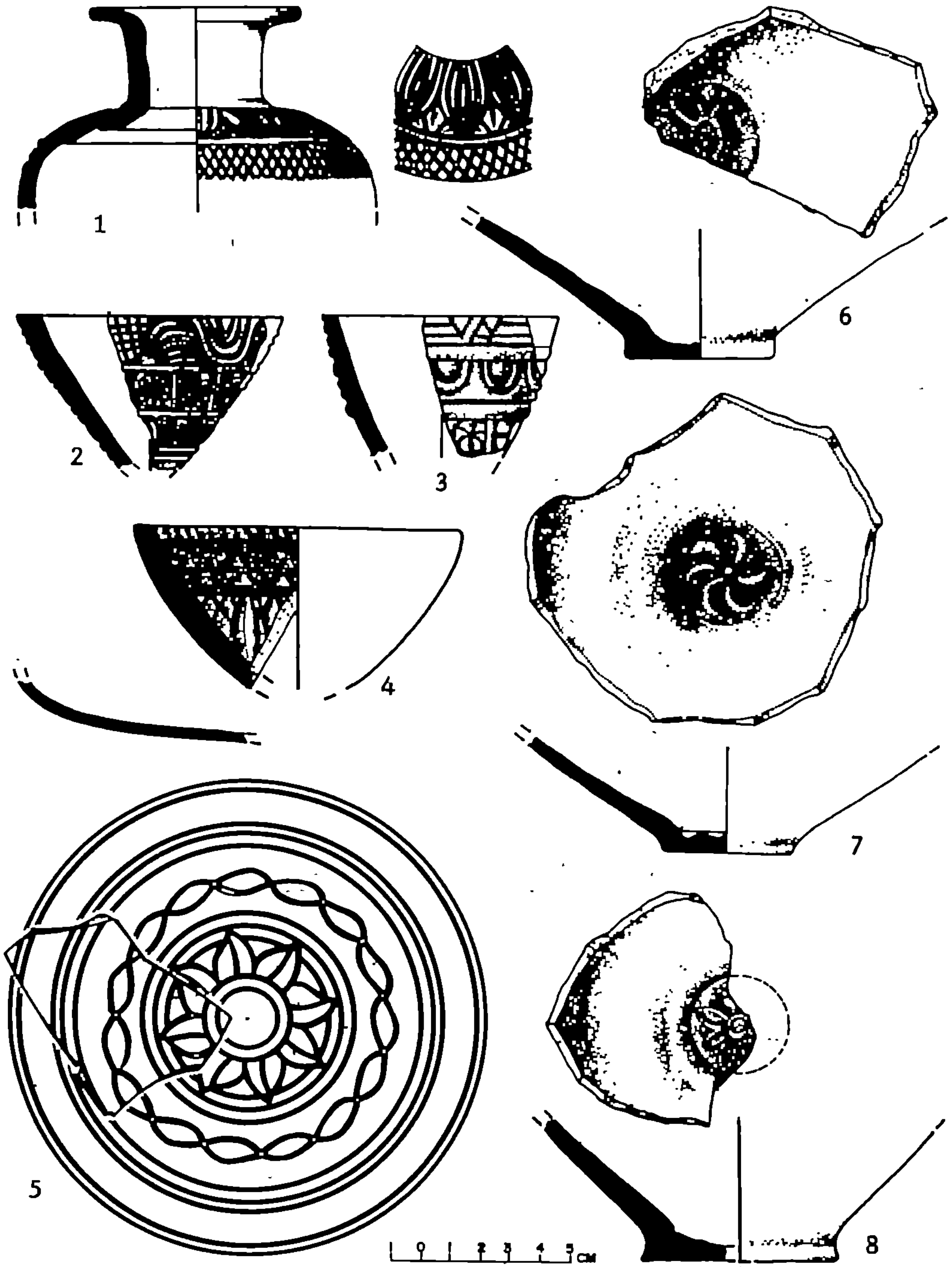

Fig. 12 - Adam. Moulded and stamped pottery.

(Fig. 12.*2-3*). Likewise, the stylized fronds flanked by a series of cubicles and U-shaped concentric bands (Fig. 12.2) and in other superimposed petals (Fig. 12.*4*) are some of the stylistic motifs typical of the site. The composition of lotus petals alternating with acanthus leaves is analogous to the motif occurring on the Hellenistic lotus corolla bowls. Further, comparison may be made with examples from Argos and Sparta (31).

Shifting our attention from the moulded to stamped decorations on the vessels, the site may be said to have yielded a good number of bird-motif variants (Fig. 11.*7-11*). Generally they occur on the exterior surface of the pot clubbed with other stamped symbols like *cakra* topped by a *triratna*, fish (Fig. 11.*10*), rosette (Fig. 11.*8, 11*) and beaded roundels (Fig. 11.9) etc., except where it occurs alone on the interior surface (Fig. 11.7). Most of these appear to be of local manufacture, save for one which appears to have travelled from Arikamedu as it compares well with type 10 of that site (Fig. 11.7). For overseas analogies we may see J.P. Morel's Italian 'atelier des petites estampilles' (32). Other stamped motifs, like *nandipāda*, radiating petals and rosettes occurring at the inner bases of the bowls are local manifestations yet appear to have been borrowed again from Arikamedu (33) (Fig. 12.*6-8*). Even an incised decoration of lotus petals skirted by a wreath of lozenges and concentric bands occurring at the base of a bowl, shows similarity with type 6 of Arikamedu (34) (Fig. 12.*5*). All this little known evidence helps in assessing the proportion in which Adam interacted with Arikamedu, relatively one of the farthest port cities compared to those situated on the estuaries of the Krishna-Godavari rivers.

Among the metal objects, attention is drawn to four objects, namely — a mirror, lamp, miniature dish-on-stand and ladle (Fig. 13). Save for the mirror which appears to be an imported item, the rest represent the quality products of the Adam repository which might have attracted overseas traders. The bronze mirror of circular shape with an omphalus at the back has wheel-turned concentric grooves, while the front has been polished to achieve a mirror finish. The omphalus of bell-shape is treated with petals all around. There is a circular hole drilled along the border with a view to attaching a handle (Fig. 13.*1*). The parallels of such mirrors have been noticed at Brahmapuri, Ter and Taxila, of which the one from Brahmapuri, having a 'lovely finish, like gun metal', compares well with the Adam find. Khandalavala has considered it a product of a Graeco-Roman atelier (35). Further, De Puma, on stylistic grounds, has specifically suggested it is product of the Trier-Cologne area (36).

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(31) Begley, *loc. cit.*

(32) J.P. Morel, 'Études de céramique campanienne, I. L'atelier des petites estampilles', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité*, 81, 1969, pp. 59-117; Begley, *loc. cit.*, p. 182.

(33) Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 89, fig. 36, type 141; for more illustrations from Arikamedu see Begley, *ibid.*, fig. 10.26.

(34) Wheeler, *ibid.*, p. 55, fig. 15.6.

(35) Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, p. 62, fig. 15.

(36) De Puma, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

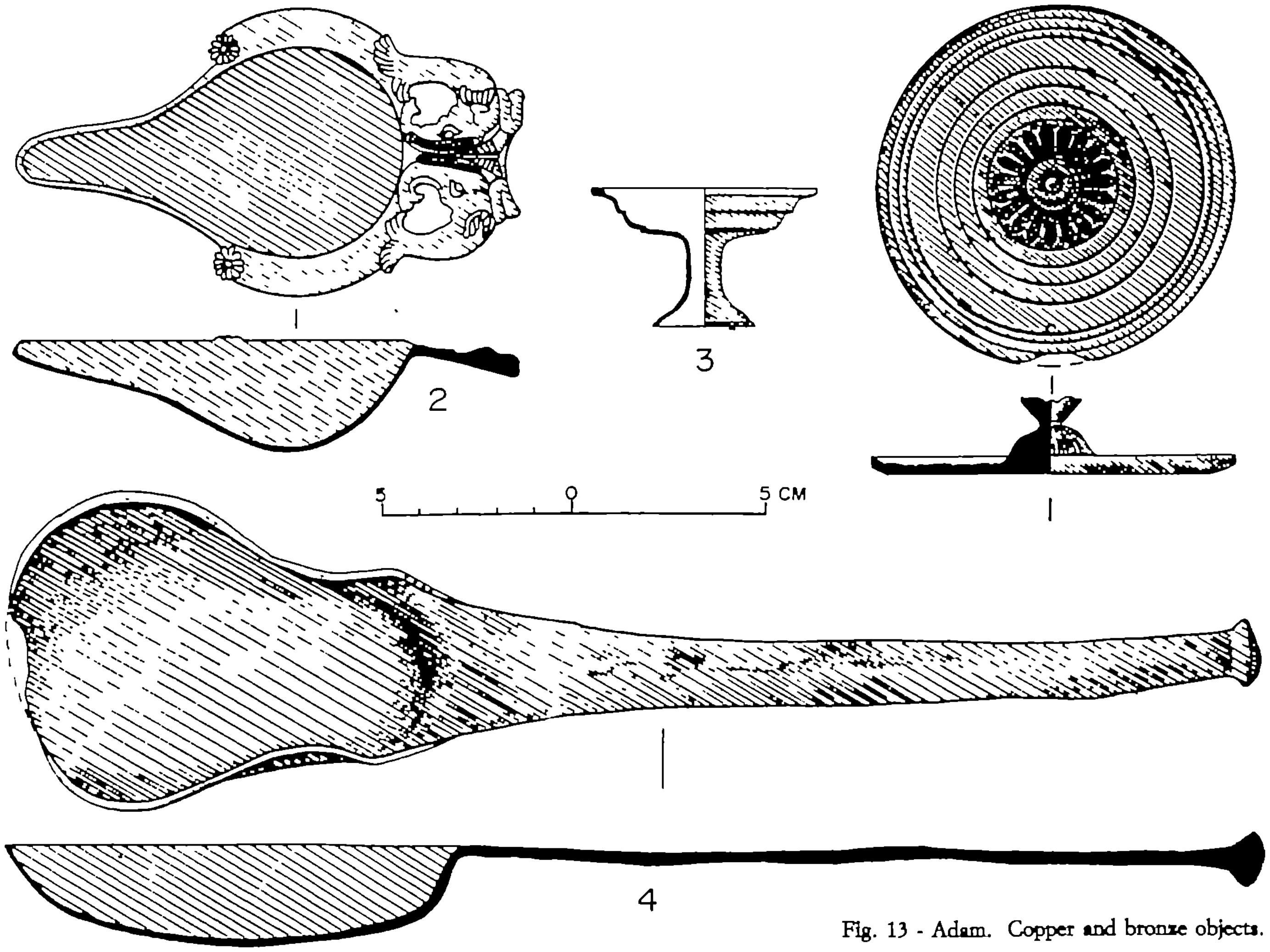

Fig. 13 - Adam. Copper and bronze objects.

As regards local metal production, attention is drawn to an ornamental lamp embellished with a splayed *makara*-motif handle with extended flanges on either side ending in a rosette device (Fig. 13.*2*). The only parallel of its kind may be drawn with a highly corroded copper lamp described as a 'channel-spouted cup' from Kayatha, from the early historical horizons (37). The miniature dish-on-stand is another commodity of interest (Fig. 13.*3*). It might have served as a base to a small dish or even lamp with a round base, as noted above. The copper ladle with an elongated but constricted mouth and knobbed-end handle is also an important find of Adam, the only parallel of which has been noted at Sambhar (38) (Fig. 13.*3*). Generally, the ladles from the early historical sites are of iron with a circular mouth. The Adam and Sambhar ladles make an important class by themselves.

Another commodity of a mercantile nature are glass artefacts. These are concentrated in the levels of Period V when overseas trade was at its peak. It is a well known fact that glass commodities were shipped in large quantities from the West to various ports along the east coast of Africa and to Indian harbours. Whether the Indian glass was shipped to overseas destinations or not is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, there is a reference to 'glass ware from Paithan' having arrived at Barygaza in 'wagons over very great roadless stretches' (39) perhaps as consignments *en route* to foreign marts. Coming to the actual findings at the site it is noted that its occurrence may be considered as meagre but in variety it was reasonably rich. It includes beads (etched in one instance), pendants, rings, bezels, kohl-sticks, spools and glassware. We shall focus our attention on glassware such as dishes, bowls, and other vessels. A dish of a translucent sea-blue colour is one of the best preserved glass objects ever reported from any of the excavated Satavahana site. It contains certain impurities and several air-bubbles. Apparently a product of moulding technique, it has an internally grooved splayed rim and a couple of concentric circles at the inner base (Fig. 14.*1*). A tiny rim fragment of a globular vessel of transparent variety is of a whitish sky-blue colour. It has an out-turned featureless rim which can be compared with a Nevasa find (40) (Fig. 14.*2*). Apart from this there is one translucent variety of bowl of a blue colour. It is distinguished by the externally grooved rim and carinated waist leading to a bulbous body embellished with grooves (Fig. 14.*3*). It may tentatively

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(37) Z.D. Ansari & M.K. Dhavalikar, *Excavations at Kayatha*, Pune 1975, p. 151, fig. 83.*1*, pl. XXIV.

(38) Daya Ram Sahni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar during 1936-37 and 1937-38 A.D.*, Jaipur, n.d., p. 49, pl. XIVK. The site has yielded a good number of the 'Megarian' type of bowls, see pl. IX.

(39) L. Carson, 'Sakas versus Andhras in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*', *JESHO*, 26, Pt. II, p. 175.

(40) H.D. Sankalia et al., *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa* (*1954-56*), Poona 1960, p. 453, fig. 192.*10*; also see E.M. Stern, 'Early Roman Export Glass in India', *RIAST*, *cit.*, p. 115, fig. 6.*5*; Nevasa has yielded fragments of twelve opaque glass vessels, only one of which has been drawn in the Report; the one which tallies with the Adam find is reported in the latter reference.

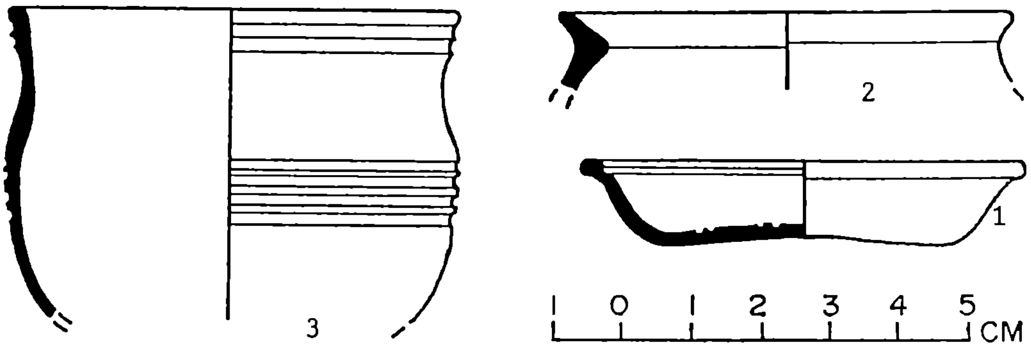

Fig. 14 - Adam. Glass wares.

be compared with the Roman glass bowl found at Arikamedu (41). Technically, the glass finds of Adam have yet to be examined. The published data from other Indian sites more or less substantiate the impression that some common technological devices in vogue then were also practised at Adam (42).

In the foregoing it has been noted that the typical Graeco-Roman antiquities, together with other associated findings, start occurring from layer ③ and continue until the site was abandoned (Fig. 15). The number of these antiquities are too meagre to discern any conclusive intra-site distribution pattern inside the habitation area enclosed by an earthen rampart; however, some tentative patterns have been worked out with regard to the distribution of coins and *bullae* (Fig. 16). The coins and *bulla* with cylindrical attachment start occurring from layer ③ and have been found in the southern sector of the habitation, while the clay, glazed terracotta, faience and silver coin *bullae* start occurring in the uppermost layer and have been reported in the northern part of the habitation (Fig. 16). In this context it is interesting to note that compared to the northern sector, the majority of the important metal antiquities, bead polishers, finished and unfinished beads and pendants of precious and semi-precious stones, carved ivory and bone objects, spindle-whorls, seals and sealings have come from the southern sector of the habitation. Likewise, the structural complexes of the southern sector are also of a comparatively high order. Here, the houses have three to five cells opening either into L or I-shaped corridors, followed by some well-defined courtyards. All this evidence distinguishes the habitation of the southern sector of the mound as an

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(41) Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 102, pl. XXXIVB, fig. 42.3.

(42) B.B. Lal, 'Examination of Some Ancient Indian Glass Specimens', *Ancient India*, 8, 1952, pp. 17-27; Vijay Govid, 'Some Aspects of Glass Manufacturing in Ancient India', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, New Delhi 1970, 5, 2, pp. 281-308; M.G. Dikshit, *History of Indian Glass*, Bombay 1969, pp. 149-61.

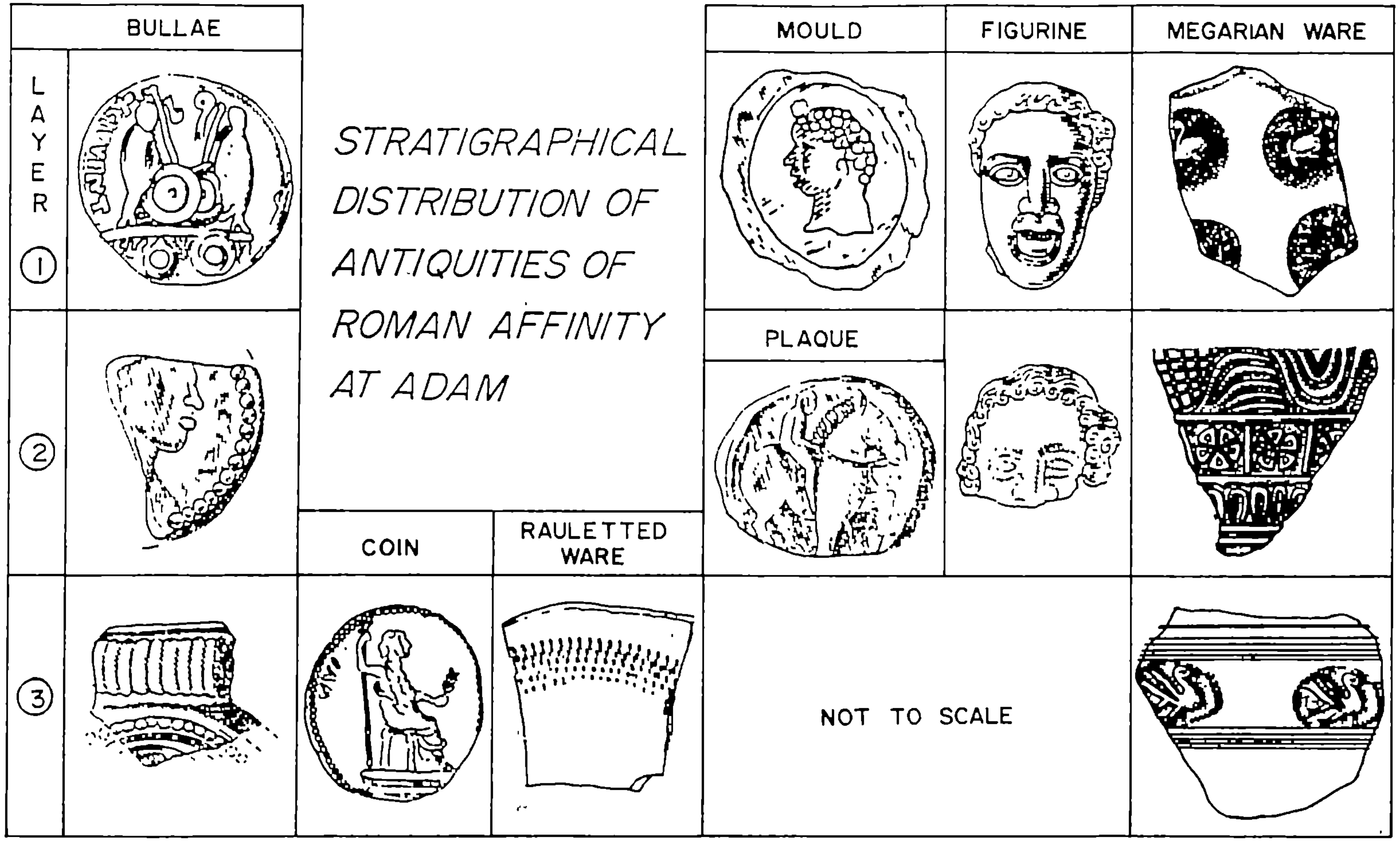

Fig. 15 - Adam. Stratigraphical distribution of antiquities of Roman affinity.

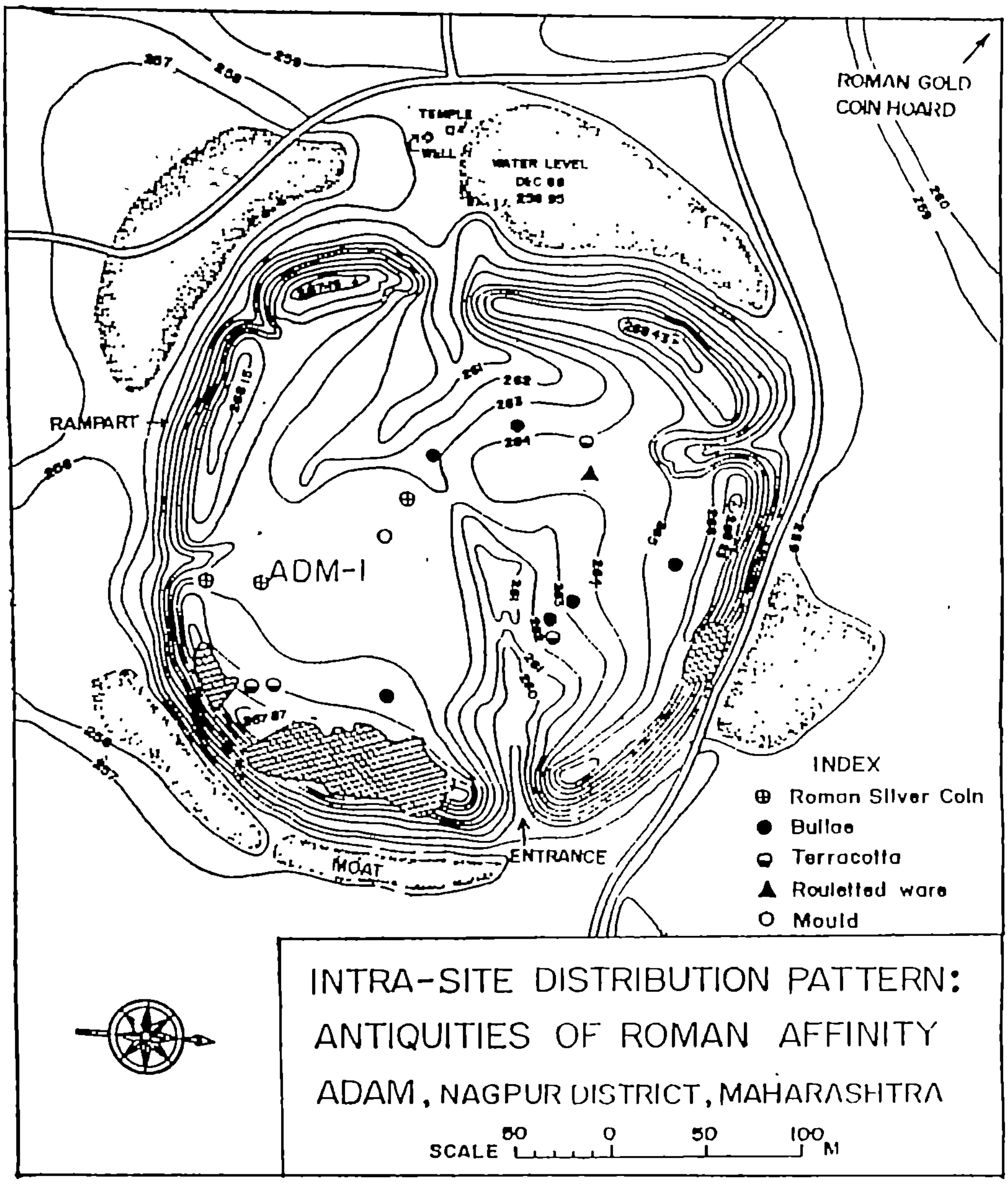

Fig. 16 - Adam. Intra-site distribution pattern: antiquities of Roman affinity.

area of nobility which patronized some specialized vocational occupations and in turn thrived on the consumer market.

After having evaluated the nature and source of these findings, the above discoveries at the site raise some vital questions such as the identification of local merchandise for marketing the domestic and sea-borne trades, and subsequently, the status of Adam among the intermediary marts on the trans-Vindhyan trade-route. Let us first examine the domestic trade viability of Adam in order to appreciate its extra-Indian trade potency.

In fact, there are several direct sources in the form of numismatic and sphragistic materials to recognize Adam as an important domestic mart where sealed goods were unloaded from the domains of Mahasenapatis (43), Sebakas (44), Salankayanas (45) and Maharathis situated in the regions of the greater Krishna-Godavari plains of Andhra Pradesh. Likewise, the discovery of cast copper coins of Taxila origin of the three-arched hill and hollow cross type (46), suggests its circulation at Adam during the pre-Satavahana times and even later. The transportation of NBP Ware and stone artefacts bearing typical Mauryan polish to the site further serves as a source for the upper Indian connection. Briefly, the above inferences highlight the commercial potentiality of Adam, *inter alia*, its formidable impact on other contemporary urban centres situated north of the Vindhyas and peninsular India. In this land-borne trade backdrop let us identity the finished products of Adam manufactured for the purpose of satisfying the demands of the sea-borne trade.

An overall examination of the finds obtained from this period leads us to believe that the quality gemstones products ranked above other products. The beads and pendants made of gemstones were manufactured in greater numbers than any other precious commodity. Quite a large number of these have been found in various stages of production using siliceous material like rock-crystal, quartz, chalcedony, carnelian, agate, jasper, amethyst, chert, etc. A few sandstone and shale bead polishers have also been documented from this horizon, and serve as a definite source for lapidary work. The sources for all these raw-materials seem to have been native Deccan trap (47). A few beads of rare varieties finished on materials like topaz, onyx and lapis-lazuli have also been selected from the collection; these have been categorized as of imported variety as no unfinished beads made of these materials have been found during the excavation at the site. Also the sources of these items are noted elsewhere

(43) Amarendra Nath, 'On a Mahasenapati Sealing from Adam', *Epigraphia Indica* (*EI*), 42, pp. 72-74.

(44) Id., 'An Unknown Sababa', *EI*, 43, under publication.

(45) Id., 'Yet Another Reference to Śālankāyana', *EI*, 43, under publication.

(46) Id., 'Taxila Coins from Adam: A Site in Vidarbha', *JNSI*, 54, under publication.

(47) J. Coggin Brown, *India's Mineral Wealth*, Oxford 1936, pp. 283 ff.; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-24, fig. 49.

in the Subcontinent (48). The other crafts related to the stone-work appear to be the production of lathe-turned caskets, bowls, miniature pots, etc. The discovery of a good number of high-quality stone moulds used by the local goldsmith indicates a flourishing craft of filigree-work. Numerous finds of crucibles and metal objects of copper, lead and iron suggest a highly developed and organized industrial base thriving at the site.

In support of the above craft activities, curiously enough, ancient pits and slag dumps of copper have been located by a team of the Geological Suvey of India, Nagpur in the vicinity of Adam at places like Pullar, Parsodi, Adyal, Nerla, Kitari, Garara, Tambekhani; for gold the nearest source reported is Kolari. Likewise, the ancient sources for iron and lead have also been sought in the neighbourhood of Adam.

Together with these crafts, the people of Adam seem to have practised spinning, and weaving in turn. The findings of over forty terracotta wheel-turned spindle-whorls clearly associate the site with the weaving technology. Furthermore, an intact iron shear from the same horizon, which was used specially in the cutting or clipping of hair, fleece, wool etc., further widens the scope of this craft at the site. But in the absence of actual remains the quality of the product may not be assessed in terms of considering it as an item of export (49). However, the presence of mercers at the site may not be ruled out.

Identification of some of these cottage industries at the site is certainly indicative of a 'self-sufficing' community living where artisans were commissioned to those specialized vocational occupations which were required to encourage the fast-expanding market economy. Together with Adam other contemporary inland marts of Deccan competing or contributing to the marcantile economy, to mention but a few, were Pauni, Paithan, Nevasa, Bhokardan, Ter, Dharanikota, Sannati and Kondapur (50). Possibly, each of these centres was struggling hard to push its products to the consumer's market in order to keep a balance between demand and supply. In all probability these manufactories had access, either directly or through middlemen, to some coastal marts with a view to participate in the bullion market of Graeco-Roman trade.

For the merchants of central Deccan the western port destinations like Barygaza (Broach), Souppara (Sopāra) and Kalliena (Kalyāna) were not as safe or convenient as the east-coast harbours for two main reasons. Firstly, the constant struggle between the Satavahanas and the Kshatrapas for the supremacy over the Western trail led to political uncertainty, which was not an atmosphere to trade in (51). Secondly, the great distances of the ports across the tedious terrain of the Western Ghat made it further an uphill endeavour even for the marts which were relatively close (52). Under the circumstances the traffic chose an impregnable trans-peninsular route along the Krishna-Godavari valley in order to reach the ports of the southeast coast. It was possible because of the firm control of the Satavahanas in the south-central Deccan over a considerable period of time.

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(48) L.A.N. Iyer, 'Indian Precious Stone', *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, Calcutta 1941, Bulletin No. 6, p. 76.

(49) Cotton and other fabric from Tagara (Ter) were reaching Barygaza, see Lionel, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

(50) For more details on commerce under the Satavahanas see H.P. Ray, *Monastery and Guild*, Delhi 1986; cf. also Aloka Parasher, 'Social Structure and Economy of Settlements in the Central Deccan (200 B.C.-A.D. 200)', in *The City in Indian History*, ed. Indu Banga, Delhi 1991, pp. 19-46.

(51) G. Yazdani, ed., *The Early History of the Deccan*, Oxford 1960, p. 125.

This kind of terraqueous trade provides evidence of the brisk circulation of coins at various sites falling in the mercantile network of the region. At Adam, the findings of over five thousand coins from the Satavahana levels denoted precisely the economic environment of the period. The majority of these coins are attributed to the Satavahanas, followed by their Mahārathis, governing eastern Vidarbha. Associated with these coins are some, unidentified indigenous issues of those centres which fell within the trade circuit of Adam. Along with these coins the occurrence of the Roman silver coins from the stratified cuttings postulates its use as legal tender (53). On the contrary, not a single Roman gold coin came from the stratified cuttings, other than the hoard of eleven coins (54). It may not have been used as currency but as bullion to be weighed out in exchange for gold and silver ornaments or goods (55). Incidentally, the *Periplus* refers to the import of gold and silver coins into Broach in order to get 'exchanged with much profit for the local currency' (56). It is reasonable to think that the Romans might have used their coins over and above the indigenous issues, and created an impact on the contemporary bullion market.

In the light of above findings, it is logical to consider Adam as one of the potential marts of Central India which *inter alia* promoted a direct nexus between the land-borne and sea-borne traffic through the coastal marts of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu. In all probability the site appears to have been deserted in *c.* A.D. 250 either due to a slump in trade or to political disorders, as there is no other evidence from the excavations to establish any kind of natural calamity. An obvious factor largely accepted as reason for the decay of the ancient Indian cities around 3rd century A.D. onwards was the collapse of the Graeco-Roman trade (57); to this effect it seems that Adam was not an exception.

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(52) The considerable trade from Pratisthana and Tagara, instead of finding its natural outlet in Kalyāṇa harbour, was diverted across extensive and difficult mountainous country to Barygaza: B.N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kushana History*, Calcutta 1970, p. 40; Carson, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

(53) P.L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50.

(54) Other than the Singhbhun board practically no site either to the north or the west has ever reported hoards of Roman gold coins, see P.L. Gupta, 'Roman Trade in India', in *Dr Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume*, Varanasi 1969, pp. 169-80. The paucity of Roman *aurei* in the north may be due to the fact that they were melted to mint the Kushana coins, but this does not explain the absence of *denarii*. See H.P. Ray, 'The Yavana Presence in Ancient India', *JESHO*, 31, 1988, p. 319.

(55) R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London 1955, p. 167.

(56) W.H. Schoff, transl., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New Delhi 1974, 2nd ed., sec. 49.

(57) R.S. Sharma, 'Urbanism in Early Historic India', in *The City in Indian History*, *cit.*, pp. 9-18.

Probable Textual Sources for the Buddhist Sculptural Maṇḍalas of Orissa

by THOMAS EUGENE DONALDSON

Although the Buddha did not personally visit Orissa (Oḍra, Oḍiviśa, Utkala), various sources and/or legends throughout history attest to the important role this region played in the development and dissemination of Buddhist doctrines and concepts. According to early Vinaya texts, for example, two merchants of Ukkala (Utkala?) became the first lay disciples of Buddha, receiving from him eight tufts of hair which they deposited in a *caitya* in their native city (Sahu 1956: 80-81), while the *Dathavaṁśa*, a quasi religio-historical record of Śrī Lanka dating to the early 4th century A.D., gives a detailed account of a tooth relic taken by Khema to Kaliṅga (southern Orissa, northern Andhra Pradesh) where the king deposited it in a *caitya* at his capital Dantapura (Sahu 1956: 85-86). According to the 7th century Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, King Aśoka built more than ten *stūpas* in Wu-t'u (Oḍra) at places where (supposedly) the Buddha had preached (Watters 1905: I, 193-94) while other sources report that Tissa, the brother of Aśoka, selected Kaliṅga for his place of retirement and the emperor is believed to have built for him a monastery known as the Bhojakagiri-*vihāra*, which became the center of activities of the Thera school (Sahu 1958: 23) (1). According to tradition in Tibet as recorded by Tāranātha in the 17th century, a wealthy *brāhmaṇa* named Rāghava lived in Oḍiviśa during the period of the grandson of Aśoka. He became a follower of Buddhism and was visited by the *arhat* Posada who, at the request of Rāghava, had eighty-thousand *arhats* assemble in his house where they were entertained for three years (*Tāranātha* 1980: 78).

That Buddhism was spreading throughout Orissa in the early centuries of the Christian era is evident in various inscriptions, including 3rd century examples from Bhadrak (Rajaguru 1976: 1) and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Mitra 1978: 6) pertaining to Hinayāna Buddhist activities, while in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* we learn that Mahāyāna Buddhism was also being propagated in Toṣalī (Śiśupālgarh/Bhubaneswar) at this time (Mitra 1978: 6-7; Sahu 1958: 81-82). In his *History of Buddhism in India*, completed in A.D. 1608,

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(1) In the 5th century this monastery was well-known as the residence of the famous logician Dignāga who built the superstructure of Buddhist logic. Cf. Sahu 1958: 109-11; Watters 1905: II, 211 ff., and *Tāranātha* 1980: 176-95

Tāranātha notes that both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna were being propagated at Ratnagiri-*vihāra* during its early phase of development in the Gupta period (*Tāranātha* 1980: 144):

> Now, near the coast of the ocean, on top of a hill in the country of Oḍiviśa in the east, king Buddhapakṣa, in the latter part of his life, built a temple called Ratnagiri. He prepared three copies of each of the scriptual works of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and kept these in the temple. He established there eight great centers for the Doctrine and maintained five hundred monks.

Other inscriptions, including examples from Jayarampur (Rajaguru 1963: 230-33) and Asanapat (Das 1965: 5), testify to religious harmony throughout the 5th-6th centuries between Mahāyāna Buddhist mendicants and *brāhmaṇas*. Although this harmony was temporarily shattered with the conquest of Orissa at the beginning of the 7th century by Śaśāṅka, who is said to have demolished Buddhist monasteries in large numbers (Srivastava 1965: 43-45), apparently Buddhism again became popular after his defeat by Harṣavardhana as Hsüan-tsang during his visit at this time records that Mahāyāna Buddhism was flourishing in Oḍra (Watters 1905: II, 193-94; Beal 1911: 134). In some later Tibetan accounts, as in the work of Tāranātha, Oḍiviśa is even considered to be the birthplace of Mahāyāna, as well as Tantrayāna (*Tāranātha* 1980: 90):

> Shortly after the period of king Mahāpadma, Candrarakṣita became the king of Oḍiviśa. It is said that ārya Mañjuśrī came to his house in the guise of a monk, preached some Mahāyāna doctrines and left a book there. According to the followers of the sūtra, it was the *Prajñāpāramitā-aṣṭasābasrikā*. According to the followers of tantra, it was the [*Sarvatathāgata*] *Tattvasaṁgraha*. However, the point is not of major significance, though in my opinion the former view is right. This was the first appearance of the Mahāyāna in the human world after the Teacher's nirvāṇa.

In numerous other texts Oḍiviśa/Oḍra is associated with Uḍḍiyāna, invariably listed as the earliest of the four *pīṭhas* of the *Catuṣpīṭha* concept and often considered to be the birthplace of Tantric Buddhism (2). In the *Sādbanamālā* (12th century), for example, Uḍḍiyāna is also spelt as Oḍrayāna while in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (*c.* 11th-12th century) it is spelt either Uḍḍiyāna or Oḍra (van Kooij 1972: 170-71). Indrabhūti, a king of Uḍḍiyāna in the 8th century, is variously credited with organizing Mantrayāna Buddhism into Vajrayāna and he likewise is frequently associated with Orissa, as in the *Caturāsiti-siddba-Pravṛtti* or in the *Bṣtāñḥgyur* catalogue of P. Cordier which mentions him as the king of Oḍiviśa (Sahu 1958: 144-46) and in the accounts of the eighty-four Siddhas given by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1934: 218-35) where his preceptor, Kaṁbala-pā, who is intimately associated with the *Hevajra Tantra*, is mentioned as belonging to Oḍiviśa. Indrabhūti supposedly ruled the portion of Uḍḍiyāna called Śaṁbhala which itself is particularly associated with the *Kālacakra-Tantra* in Tibetan accounts though they are at variance regarding the name of the *ācārya* who first brought this text from Śaṁbhala. According to Tāranātha (1980: 289) it was Pito, sent to Śaṁbhala by Vajrapāṇi, and he brought many Tantras with him which he taught to the students in Ratnagiri-*vihāra* (Sahu 1958: 148). In the *Blue Annals* (A.D. 1476-78) it is stated in connection with the search for the *Kālacakra-Tantra* by *ācārya* Cheluka (Tsi-lu-pa), that the *ācārya* had read it in the *vihāra* of Ratnagiri (Rin-chen-ri-bo) which had been left undamaged by the Turuṣkas (Roerich 1949, 1953: II, 755). Cheluka's connection with Orissa and Ratnagiri-*vihāra* is attested to by other Tibetan texts as well, as pointed out by D. Mitra (1978: 18), including a passage from a late 14th century book by mKhas-Grub Thams-chad mKhyen-Pa dGe-Legs-dPal-bZang-Po in which it is stated that 'the great preceptor Cheluka, born in Orissa, studied all the *Piṭakas* and read all the small books of the *Piṭaka* in Ratnagiri-*vihāra*, Vikramaśīla and Nālandā'. Elsewhere in the *Blue Annals*, which records different traditions, the *ācārya* is named Pindopa while in the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* (1908: lxxi, 115), completed in A.D. 1747, he is named Biṭoba:

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(2) For a detailed study of this association with Orissa, see Sahu 1958: 141-55.

> At the last moment of the King (Mahīpāla) ācārya Biṭoba came and Vajrapāṇi instructed him to go through magic to Śaṁbhala where Kālacakra would be found. He went there and brought it to Ratnagiri and explained the doctrine to bhikṣu Abadhūtipā, Bodhiśrī and Nāropa.

Other important Tantric *siddhas* especially associated with Orissa include Saraha, also known as Rāhulabhadra. In the *Tanjur* catalogue it is stated that he belongs to Uḍḍiyāna while, according to Tāranātha he was born in Oḍiviśa (Sahu 1958: 162). In the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* (xxvii, 84-85) it is recorded that he was born in Rājñī in the eastern country, was an adept in both the Buddhist and Brahmanical lores, and became high priest at Nālandā. He visited Orissa, where he was converted to Mantrayāna, and from there he proceeded to Mahārāṣṭra where, upon performing the *mahāmudrā* ritual of mysticism with a female ascetic, he attained to *siddhi* (Sahu 1958: 163). An account (legendary) in the *Blue Annals* associates him with the transmission of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* to Nāgārjuna (Roerich 1949, 1953: I, 359-60):

> The adepts of the (Guhya) samāja agree that the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* had been preached by the Munindra himself, following a request of Indrabhūti, the great king of Oḍḍiyāna, at the time when the Buddha had manifested himself in Oḍḍiyāna and initiated (the king). Thereupon the king and his retinue practised the Tantra by means of the prapañcā-cārya and became initiates, and the country of Oḍḍiyāna became deserted. After that a yoginī, who had descended from the realm of the Nāgas, heard it from (king) Indrabhūti and taught it to king Visukalpa of the Southern country. The mahā-brāhmaṇa Saraha heard it from him and taught it to ācārya Nāgārjuna.

Luīpā, also regarded as one of the earliest *siddhācāryas*, is described in the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* as a member of the fisherman caste who rose to be a writer in the employ of the king of Uḍḍiyāna. He met Svarīpā, who initiated him into the mysteries of Tantrism, and is credited with being the originator of the *Saṁputa-tilaka* (³). According to Tibetan tradition he is also credited with converting an Orissan king to Buddhism (*Tāranātha* 1980: 178).

In these Tibetan accounts, though written long after the fact and possibly based on legendary material, Orissa thus appears to have played an important role in the development of later Buddhist doctrine, with numerous early texts directly or indirectly associated with its monasteries, including the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Hevajra Tantra* and the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

From more contemporary Chinese sources a former king of Oḍra, named Śubhākarasiṁha (A.D. 660-758) is given credit for introducing Tantrayāna Buddhism to China at the beginning of the 8th century, arriving at the capital in A.D. 716 at the invitation of T'ang Hsüan-tsung. According to his late 8th century biography by Li Hua, Śubhākarasiṁha was a prince of a Central Indian family ruling in Orissa, his ancestors leaving Magadha due to political unrest. He ascended the throne at the age of thirteen but soon abdicated to pursue his desire to be a monk. He went southward to the sea where he came to a superb monastery, most likely Ratnagiri-*vihāra*, where he obtained the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-samādhi* (Yi-liang 1945: 251-55). This *samādhi* involved reciting the *Lotus Sūtra* for twenty-one days through which one endeavours to see the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and to confess one's sins with the hope of becoming a Bodhisattva. Samantabhadra plays an important role in the *Mahavairocanābhisambodhi* and, as suggested by A. Wayman (Wayman & Tajima 1992: 13-15), it is possible that a copy of this text was available to Śubhākarasiṁha, probably copied from the text in the Ratnagiri-*vihāra*, at the very beginning of his religious studies. His interest in artistic expression and in *maṇḍalas* at this early date seems apparent as it is recorded that 'he piled up sand to form stūpas, to the number of almost ten-thousand, and even when a black snake bit his finger, he would not give up'. He eventually found accomodation on a merchant ship and visited many countries, including Śrī-Lanka, during which he developed further his meditational and artistic skills. In time he proceeded to Nālandā and studied Tantra from Dharmagupta. After a period of pilgrimage to holy sites, including Gandhāra, he travelled to China where he was welcomed as a renowned monk and was given the title of 'Teacher of the Country' (Yi-liang 1945: 254-63). Included among the texts which he brought with him to China were the *Mahavairocanābhisambodhi*, which he translated into Chinese in A.D. 725, and an iconographic copybook in his own hand

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(³) Cf. *Sādhanamālā* 1968: II, xxxviii. There apparently are two *ācāryas* named Luīpā, the younger one being referred to as Matsyendranātha.

of the *maṇḍala* deities of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, the latter surviving in early Japanese copies and known as the *Gobushinkan* (4). Both stress the importance of Mahāvairocana and the interrelated *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-* and *Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas*, the basis canonical sources for Shingon Buddhism which, according to Japanese legends, were transmitted by Mahāvairocana to Vajrasattva who kept them for several hundred years within an iron *stūpa* in South India, where they lay concealed until recovered by Nāgārjuna (Snodgrass 1988: I, 111-19).

From another Chinese source we learn that the emperor Te-tsung received in A.D. 795 the gift of an autographed manuscript containing the last section of the *Avataṁsaka*, the section (*Gaṇḍavyūha*) treating of the practice and vow of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, from the king of Oḍra, who was an ardent follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and whose name, rendered into Chinese, means 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion'. S. Levi (1919-20: 363-64) identifies this monarch as Śubhākarasiṁha, i.e., Śubhākaradeva I while other scholars (Misra 1934: 75; Panigrahi 1961b: 25) identify him with Śrīman-Mahārāja-Śivakara Unmaṭṭasiṁha, the father of Śubhākaradeva I (5). The manuscript and a letter were entrusted to the monk Prājña for translation. Prājña, born in Kapiśā, had begun his studies in northern India, continued them in Madhya-deśa, resided in Nālandā and visited many sacred places, thus passing eighteen years in learning prior to settling in a monastery in Orissa to study yoga. He next moved to China where, in A.D. 788, he made a translation of the Mahāyāna *Śat-pāramitā-sūtra* (Levi 1919-20: 364). Although the specific monastery in Oḍra has not been identified, the fact that Prājña, after eighteen years of study at different places including Nālandā, had settled, prior to visiting China, in 'a monastery of Wu-ch'a proves beyond doubt that the monastic establishments of Oḍra had obtained an honorable and prized footing in the Buddhist world' (Mitra 1978: 12).

Although very little is known about the history of Orissa during the 7th and 8th centuries, the building activity at the Buddhist sites of Lalitagiri (nucleus dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries) and Ratnagiri (nucleus dating to the 5th-6th centuries) in the Asia hills of Cuttack district appears to have gained momentum in the 7th century, at which time several monasteries were constructed, and was further accelerated during the 8th century with Monastery No. 1 at Ratnagiri and the monastery complex at neighboring Udayagiri being the most notable constructions. The myriad of *stūpas*, many monolithic, as mentioned by D. Mitra (1978: 12), indicates that Ratnagiri had

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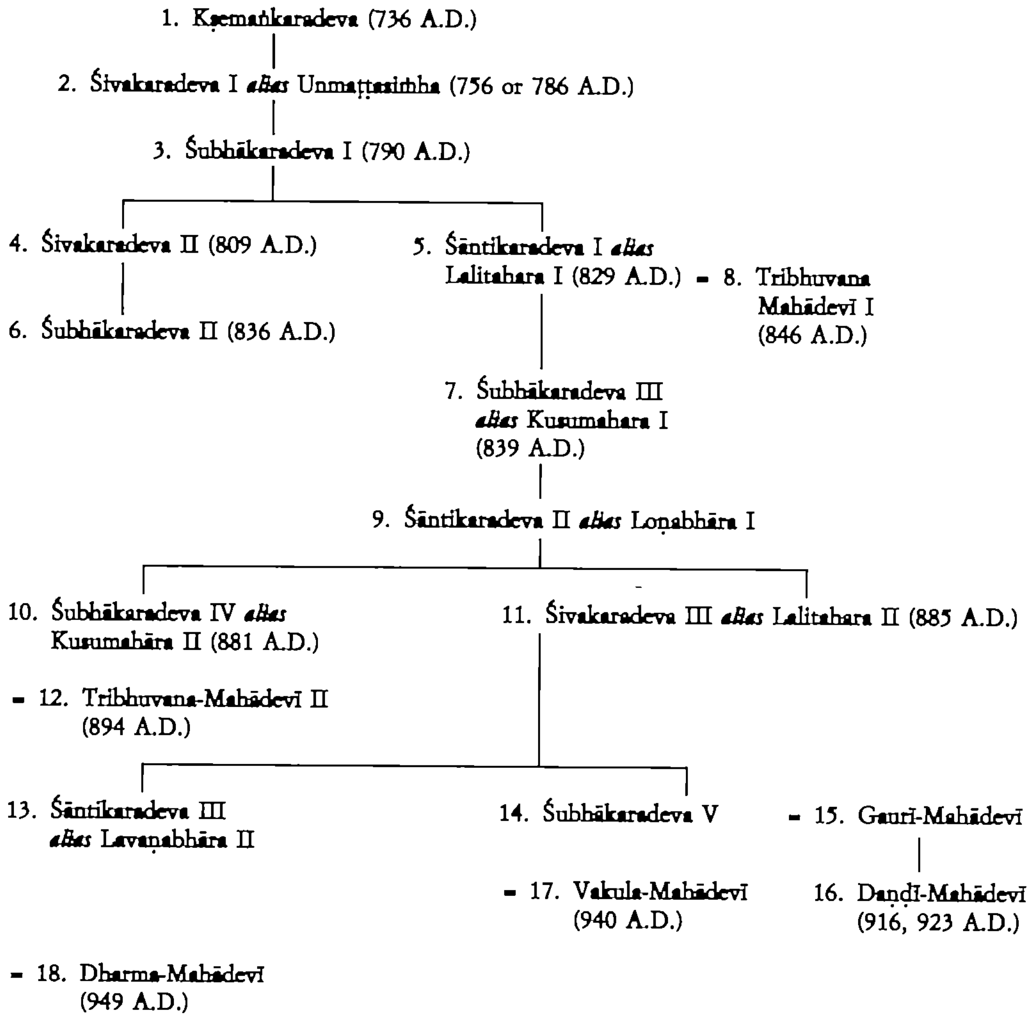
(4) Cf. Yamamoto 1990 for an English translation of the Chinese version by Śubhākarasiṁha and I-hsing of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, and Chandra & Snellgrove for a facsimile reproduction of a 10th century Nepali manuscript of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* (1981).

(5) Either Śubhākarasiṁha or Śrīman-Mahārāja Śivakara Unmaṭṭasiṁha can be translated as 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion', though *unmaṭṭa* ('mad') is not translated in the latter case.

Table 1

BHAUMA-KARAS


1. Kṣemaṅkaradeva (736 A.D.)
2. Śivakaradeva I *alias* Unmattasiṁha (756 or 786 A.D.)
3. Śubhākaradeva I (790 A.D.)
4. Śivakaradeva II (809 A.D.)
5. Śāntikaradeva I *alias* Lalitahara I (829 A.D.)
= 8. Tribhuvana Mahādevī I (846 A.D.)
6. Śubhākaradeva II (836 A.D.)
7. Śubhākaradeva III *alias* Kusumahara I (839 A.D.)
9. Śāntikaradeva II *alias* Loṇabhāra I
10. Śubhākaradeva IV *alias* Kusumahāra II (881 A.D.)
11. Śivakaradeva III *alias* Lalitahara II (885 A.D.)
= 12. Tribhuvana-Mahādevī II (894 A.D.)
13. Śāntikaradeva III *alias* Lavaṇabhāra II
14. Śubhākaradeva V
= 15. Gaurī-Mahādevī
= 17. Vakula-Mahādevī (940 A.D.)
16. Daṇḍī-Mahādevī (916, 923 A.D.)
= 18. Dharma-Mahādevī (949 A.D.)

Adopted from Krishna C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, Madras 1961.

acquired a profound sanctity to draw pilgrims from far and near, and there is little doubt that the active patronage provided by the rulers of the Bhauma-kara dynasty played a major role in its phenomenal growth. The Bhauma-karas apparently were an aboriginal tribe, generally taken to be the Bhuyans, inhabiting the northern hilly tracts of Orissa, who supposedly migrated from Assam where a branch of their dynasty existed from earlier times. Harṣavardhana, king of Assam, like the Bhauma-karas, claims descent from Bhagadatta and it is quite possible that his Orissan expedition led to a period of turmoil that gave the Bhauma-karas the opportunity to establish an independent kingdom in Toṣalī with their capital at Guhadevapāṭaka, identified with Gohiratikra five miles from Jājpur on the Vaitaraṇī river in Cuttack district (Panigrahi 1957: 275). According to some scholars (Das 1978 and Wayman & Tajima 1992: 14) the ancestors of Śubhākarasiṁha were vassal kings of the Assam regime and moved into Orissa at this time. The earlier Bhauma-kara rulers in Orissa seem to have ruled in the north (Toṣalī) contemporaneously with the Śailodbhavas in the south (Koṅgoda), but from copper-plate grants of later kings it becomes evident that they eventually extended their rule to the region once occupied by the Śailodbhavas (Panigrahi 1961a: 11). The foundation of their dynasty, according to astronomical data worked out by S.N. Rajaguru (1952: 208-13), commenced in A.D. 736 and their rule lasted for nearly two-hundred years, though the latter part of the dynasty is characterized by political turmoil with much of the area being divided into numerous small principalities.

The first three rulers of the Bhauma-kara dynasty — *paramopāsaka* Kṣemaṅkara-deva, *parama-tathāgata* Śivakaradeva I *alias* Unmaṭṭasiṁha, and *parama-saugata* Śubhākaradeva I — were all devout Buddhists, as indicated in the Neulpur grant of Śubhākaradeva I (Banerji 1919-20: 3), as were at least two of the latter's successors, i.e., Sugatāśraya Śivakara II and *parama-saugata* Śubhākaradeva III. These rulers not only professed Buddhism, as pointed out by D. Mitra (1978: 13), but actively participated in the furtherance of the faith, even being responsible for the construction of Buddhist structures as recorded in various inscriptions. In her Dhenkanal copper-plate of the Bhauma year 110 (A.D. 846), for example, Tribhuvana-mahādevī refers to her predecessors, including Unmaṭṭasiṁha and Śāntikara I, as benevolent rulers 'who exhausted treasures on their vast empire on religious works in order to enlighten their own country and others — who decorated the earth by constructing in unbroken continuity various maṭhas, monasteries and temples' (Misra 1934: 28). Religious tolerance was widespread throughout the latter part of Bhauma-kara rule with various kings donating land for the ceremonial worship of images, maintenance of existing structures or repairs to edifices of both Buddhism and Hinduism.

In the earliest phase of sustained artistic activity, characterized by late Gupta stylistic features and concentrated primarily at Lalitagiri (i.e., Śrī Candrāditya-*vihāra*), activity extends into the 7th century and the imagery is primarily of the Buddha himself. In a transitional period leading to the second phase, Bodhisattvas are added as attendants to Buddha. In phase two, beginning at the end of the 7th century and extending into the 9th century, images of Buddha are replaced in popularity by sculptures of Bodhisattvas, female deities, and by sculptural-*maṇḍalas*. These *maṇḍalas* may consist of *stūpa* images, of single-slab sculptures with a Tathāgata-Buddha or a form of Mañjuśrī surrounded by four or eight Bodhisattvas or companion deities, or of large independently carved Bodhisattva images which are aligned to form a *maṇḍala* or a group. Virtually all of these *maṇḍalas* can be dated to the 8th-10th centuries (6) and there is little doubt that the *maṇḍala* concept played a major role in Buddhist ritual throughout the Bhauma-kara period. Although there is abundant indirect material in the form of biographies, legends, etc., from Tibet and China associating Orissa with early texts on *maṇḍalas*, as discussed above, we have no direct information associating the Bhauma kings with actual patronage in respect to such *maṇḍalas*, aside from an inscription on a Padmapāṇi image from Khaḍipadā recording that the image was the pious dedication of the *mahāmaṇḍalācārya paramaguru* Rāhularuchi during the reign of Śubhākaradeva (A. Ghosh 1941-42: 247-48), the title of the donor suggesting that he was well-versed in *maṇḍalas*. The *maṇḍala* concept evidently permeated the political and martial organization of their kingdom. With the central authority situated along the coastal area, they created a group of feudatory states, called *maṇḍalas*, which surrounded their kingdom like a semi-circle on the northern, western and southern sides, the ocean being on their east, their names being: Airavatta-*maṇḍala*; Svetaka-*maṇḍala*; Kodalaka-*maṇḍala*; Yamagarta-*maṇḍala*; Khijjiṅga-*maṇḍala*; and Banai-*maṇḍala*.

In the formation of the *maṇḍala* in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, each of the five Tathāgatas is given a direction, a *mantra*, a color, a *Prajñā* and a guardian of the gate. Vairocana, plunged into the concentration called 'Of the diamond of the Great Passion of the Tathāgatas', made all the Tathāgatas enter the three diamonds of his body, word and spirit (Tucci 1980: 99):

> Then these Tathāgatas in order to please the Blessed Lord of the body, word and spirit of all the Tathāgatas, made by artifice, their own bodies to assume the appearance of women and thus they issued from the body of the blessed Vairocana.

They took the form of the four counterparts 'corresponding to the four Tathāgatas situated in the four points of space, excluding the central deity of the maṇḍala, the immobile centre operating through the activity of his emanation projected towards descent in time and space' (*ibid.*: 99). Shifting from the role of Vairocana to Akṣobhya, he blessed the 'four-cornered dustless maṇḍala of "Great Pledge" in the bhaga(s) of the diamond ladies' and then, seated in the center, he began the emanation of the *maṇḍala* (Wayman 1980: 125) (7).

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(6) There is also a complex *maṇḍala* incised on the back of an image of Jambhala at Ratnagiri which can be dated to the 9th-10th century. The diagram contains two concentric circles at the center, an eight-petalled lotus, and two more larger concentric circles, the ensemble including the *mantra* of Jambhala at the center and the name of his *śakti* (Vasudhārā) in the second circle, the names of his eight [illegible] companions on the lotus petals, while the names on the petals of the outer circle include four [illegible] deities, four *pūjopakaraṇas* (*pūjā* materials personified), four deified instruments, etc. (Mitra [illegible] I, 229-32).

The most popular alignment of Tathāgatas or directional Buddhas for *stūpas* varies from this textual description as Vairocana is placed within (at the center) while Aksobhya is at the east. Ratnasaṁbha, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi appear on the south, west and north respectively. There are numerous examples of this *Tathāgata-maṇḍala* in Orissa, particularly on monolithic *stūpas*. In some cases Vairocana replaces one of the other Tathāgatas on the exterior of the *stūpa*, as on a bronze *stūpa* from the hoard found at Acutrajpur where he replaces Ratnasaṁbhava (Mitra 1978: fig. 122) (8). Slightly more complex is the *maṇḍala* on *stūpa* no. 37 at Ratnagiri from the group of monolithic *stūpas* in front of Monastery no. 2 where the *Prajñā* of each Tathāgata is inserted into the *caitya*-medallion above (Mitra 1981, 1983: I, pl. CCLI). The *maṇḍala* thus consists of eight figures. Rather than facing the intermediate directions, as prescribed in various *maṇḍalas* in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (1972: 34-35, 37, 58, 61) of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara Gupta (late 11th-early 12th century), the *Prajñās* face the same direction as the Tathāgatas whom they serve as consorts, though this placement may have been dictated by spacial/design expediency so that conceptually they face the intermediate directions.

The iconographic program of the *maṇḍala* is invariably more complex on large *stūpas* though the only surviving intact program is that of the recently excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri (Śrī-Mādhavapura-*mahāvihāra*), dating to the mid-8th century, which exhibits affinities with the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* contained in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, including the base which is square. On the *stūpa* Akṣobhya appears on the east (Fig. 1), Ratnasaṁbha on the south (Fig. 2), Amitābha on the west (Fig. 3) and Abhisambodhi-Vairocana on the north (Fig. 4). According to the text, where Mahāvairocana is seated on the pericarp of the eight-petalled lotus, 'he is golden and brilliant, has a crown and tuft of hair on the head. He has a perfect light that saves the world. He dwells in samādhi free from heat' (Yamamoto 1990: 21). He may be depicted without ornamentation, as described in Śubhākarasiṁha's commentary (*Taizō zuzō*) in Chinese on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Snodgrass 1988: I, 222-27), or with ornamentation, as in the Tibetan version and the *Taizō kyō zuyō*, i.e., in the tradition of Amoghavajra (Wayman & Tajima 1992: 13, 37). The Udayagiri image is without adornment, aside from the jewel in the coiffure, and thus conforms to the description or Śubhākarasiṁha. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*

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(7) Chapter I of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, devoted to the formation of the *Tathāgata-maṇḍala*, is treated extensively by Tucci (1980: 98-104) and by Bhattacharyya (1968: 45-47).

(8) There are, of course, numerous examples, particularly at Ratnagiri, where the *stūpa* niches are filled with a medley of Buddhist deities other than the Tathāgatas.

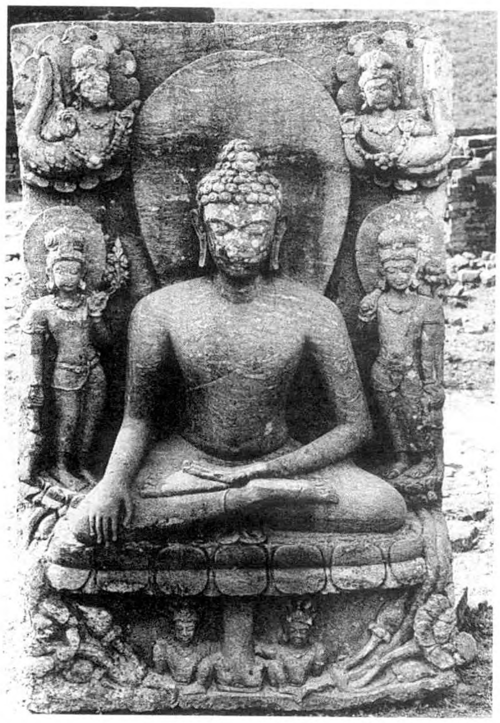

Fig. 1 - Udayagiri *stūpa*: Tathāgata Akṣobhya flanked by Maitreya and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin; 62 by 39½ inches. Mid-8th century.

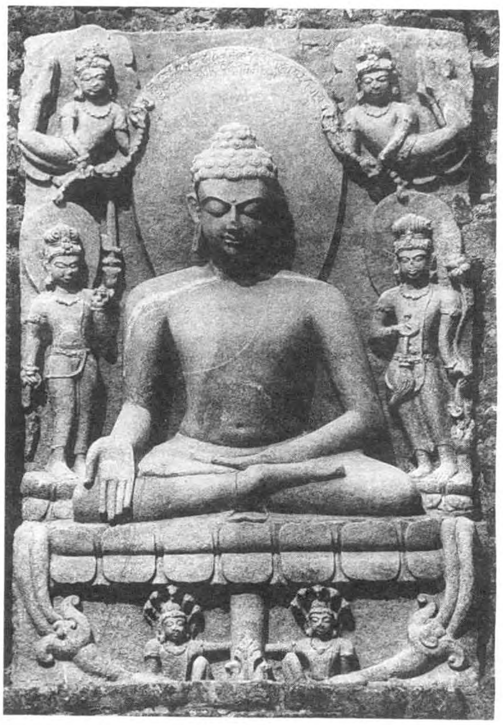

Fig. 2 - Udayagiri *stūpa*: Tathāgata Ratnasaṁbhava flanked by Samantabhadra and Ākāśagarbha; 69½ by 39½ inches. Mid-8th century.

with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā*, though his thumbs do not join to form an upward point, the 'space' *mudrā* or 'seal of Dharmadhātu voidness' often associated with this aspect of the highest enlightenment (Abhisambodhi) of Vairocana, i.e. of becoming Buddha, referred to as Garbhadhātu-Vairocana in the Sino-Japanese tradition (Yamamoto 1990: vii). He wears the robes of the Buddha and has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* rather than the conventional coiffure of a Buddha. His head is framed by an unembellished round halo rather than the ornamental *caitya*-shaped aureole symbolic of Sukhāvatī heaven that identifies Amitābha on the west (Fig. 3). The placement of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana on the north is probably mandated by the fact that the center Tathāgata is not visible in a three-dimensional *maṇḍala* whereas the visibility of this form of Vairocana is essential in identifying the *maṇḍala*.

Each Tathāgata on the *stūpa* is accompanied by two Bodhisattvas so that, in addition to the primary circle of Tathāgatas facing the cardinal directions, there is a second circle which consists of eight Bodhisattvas. There are in addition two *vidyādharas* (*mantra*-holders) above each Tathāgata and two *nāgas* on each pedestal. Akṣobhya on the east is flanked by Maitreya and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (Fig. 1);

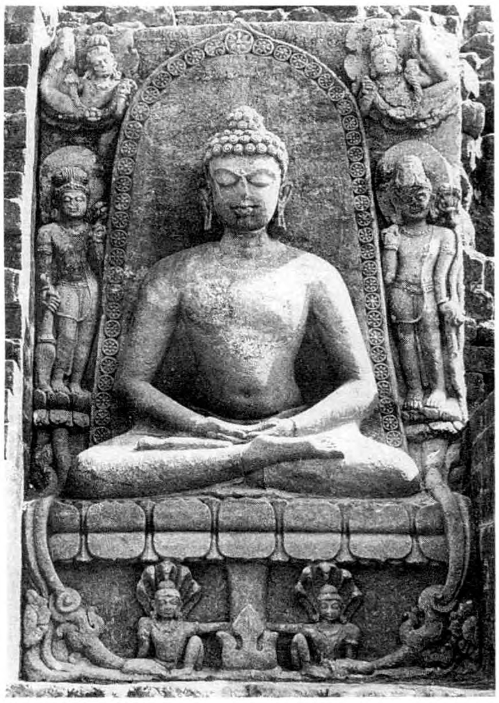

Fig. 3 - Udayagiri *stūpa*: Tathāgata Āmitābha flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi; 63 by 40$^1/_2$ inches. Mid-8th century.

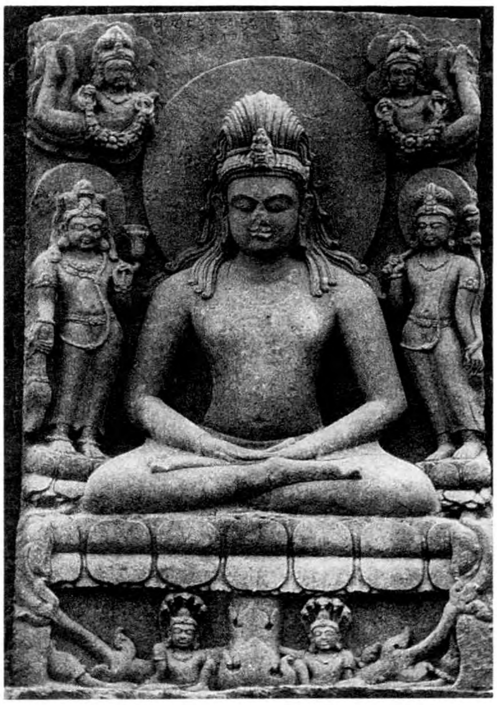

Fig. 4 - Udayagiri *stūpa*: Abhisambodhi Vairocana flanked by Mañjuśrī and Kṣitigarbha; 64 by 42 inches. Mid-8th century.

Ratnasaṁbhava is flanked by Samantabhadra and Ākāśagarbha (Fig. 2); Amitābha is flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi; while Vairocana is flanked by Mañjuśrī and Kṣitigarbha (Fig. 4). The Bodhisattvas stand in a relaxed pose holding a *caurī* in their right hand and their cognizance in their left hand. Six are clearly identifiable while two — Ākāśagarbha and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin — each have a jewel on their lotus.

In the text only the four Tathāgatas — Ratnaketu (E), Saṁkusumitarāja (S), Amitābha (W) and Dundubhi-nirghoṣa (N) appear on the eight-petalled center lotus of the triadic-world conception of the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava-maṇḍala* in chapter II, though elsewhere (chapter I and XVI) we are informed that the petals facing the intermediate directions are occupied by Samantabhadra (SE), Avalokiteśvara (NE), Mañjuśrī (SW) and Maitreya (NW). In the third or outer circle we additionally have Mañjuśrī (E), Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (S), Kṣitigarbha (N) and Ākāśagarbha (W). We thus have four Tathāgata figures and eight Bodhisattva figures, as on the Udayagiri *stūpa*, except Mañjuśrī is named twice and Vajrapāṇi is eliminated, though Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara appear as flanking companions to Vairocana so that we actually have the same eight listed Bodhisattvas. The iconography of the Bodhisattva images on the *stūpa* only partially correspond with descriptions in the Tibetan and Sino-Japanese texts. Whereas Samantabhadra has the sword, Lokeśvara has the lotus, Vajrapāṇi has the *vajra* and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin has the jewel in both the text and the *stūpa* images; in the latter Maitreya holds the *nagakeśara* rather than a *kuṇḍika*, Kṣitigarbha has a *kalaśa* with *kalpavṛkṣa* rather than a lotus or jewel, Ākāśagarbha has a jewel rather than a sword, and Mañjuśrī has a book on his *utpala* rather than a *vajra*. The *caurī* held in the right hand of the *stūpa* images is not mentioned for any of the Bodhisattvas in textual descriptions.

Table 2

DIRECTIONAL ALIGNMENT OF STŪPA-MAṆḌALA BODHISATTVAS

	Akṣobhya-maṇḍala NSP no. 2	Kālacakra-maṇḍala NSP no. 26	Lokanātha-maṇḍala sādhana no. 18	Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara-pūjā	
East	Maitreya	Samantabhadra	Maitreya	Maitreya	SE
East	Kṣitigarbha	Ākāśagarbha	Kṣitigarbha	Gaganagañja	
South	Vajrapāṇi	Vajrapāṇi	Vajrapāṇi	Samantabhadra	
South	Ākāśagarbha	Kṣitigarbha	Khagarbha	Vajrapāṇi	
West	Lokeśvara	Dharmadhātu	Mañjughoṣa	Mañjughoṣa	
West	Mañjughoṣa	Viṣkambhin	Gaganagañja	Viṣkambhin	
North	Viṣkambhin	Vajrapāṇi	Viṣkambhin	Ākāśagarbha	
North	Samantabhadra	Lokeśvara	Samantabhadra	Kṣitigarbha	

	Udayagiri excavated stūpa	Udayagiri ruined stūpa	Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi	
East	Viṣkambhin		*Mañjuśrī	E
East	Maitreya		Samantabhadra	SE
South	Ākāśagarbha		*Viṣkambhin	S
South	Samantabhadra		Mañjuśrī	SW
West	Vajrapāṇi	Mañjuśrī	*Ākāśagarbha	W
West	Lokeśvara	Lokeśvara	Maitreya	NW
North	Kṣitigarbha		*Kṣitigarbha	N
North	Mañjuśrī		Lokeśvara	NE

* in outer circle of the *maṇḍala*

The existence of three slightly smaller Tathāgata images, each flanked by a Bodhisattva on either side, suggests there may have been an earlier *stūpa* at the site with a similar iconographic program though it is not known if the missing north image was also of Vairocana (9). The surviving examples consist of Akṣobhya, formerly in the Ajit Ghosh collection (10), Amitābha, now in the Patna Museum (Gupta 1965: 83, acc. no. 6491), and Ratnasaṁbhava, recently excavated at the site (Fig. 5). The Bodhisattvas again stand in a relaxed pose and hold a *caurī* over their right shoulder while their left hand holds their cognizance. While Amitābha is flanked by Lokeśvara and Mañjuśrī, the attributes of the other Bodhisattvas are indistinct in my photographs. It is obvious, however, that their alignment differs from that of the images on the excavated *stūpa*. The images can be dated to the early 8th century.

There are also a few images of Tathāgatas flanked by Bodhisattvas at Lalitagiri which possibly formed part of iconographic programs of small *stūpas* manifesting a *maṇḍala* with eight Bodhisattvas, including an image of Akṣobhya flanked by Mañjuśrī and Lokeśvara. The Bodhisattvas each hold their attribute in their left hand while the right hand, holding the *caurī*, is lowered. A flying *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. There is also a detached image of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, identified when discovered by Chanda (1930: 9) as a 'curious image of Jina Ṛṣabha with the Buddhist creed engraved on the back', which may have formed part of a *maṇḍala* program for a *stūpa* (Fig. 6). He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* wearing the robes of a monk. His hair is matted in a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. A *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab while a lion faces outward at each corner of the pedestal. The *mantra* inscribed on the back-slab appears in chapter six of both the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and helps us to identify the image as Abhisambodhi-Vairocana. It reads '*namaḥ samantabuddhānām A vīra Hūṃ Khaṃ*' and in the text appears in a context where the *samādhi* means the 'diamond play victorious over the four Māra-s, the non-apprehension of the six destinies, and omniscience', while the term *vīra* (O hero!) refers to the Enlightenment body (Wayman & Tajima 1992: 13). These images can be dated to the late 7th and the 8th century respectively.

At Ratnagiri only the heads from the colossal Tathāgata images of Stūpa no. 1 have survived so that the original iconographic program in respect to its *maṇḍala* design, in particular the Tathāgata in the north and whether or not they were flanked by Bodhisattvas, is unknown. There are, however, numerous smaller images which possibly represent Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, including an image in the courtyard of the school at the base of the hill and the image on the west (back) wall of the sanctum

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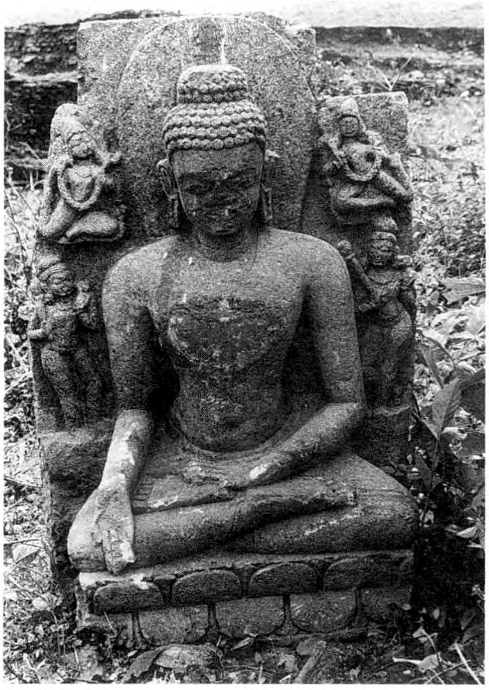
(9) Some thirty sculptures were removed to a storehouse during excavations and are not available for scholarly study. I do not know if the missing north image is among these sculptures.

(10) See Banerji 1931: II, fig. 7 between pp. 396-97. I do not know the present whereabouts of this sculpture.



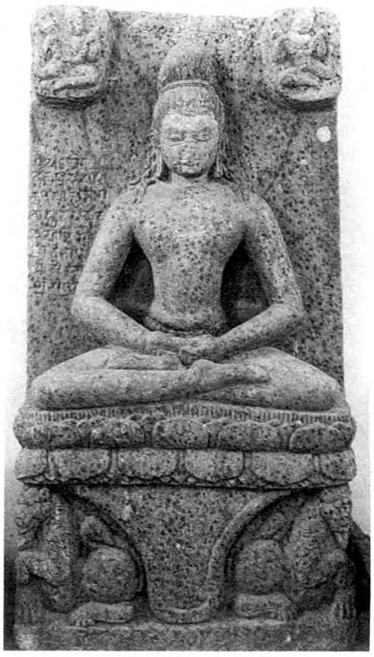
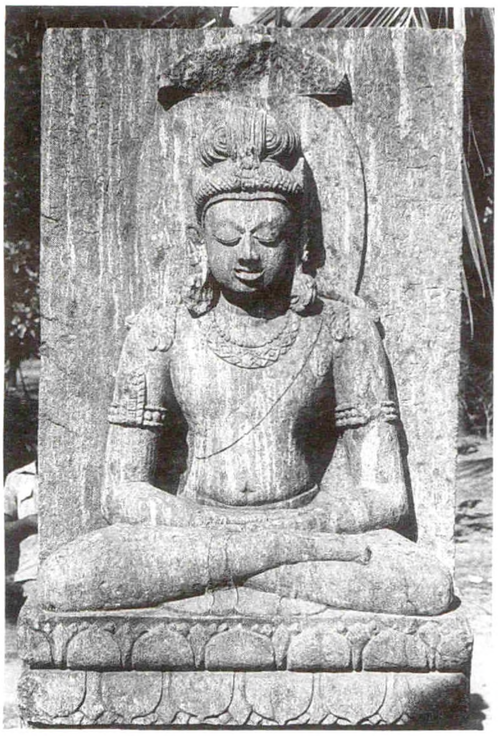


Fig. 5 - Udayagiri: Tathāgata Ratnasaṁbhava flanked by Bodhisattvas; 50 by 33 inches (partly buried). Early 8th century.

Fig. 6 - Lalitagiri: Abhisambodhi-Vairocana with *mantra*; 39½ by 20½ inches. 8th century.

of Temple no. 4. In both cases he has ornamentation, as described in the *Taizō kyū zuyō* tradition and the Tibetan version of the *Mahavairocanābhisambodhi*, but displays *dhyāna-mudrā* without the thumbs touching to form the distinctive 'space' *mudrā*. In that *dhyāna-mudrā* is also adopted by various Bodhisattvas, in particular Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī, also known as Amitābha-Mañjuśrī, Vāk and Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī (Bhattacharyya 1968: 103; Saraswati 1977: XXI), it is difficult to make positive identification of these ornamented images. In the example in the school yard his hair is matted in a loop on top of his head with loose curls cascading down on either shoulder (Fig. 7). He wears a rope-like diadem at the base of his coiffure. Vestiges of an umbrella remain intact above his halo. There are no Tathāgatas in the upper corners. The image can be dated to the 9th century.

The image in Temple no. 4 is ornately adorned and is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* (Fig. 8). His hair is matted in an ornate *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, fastened by a jewelled diadem with projecting *kirīṭa* or crest designs. Loose curls again cascade down to the shoulders on either side. On the upper right corner of the back-slab is



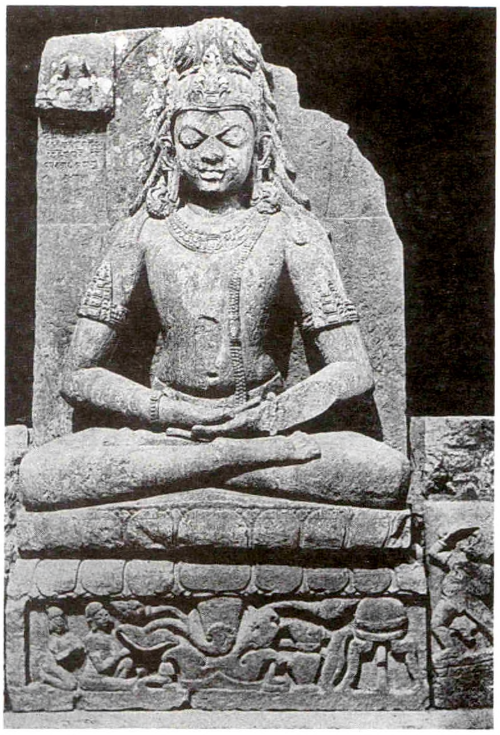


Fig. 7 - Ratnagiri: Abhisambodhi-Vairocana/or Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī; 30 3/4 by 18$^{1}/_{2}$ inches. 9th century.

Fig. 8 - Ratnagiri: Temple No. 4; Abhisambodhi-Vairocana/or Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī flanked by Acala/or Yamāntaka; 64 7/8 by 36$^{1}/_{2}$ inches. 10th century.

a small seated Tathāgata (headless), either Ratnasaṁbhava or Akṣobhya, while the upper left corner is broken off. Below the Tathāgata on the left is the Buddhist creed inscribed in characters of *c.* 10th century. To the left of the pedestal, on a separate slab of stone, is an image striding in *pratyālīḍha* towards the major deity on this west wall. The side walls of the sanctum contain images of Vajrasattva (south) and Vajradharma (north) so that the three major images form a Buddhist trinity which is possibly associated with the threefold *kula* or family concept, i.e., the *Tathāgata-kula*, the *Padma-kula* and the *Vajra-kula*, which appears in various early texts, including the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, with the latter also embracing the fivefold system.

D. Mitra identifies the image on the west wall as Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī, primarily because he does not display the 'space' *mudrā*, only *dhyāna-mudrā*, and on her identification of the attendant figure opposite the pedestal as Yamāntaka (Mitra 1981, 1983: II, 290). In the description of these three *kulas* in the *Ārya-*

Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, Avalokiteśvara (*padma-kula*) appears to the right of Śākyamuni, Vajrapāṇi (*Vajra-kula*) appears to the left, while Mañjuśrī (*Tathāgata-kula*), the primary representative of Buddha Śākyamuni, is immediately below the lion throne of Śākyamuni where he is associated with the Wheel of Doctrine. Yamāntaka, the only attendant of Mañjuśrī, is seated below the lotus seat of Mañjuśrī on the right side (*Le maṇḍala du Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* 1962: 105 ff). In various texts Yamāntaka is prescribed the *pratyālīḍha* pose, as assumed by this image at Ratnagiri, and wields the *daṇḍa* (club/staff) and the noose. The weapon wielded in the raised right hand of the image is partially damaged but appears to be a sword rather than a *daṇḍa*. The left hand, in front of his chest, is damaged but may have held the noose. He is pot-bellied and short in stature.

N. Hock, in contrast, believing the right hand of this attendant to be in *vandanābhinayi-mudrā* (paying homage), identifies him as Hayagrīva and associates him with Vairocana. The three major images in the sanctum she identifies as the three yogins described in the *nidāna* of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, representing yogic stages related to Body, Speech and Mind based on Candrakirti's commentary on this text, and to the Vajra, Padma and Tathāgata families. The image on the west wall, accordingly, is the unnamed yogin of Vairocana so that the trinity thus consists of Vairocana, Amitābha (Vajradharma) and Akṣobhya (Vajrasattva). Their association with the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* is further strengthened, Hock believes, by the appearance of five Tathāgatas on the crown of Vajradharma, suggesting the conjunction of both the three- and five-Buddha family systems as in this text (11).

M. Yoritomi (1982: 51-81) identifies the deity on the west wall as Vairocana, based on the *Taizō kyū zuyō* version of the *Mahavairocanābhisambodhi*, and the flanking figures as Avalokiteśvara (Vajradharma) and Vajrapāṇi (Vajrasattva). It is possible, of course, that the attendant striding in *pratyālīḍha* opposite the pedestal of the deity on the west wall is Acala, particularly as the weapon in his right hand appears to be a sword and there is no mount. As a wrathful *vidyādhara* (*mantra*-holder) he is placed below Vairocana in the *Mahākaruṇa-garbhodbhava-maṇḍala* of the *Mahavairocanābhisambodhi* (Yamamoto 1990: 22). He has a stout body and is prescribed the sword for his right hand and the noose for his left hand. He is wrapped in flames and dwells firmly on a rock. Except for the seated pose the Ratnagiri image corresponds with this description. Though this seated pose is popular in Sino-Japanese depictions of Acala (i.e., Fudo), in Orissan art, where he occasionally appears on the pedestal, he is invariably depicted in *pratyālīḍha* or a running pose. Although the overall symbolism of the trinity in Temple no. 4 may be associated with the threefold concept of Buddhist *kulas*, the identity of the figure on the west wall, either Mañjuśrī or Vairocana, as well as the textual basis for the grouping, must remain conjectural, though the identity of the weapon held in the uplifted right hand of the attendant may be the key to solving the problem.

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(11) She does not entirely dismiss the identification of Mañjuśrī for the deity on the west wall (Hock 1987: 134-50). See also Wayman 1980: 341.

Although numerous Buddhist deities are prescribed four attendant figures or companions, including Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, Arapacana Mañjuśrī or Khadiravaṇī Tārā, there are also numerous examples of a deity flanked by four companions on a single slab of stone which apparently formed part of a larger iconographic program of a *stūpa-maṇḍala* that included four Tathāgatas and sixteen Bodhisattvas. From Ratnagiri, for example, are four Tathāgata images — two of Akṣobhya and two of Amitābha — which may have formed part of such a program on two small 9th century *stūpas*. In each case the Tathāgata is flanked by four Bodhisattvas, two on either side, though unfortunately they are badly worn or damaged so that identification is difficult. Although there are three different lists for groups of sixteen Bodhisattvas in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, and other lists in texts such as the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, their names and descriptions vary. In the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* the lists appear in the *Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala* (no. 20), the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) and the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* (no. 22), with the latter list also appearing in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (no. 19) though here they assume the form of their spiritual sire rather than having an individual form. More important for us is a second list of sixteen Bodhisattvas in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, where four surround each of the Tathāgatas, which first appeared in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, a copybook of its deities having been carried by Śubhākarasiṁha to China. In Shingon Buddhism these are referred to as the sixteen great Bodhisattvas who represent sixteen 'births' and stages of development that the Bodhisattva passes through after he attains awakening (Snodgrass 1988: II, 602-4). It is quite probable that these are the attending Bodhisattvas to the Tathāgata images at Ratnagiri, suggesting that they formed part of an iconographic program of two *Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas* at the site.

Two of the Tathāgata images have been shifted to the S.D.O. compound at Jājpur. In all four surviving examples the four attending Bodhisattvas are each seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and are two-armed. In the Akṣobhya image now at Jājpur (Fig. 9), the bottom Bodhisattva on the right of Akṣobhya corresponds to Vajrasattva, the first 'birth' or stage. As prescribed in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and in the *Gobushinkan*, he holds a *vajra* in front of his chest with his right hand. The left fist is clenched at the hip though it is not clear if it holds a bell as prescribed in later texts. The upper Bodhisattva on the right holds an *aṅkuśa* (goad) with both hands in front of his chest in the manner of Vajrarāja (Vajrāṅkuśa) in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* and in the second chapter of the *Gobushinkan*, who represents the second birth or stage (Shashibala 1989: 130-40) (12). The lower Bodhisattva on the left, dispensing an arrow from a bow, corresponds to Vajrarāga (Māra) in the *Sarvatathāgata-*

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(12) He also corresponds to Sarvāpāyañjaha in the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* (no. 22) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (1972: 31).

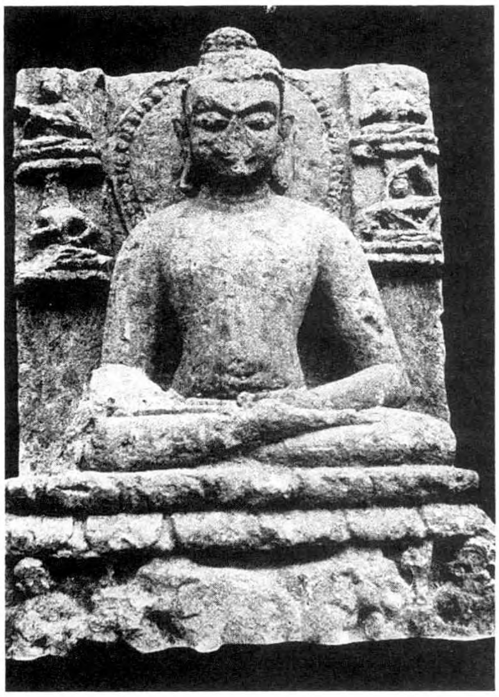

Fig. 9 - Jājpur: S.D.O. compound; Tathāgata Akṣobhya flanked by Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga and Vajrasādhu. 20¼ by 14½ inches. 9th century, from Ratnagiri (copyright ASI).

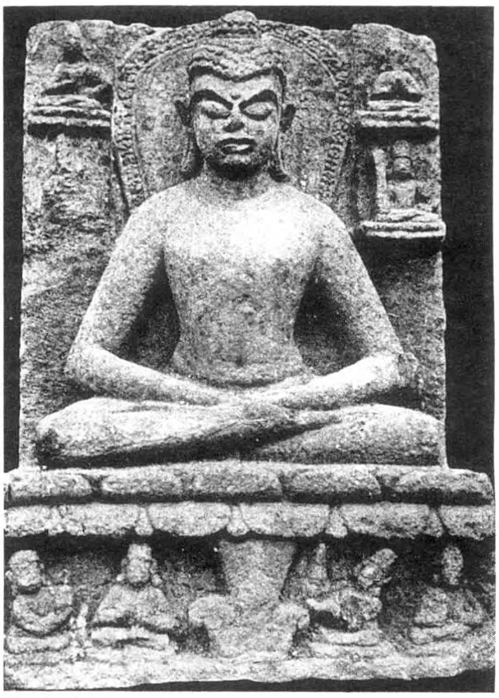

Fig. 10 - Jājpur: S.D.O. compound; Tathāgata Amitābha flanked by Vajradharma(?), Vajrabhāṣa(?). Vajratīkṣṇa and Vajrahetu. 19½ by 13 3/4 inches. 9th century, from Ratnagiri (copyright ASI).

tattvasaṁgraha (1981: 19) and the *Gobushinkan* (Shashibala 1989: 141-46), the third birth or stage. The top Bodhisattva on the left has both hands clenched in front of his chest, where they possibly hold a *vajra*, as mentioned for Vajrasādhu in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* (Shashibala 1989: 147-49) and the *Gobushinkan* (Snodgrass 1988: II, 606), and represents the fourth birth or stage. The iconography and the alignment of the Bodhisattvas thus follow that prescribed in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* and is repeated on the second image of Akṣobhya from Ratnagiri though the top two figures are badly effaced (Mitra 1981, 1983: II, pl. CCCXLVII.b).

In the image of Amitābha now at Jājpur (Fig. 10) the lower Bodhisattva on the right of the Tathāgata is mostly obliterated while the corresponding figure on the left, holding a sword in his right hand and placing his left fist on his thigh, corresponds to Vajratīkṣṇa (Mañjuśrī) as described in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* (1981: 22) and in the first *maṇḍala* of the *Gobushinkan* (Shashibala 1989: 180-81). The Bodhisattva on the top left, holding a circular object (*vajra-hetu*) with both hands in front of his chest, corresponds to Vajrahetu in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattavasaṁgraha* (1981: 22) and

Table 3

MAṆḌALA WITH FOUR/SIXTEEN BODHISATTVAS

Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala NSP no. 21	Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala NSP no. 20	Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala NSP no. 22	Tathāgata
1. Samantabhadra	Maitreya	Maitreya	
2. Akṣayamati	Mañjuśrī	Amoghadarśī	Akṣobhya
3. Kṣitigarbha	Gandhahasti	Apāyañjaha	
4. Ākāśagarbha	Jñānaketu	Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati	
5. Gaganagañja	Bhadrapāla	Gandhahasti	
6. Ratnapāṇi	Sāgaramati	Suraṅgama	Ratnasaṁbhava
7. Sāgaramati	Akṣayamati	Gaganagañja	
8. Vajragarbha	Pratibhānakūṭa	Jñānaketu	
9. Avalokiteśvara	Mahāsthamaprāpta	Amṛtaprabha	
10. Mahāsthāmaprāpta	Sarvāpāyañjaha	Candraprabha	
11. Candraprabha	Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati	Bhadrapāla	Amitābha
12. Jālinīprabha	Jālinīprabha	Jālinīprabha	
13. Amitaprabha	Candraprabha	Vajragarbha	
14. Pratibhānakūṭa	Amitaprabha	Akṣayamati	Amoghasiddhi
15. Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati	Gaganagañja	Pratibhānakūṭa	
16. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin	Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin	Samantabhadra	

Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa	Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala STTS/NSP no. 19	Ratnagiri	
1. Samantabhadra	Vajrasattva	Vajrasattva	
2. Kṣitigarbha	Vajrarāja	Vajrarāja	
3. Gaganagañja	Vajrarāga	Vajrarāga	Akṣobhya
4. Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin	Vajrasādhu	Vajrasādhu	
5. Apāyajaha	Vajraratna		
6. Maitreya	Vajratejas		Ratnasaṁbhava
7. Vimalagati	Vajraketu		
8. Vimalaketu	Vajrahāsa		
9. Sudhana	Vajradharma	Vajradharma?	
10. Candraprabha	Vajratīkṣṇa	Vajrabhāṣa?	Amitābha
11. Vimalakīrti	Vajrahetu	Vajratīkṣṇa	
12. Sarvavyādhicikitsaka	Vajrabhāṣa	Vajrahetu	
13. Sarvadharmeśvararāja	Vajrakarma		
14. Lokagati	Vajrarakṣa		Amoghasiddhi
15. Mahāmati	Vajrayakṣa		
16. Patidhara	Vajrasandhi		

in the *dharma-maṇḍala* of the *Gobushinkan* (Shashibala 1989: 187). The Bodhisattva on the top right, with his right hand in front of his chest and his left hand at the hip, could represent Vajrabhāṣa, his cognizance being the *vajra*-tongue, or Vajradharma, who opens the petals of a lotus, one or the other being the obliterated Bodhisattva below (13). In the second image of Amitābha from Ratnagiri the two Bodhisattvas on the left side are broken off while the two on the right are badly effaced (Mitra 1981, 1983: pl. CCCLII.a). The four Bodhisattvas in these two images, for the most part, correspond to those surrounding Amitābha in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, though their alignment is slightly varied. Unfortunately the sculptures with the other two Tathāgatas of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* have not survived.

It is possible that the image of a female deity from Ratnagiri, probably a *Prajñā*, served a similar role as these Tathāgata images in a complex *maṇḍala*. She is of the same date and size as is her pose and that of the four companion female deities (Mitra 1981, 1983: pl. CCL.a). Her left hand is on her lap while her right hand, broken off, is at her knee and possibly displayed *varada*. The lower set of companion goddesses hold an indistinct object in front of their chest with the right hand while placing the left hand on the thigh. The upper left goddess extends her right hand in *varada*, the palm possibly holding an object, while her left hand is at her thigh. The upper right goddess holds a short vertical object in each hand in front of her chest.

The most popular form of *maṇḍala* in 8th century Orissa is the single slab sculpture with a large center deity, usually a Tathāgata or a form of Mañjuśrī, flanked by eight Bodhisattvas, four on either side superimposed one above the other, a concept which probably evolved through a simple multiplying of attendant figures. The largest number of surviving sculptural-*maṇḍalas* are from Udayagiri where the multiplication of accessory figures was popular, including even the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas, with the Bodhisattvas corresponding to the eight on the excavated *stūpa*. In six of the surviving *maṇḍalas* there are six Bodhisattvas on the back-slab, three on either side superimposed one above the other, while the other two are on the pedestal, one at each corner. This suggests a transitional stage in the development of this type of *maṇḍala* from one with four Bodhisattvas to one with eight. Of the six *maṇḍalas* from Udayagiri corresponding to this alignment, four have the center figure displaying *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* to suggest that he represents Akṣobhya; one has Mañjuśrī as the center figure seated in *lalitāsana* and holding a lotus supporting a book; and the remaining one, recently excavated and better preserved, displays Vairocana in *dharmacakra-mudrā* as the center figure (Fig. 11) (14). The six Bodhisattvas on the back-slab of the latter *maṇḍala* are seated in various poses with their left hand, on their thigh or seat, holding a flower while the right hand displays a *mudrā* or holds their cognizance. Five of the Bodhisattvas can easily be identified. Beginning at the top on the right side of Vairocana they are

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(13) Each has a similar generic pose which could accomodate either activity.

(14) I have discussed these sculptural-*maṇḍalas* in more detail elsewhere.

Table 4 - MAṆḌALA BODHISATTVA ALIGNMENTS

AKSOBHYA-MAṆḌALAS (6)
Ratnagiri/Udayagiri

1. Samantabhadra	5. Ākāśagarbha
2. Maitreya	6. Vajrapāṇi
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

AKṢOBHYA-MAṆḌALA (6)
Lalitagiri

1. x	5. x
2. x	6. x
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

VAIROCANA-MAṆḌALA
Udayagiri

1. Samantabhadra	5. Ākāśagarbha
2. Maitreya	6. Vajrapāṇi
3. Lokeśvara	7 Mañjuśrī
4 Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

MAÑJUŚRĪ-MAṆḌALA
Udayagiri (rock-cut)

1. Samantabhadra	5. Ākāśagarbha
2. Maitreya	6. Vajrapāṇi
3 Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. ?

VAIROCANA/VAJRARĀGA MAṆḌALA
Ratnagiri

1. Ākāśagarbha	5. Vajrapāṇi
2. Samantabhadra	6. Mañjuśrī
3. Maitreya	7. Viṣkambhin
4. Lokeśvara	8. Kṣitigarbha

UDAYAGIRI STŪPA

right	left
1. Maitreya	5. Viṣkambhin?
2. Samantabhadra	6. Ākāśagarbha
3. Lokeśvara	7. Vajrapāṇi
4. Mañjuśrī	8. Kṣitigarbha

AKSOBHYA-MAṆḌALA
Ellora: Cave No. 11.2

1 Lokeśvara	5. Vajrapāṇi
2. Maitreya	6. Mañjuśrī
3. Samantabhadra	7. Ākāśagarbha
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

AKSOBHYA-MAṆḌALA
Ellora: Cave No. 12.3

1. Maitreya	5. Mañjuśrī
2. Samantabhadra	6. ?
3. Ākāśagarbha	7. Kiṣkambhin
4. ?	8. ?

VAIROCANA-MAṆḌALA
Ellora: Cave No. 12.1

1. Lokeśvara	5. Kṣitigarbha?
2. Maitreya	6. ?
3. Samantabhadra	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Viṣkambhin	8. Ākāśagarbha?

MAÑJUŚRĪ-MAṆḌALA
Kendrapara

1. ?	5. ?
2. Maitreya	6. Vajrapāṇi
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4 Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

ŚĀKYAMUNI-MAṆḌALA
Turfan (K.C. Museum)

1. Maitreya	5. Kṣitigarbha
2. Samantabhadra	6. Viṣkambhin
3 Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Ākāśagarbha	8. Vajrapāṇi

EIGHT MIRACLES OF BUDDHA
Solampur

1 Maitreya	5. Vajrapāṇi
2. Kṣitigarbha	6. Ākāśagarbha
3. Samantabhadra	7. Viṣkambhin
4. Lokeśvara	8. Mañjuśrī?

NINE-SQUARE MAṆḌALAS
Ellora: Cave No. 12

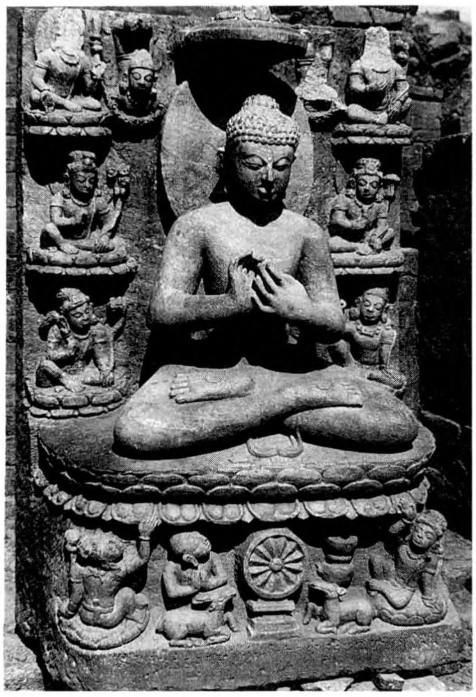
1. Lokeśvara	5. Vajrapāṇi
2. Maitreya	6. Mañjuśrī
3. Samantabhadra	7. Ākāśagarbha
4. Kṣitigarbha	8. Viṣkambhin

AKSOBHYA-MAṆḌALA
Ellora: Cave No. 12.2

1. Maitreya	5. Mañjuśrī
2. ?	6. ?
3. Samantabhadra	7. Viṣkambhin
4. ?	8. Ākāśagarbha?

LOKEŚVARA/MAÑJUŚRĪ-MAṆḌALA
Ratnagiri

1. x	5. x
2. x	6. x
3. Lokeśvara	7. Mañjuśrī
4. Kṣitigarbha?	8. Viṣkambhin?



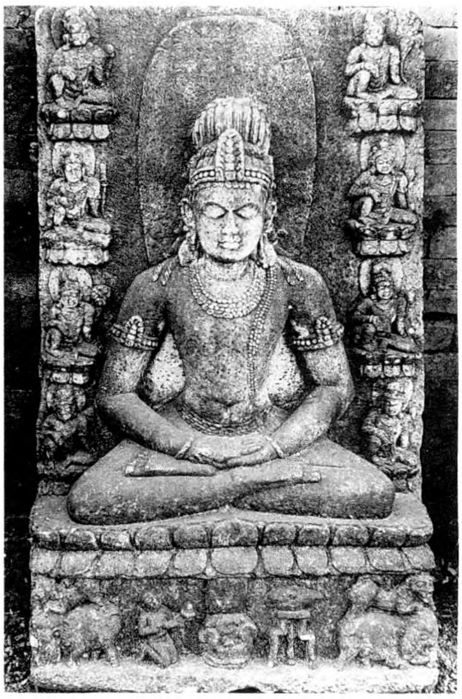


Fig. 11 - Udayagiri: Vairocana-*maṇḍala*; $47^{1}/_{4}$ by $30^{1}/_{4}$ inches. Mid-8th century.

Fig. 12 - Ratnagiri: Vairocana/or Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī *maṇḍala*; $45^{1}/_{2}$ by 27 inches. 9th century.

Samantabhadra, Maitreya and Lokeśvara. The middle figure on the left side is Vajrapāṇi while the bottom figure is Mañjuśrī. The Bodhisattva on the top left supports a jewel on his lotus to suggest he may represent Ākāśagarbha. The Bodhisattva on the right corner of the pedestal holds a stick/stalk supporting a jewel or a jar to suggest he probably is Kṣitigarbha. In a fragmented Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* from Lalitagiri with the same iconographic program the jewel at the tip of the staff has three buds, indicating it is the *kalpavṛkṣa*, to substantiate this identification. The Bodhisattva on the left corner of the pedestal of the Udayagiri image, also supporting a jewel on a lotus, probably represents Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, associated with either a jewel or a banner in early texts. As on the *stūpa*, the iconography of Ākāśagarbha and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin is not as yet differentiated. In a seventh *maṇḍala* at Udayagiri, a badly-weathered rock-cut image on the western spur of the hill, the center figure is Mañjuśrī seated in *lalitāsana*. The fourth set of Bodhisattvas is placed inside the top set on the back-slab rather than on the pedestal. The iconographic details are mostly obscured though five of the Bodhisattvas can be identified. On the top edge of the back-slab are five Tathāgatas with the center one being Vairocana.

There are four surviving sculptural-*maṇḍalas* at Ratnagiri and in each case all eight Bodhisattvas are on the back-slab, four aligned vertically on either side of the center figure, to suggest that the *maṇḍala* concept in this form is fully evolved. In two examples the center figure is Akṣobhya. The alignment of Bodhisattvas is the same as at Udayagiri and begins with Samantabhadra at the top right and ends with Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin at the lower left (Mitra 1981, 1983: I, pl. CXXXVIII). The *kalpavṛkṣa* held by Kṣitigarbha is more developed than on the *maṇḍalas* at Udayagiri. The object supported on the lotus held by Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin is larger than a jewel and may be an incipient form of a banner. A third *maṇḍala* at Ratnagiri is damaged, the head of the center deity and the top two sets of Bodhisattvas being broken off (Mitra 1981, 1983: II, pl. CCCXXXV.b). The missing coiffure, flower and attribute preclude making a positive identification for the center deity who may be either Mañjuśrī or Lokanātha.

The center deity of the fourth *maṇḍala* at Ratnagiri is bejewelled and is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* (Fig. 12). He has been variously identified as Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī (Mitra 1981, 1983: II, 314-15), Vairocana as described in the tradition of Amoghavajra (*Taizō kyū zuyō*) and the Tibetan versions of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* (Yoritomi 1982: 51-81), or the Bhagavat Śākyamuni in the pure above (*śuddhāvāsa*), who is 'said to be seated on a lion throne formed by the [eight] Bodhisattvas of the tenth stage who had magically transformed themselves into lions' (Wayman & Tajima 1992: 37). The center figure of a 9th century portable wooden shrine from Central Asia (Atkins Museum/Nelson Gallery, Kansas City) with a similar iconography is also identified as Śākyamuni by P. Granoff (1968-69: 90) on the basis of the primacy given the historical Buddha at Indian cave sites, on the popularity of this iconographic scheme in early Tibetan temples, and on the fact that he is the only Buddha mentioned in the *Aṣṭamahā-bodhisattva-maṇḍala* of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, first translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra between A.D. 746 and 771. In a similar 10th century painted *Vikīrnoṣṇīṣa-maṇḍala* in cave no. 5 at Wan Fo Hsia, on the other hand, a Tibetan inscription identified the center figure as Vairocana (Granoff 1968-69: 88). In Orissa, as indicated above, the cult of eight Bodhisattvas is primarily associated with the Tathāgata Buddhas, as on the excavated *stūpa* at Udayagiri, and various forms of Mañjuśrī, so that the image at Ratnagiri should be identified either as Vajrarāga-Mañjuśrī (Dharmaśaṅkha-samādhi-Mañjuśrī) or Vairocana, both of whom are popular, and sometimes identical, as the center deity in *maṇḍalas* of surviving Indian texts, including the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* where the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* is predominant while another *maṇḍala* has Mañjuvajra as its center deity. These two are repeated in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where Mañjuvajra (no. 1) is of the nature of Vajrasattva, an extension of the form of Vairocana while Akṣobhya (no. 2), based on the *Piṇḍīkrama* of Nāgārjuna, is locked in embrace with his *Svābhā* Sparśavajra. Other examples in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* include the *Tricatvāriṁśadātmaka-Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala* (no. 20) where Mañjuvajra is of the nature of Vairocana; the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* (no. 22) where Śākyasiṁha is identified with Vairocana;

the *Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara-maṇḍala* (no. 21) where the center deity is Mañjughoṣa; and the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (no. 19) where he is Vairocana.

The alignment of the Bodhisattvas on this fourth *maṇḍala* differs slightly from the other sculptural *maṇḍalas* in that they are all shifted one position counterclockwise. Ākāśagarbha thus moves from the top left to the top right while Kṣitigarbha shifts from the bottom right to the bottom left, etc. Although conforming to the popular list of eight Bodhisattvas as preserved in early texts, including the *Aṣṭamaṇḍala-sūtra*, the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, the *Amoghapāśa-sūtra* and the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, or as listed in the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā*, the alignment is different. It invariably begins on the top proper right with Samantabhadra, referred to as the chief of the Bodhisattvas in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and the *Sarvatathagata-tattvasaṁgraha* while being revered in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-samādhi*, all popular in Orissa at this time, and who is at the head of two groups of sixteen Bodhisattvas, one in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and the other in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. The other three Bodhisattvas on the right beneath Samantabhadra are Maitreya, Lokeśvara and Kṣitigarbha while from the top on the left they are Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin.

The Orissan alignment thus differs from the alignment in the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* where they are arranged in pairs for each of the cardinal directions: Maitreya and Kṣitigarbha in the east; Vajrapāṇi and Ākāśagarbha in the south; Lokeśvara and Mañjughoṣa in the west; and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin and Samantabhadra in the north; or from the alignment in the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhana* no. 18) where the order on the eight petals of the lotus consists of Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, Mañjughoṣa, Gaganagañja, Viṣkambhin and Samantabhadra (Bhattacharyya 1968: 131). The Orissan alignment also differs from Tibetan traditions, as noted by L. Chandra (1987: I, 55-56), where they serve as attendants to Amitābha and represent the 'four aspects of the pair of Heaven and Earth lorded over by Indra and Brahmā'. In this *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* pantheon Mañjughoṣa is paired with Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, Lokeśvara with Vajrapāṇi, Kṣitigarbha with Ākāśagarbha, and Samantabhadra with Maitreya (15). It also differs from the alignment mentioned by A. Getty (1978: 45) where the Bodhisattvas on the proper right side are Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāṇi and Kṣitigarbha while on the left they are Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, Maitreya, Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, or from the alignment in the portable wooden shrine from Central Asia (Granoff 1968-69: 90-91) where Maitreya (top), Samantabhadra,

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(15) In this alignment of pairs, as explained by Chandra, Ākāśagarbha and Kṣitigarbha represent the quintessence of Heaven (*ākāśa*) and Earth (*kṣiti*) whereas D. Snellgrove (1978: II, 340) suggests there is no apparent iconographic connection between the two.

Lokeśvara and Ākāśagarbha (bottom) are on the right side of the center deity while Kṣitigarbha, Viṣkambhin, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi are on the left. Although the actual alignment and final details of a *maṇḍala* may reflect the decision of the *ācārya*, the remarkable consistency of alignment in these Orissan sculptural *maṇḍalas* suggest the existence of a texts, probably based on indigenous traditions, which has not survived.

The final stage in this evolution of a *maṇḍala* with eight Bodhisattvas takes place at Lalitagiri where there existed at least three *maṇḍalas*, possibly four, formed by an alignment of large free-standing Bodhisattva images similar to the late stage at Ellora. Set A, the largest and best preserved, appears to have been situated near Monastery 4 and the terrace area with the apsidal shrine halfway up Laṇḍā hill; Set B was aligned in a long gallery on the northern slope of Pārābhāḍi hill; while Set C apparently was placed near Monastery 1 and the later Bāsulī Thākurāṇī temple on Laṇḍā hill. Whereas several of the Bodhisattva images in the earliest sculptural-*maṇḍalas* could only be identified tentatively, due to the fact that their cognizance was indistinct or it was one shared with orther Bodhisattvas, in these free-standing sets each Bodhisattva has his own peculiar cognizance and is thus clearly identified (16). In some cases this clarity is further enhanced by the attendant figures, either through their identity or the secondary cognizance that they hold. Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī, for example, serve as attendants to Lokeśvara whereas one of the attendants of Samantabhadra holds a sword while the other holds a jewel, the two attributes most often associated with him in the early texts. The general trend is these *maṇḍalas* with eight Bodhisattvas is thus towards an increasing clarity in respect to the identity of each Bodhisattva.

At the same time, however, there is a parallel trend towards standardization of pose. Whereas specific individual *mudrās* often appear on the earliest images, including *vyākhyāna* for Maitreya and *vandanābhinayī* for Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, in Set A at Lalitagiri, probably the latest surviving set, there is complete standardization of pose and *mudrā*. Each Bodhisattva stands in a slightly flexed pose with his right hand lowered in *varada* and his left hand, raised chest-high, holding the stalk of a flower which is, or supports, his major cognizance. Of the free-standing sets at Lalitagiri, the small Set D, of which only two known images have survived, may be the earliest. Both Ākāśagarbha and Mañjuśrī(?) have their left arm bent at the elbow, the hand placed on the thigh, as prescribed in early texts such as the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, while of the four surviving images of Set C only Kṣitigarbha assumes this hand pose. Both of these sets can tentatively be dated to the late 8th century. In Set B, probably dating to the early 9th century, all of the Bodhisattvas except Ākāśagarbha have their left hand raised chest-high, the exception placing this hand on the head of an attendant. In Set A there is no exception, suggesting the set probably dates to the second-quarter of the 9th century at the latest.

Just as the alignment of the eight Bodhisattvas in Orissan *maṇḍalas* varies from that in texts, the same in true in respect to the iconography of individual Bodhisattvas. In the *Akṣobhya-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, for example, which has the same eight Bodhisattvas, each has a form identical with that of his sire. The same is true for the Sixteen Bodhisattvas headed by Maitreya in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the same text while in the list of sixteen in the *Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala* only Samantabhadra and Maitreya from the popular list appear and their iconography differs from that in the sculptural-*maṇḍalas*. In the *Kālacakra-maṇḍala* (no. 26) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (1972: 77), where seven of the eight Bodhisattvas are listed, they are each depicted with their *Prajñā*. In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala* of the *Sādhanamālā* all eight are represented as Gaganagañja, who replaces Lokeśvara, has a similar iconographic form (17). There are variations in respect to attributes, however. In the Orissan images, for example, Samantabhadra carries the sword; Maitreya has the *nāgakeśara* flower; Lokeśvara holds the lotus; Kṣitigarbha has a jewel or water jar on early images and a *kalpavṛkṣa* on later images; Ākāśagarbha has a jewel; Vajrapāṇi holds a *vajra*; Mañjuśrī carries a book; while Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin has a jewel on early images and the banner on later images. In the *Lokanātha-maṇḍala*, in contrast, Kṣitigarbha carries the *kalaśa* (water jar); Mañjughoṣa has both the sword and the book; Viṣkambhin carries a jewel; while Samantabhadra holds a lotus supporting a jewel. Kṣitigarbha and Vajrapāṇi are prescribed *abhaya-mudrā* for the other hand while the remaining Bodhisattvas are to show *varada-mudrā* (Bhattacharyya 1968: 131).

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(16) I have discussed these *maṇḍala* Bodhisattvas in more detail elsewhere.

Only a few iconographic details appear in the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and these likewise are at some variance with the Orissan images. Ākāśagarbha, for example, holds a flaming sword; Mañjuśrī holds an *utpala* supporting a *vajra*; and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin carries a jewel (Yamamoto 1990: 24). In some Japanese versions based on the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, such as the *Genzu-taizō-maṇḍala*, Ākāśagarbha is prescribed both a flaming jewel and a flaming sword while Maitreya carries a *kuṇḍikā* (water jar); Kṣitigarbha has a jewelled banner and holds the sun; and Lokeśvara opens the petals of a lotus (Snodgrass 1988: I, 248, 250, 412, 419). Kṣitigarbha is also associated with a jewelled banner in the *Sarvatathāgata tattvasaṁgraha* (1981: 21-22) while Mañjuśrī has a *vajra*-sword. In the *Aṣṭamahābodhisattva-maṇḍala* of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra* the Bodhisattvas invariably hold their attribute in their right hand while the left hand is placed on the hip. Even if the left hand is placed on the hip in Orissan images it is this hand and not the right hand that holds the cognizance and/or flower. Maitreya in this text is given a lotus rather than a *nāgakeśara* flower while Mañjuśrī has only the *utpala*, the book and/or sword not being mentioned (Granoff 1968-69: 89-91).

Although only five of the eight Bodhisattvas appear among the list of sixteen in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (1972: 63), the iconographic details are generally closer to the Orissan sculptural images than in any of the other texts. The alignment begins with Samantabhadra and ends with Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, as on most of the sculptural *maṇḍalas* with eight Bodhisattvas, and the iconography of the three missing names — Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi, three of the most popular Bodhisattvas — is well known from other textual sources and is invariably conventionalized by this time. Ākāśagarbha, Lokeśvara and Samantabhadra each have their right hand in *varada* while holding their attribute in their left hand, i.e., jewel, lotus and sword respectively. Although Kṣitigarbha with the *kalpavṛkṣa* and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin with the banner likewise correspond to developed Orissan conventions, the activity or attribute prescribed for their right hand betrays a different and later tradition. Kṣitigarbha, rather than displaying *varada*, exhibits *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* which associates him with the earth and the later popular Buddhist belief that he was invoked by the Buddha to bear witness that he had resisted the temptations of Māra (Snellgrove 1987: II, 340). Though popular in Central Asian and Sino-Japanese traditions, this particular association, as well as his subsequent roles of 'Judge of the Lower Regions' and 'god of the Dead' (Getty 1978: 102), appear not to have been popular during this early phase of development in Orissa. The sword prescribed as an attribute in the right hand of Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin is also a later tradition which appears to be more popular in Nepal (Bhattacharyya 1968: fig. 64) and in Tibet (18). Thus, although the iconography of individual Bodhisattvas in Orissan *maṇḍalas* shows some affinity with the earliest textual accounts preserved in Tibetan and Sino-Japanese translations and/or copybooks, there are numerous deviations to suggest that the sculptors were following indigenous traditions which probably were based on the original Indian texts. Even though confined to a brief period, primarily the 8th and early 9th centuries, the images evince a steady evolution in iconographic clarity and maturity, rather than abrupt changes suggesting the introduction of outside influences. Although further patronage of such *maṇḍalas* containing eight Bodhisattvas ceased in Orissa, it appears that this tradition, in respect to the iconography of individual Bodhisattvas, was partly absorbed into the later Indian tradition as recorded in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.

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(17) The only major difference aside from color is that Gaganagañja has the *nīlotpala* or blue lotus. See Bhattacharyya 1968: 131.

Of the few surviving later sculptural-*maṇḍalas* of a different tradition, such as the Mahākāla or Heruka(?) image surrounded by eight *ḍākinīs* at Kasbā in Balasore district or the Dhanada-Tārā-*maṇḍala* from Solaṁpur now inserted into an exterior niche on the Varāha temple at Jājpur, the most relevant example for this study is the 10th century image of Mahāvairocana presently placed on the south side of the porch fronting the sanctum entrance of the excavated monastery at Udayagiri (Fig. 13). Mahāvairocana is richly adorned and wears a tall jewelled crown. Curls cascade down his shoulders and a ribbon flutters out behind his coiffure. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma*. His hands display the *bodhyaṅgī-mudrā* or 'mudrā of the six elements', a *mudrā* signifying the union of the five knowledges of the Tathāgatas into the single enlightenment, whereby the index finger of the left hand is clasped by the five fingers of the right hand, referred to as the 'knowledge fist *mudrā*' in Shingon Buddhism (Snodgrass 1988: I, 137-40). As noted by A. Getty (1978: 32), the five fingers of the right hand represent the five material elements of which man is composed (earth, water, fire, air and ether) while the index finger of the left hand represents the flame-symbol of Ādi-Buddha:

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(18) In a *Mahābodhisattva-maṇḍala* in the *Kanjur* he holds a sword in his right hand while his left hand is on the hip.

> The two hands, thus representing the union of the Spiritual with the Material, correspond with the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu or the Maṇḍala of the Two Parts. The Vajradhātu, represented by the index finger, is the 'diamond' element corresponding to the spiritual world (v. Vajradhātu). The Garbhadhātu, indicated by the five fingers, is the matrix element, corresponding to the material world.

The two *maṇḍalas* in this *yoga-maṇḍala* system are the *Mahākaruṇagarbhodbhava* (from the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*) and the *Vajradhātu* (from the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*) as indicated earlier. In the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, as further noted by Getty, Vairocana is the sun — the center of a planetary system around which revolve his manifestations (the four Tathāgata Buddhas) as planets, implying that he is the 'one Truth surrounded by the four constituent elements' (Getty 1978: 32-33). In the Udayagiri sculpture these four surrounding manifestations or constituent elements are female.

In the creation of the *Tathāgata-maṇḍala* as recorded in the *Guhysamāja-tantra* as mentioned previously, the four Tathāgata Buddhas emanated first in female form. The importance of the female form also appears in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* where the four Bodhisattvas of the Vairocana circle are female emanations of the *pāramitā* of the four Tathāgatas of the four cardinal points. As deified *pūjopakaraṇas* or materials used in ritual worship, they appear at the four corners outside the diamond circle, i.e., in the second enclosure. As described in various Tibetan, Nepali and Sino-Japanese versions of this *maṇḍala*, they have the appearance of *apsaras*, are seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and hold in one or both hands their peculiar material. Vajradhūpā (SE), corresponding to Akṣobhya, offers incense (*dhūpa*) and thus holds an incense-burner or pot; Vajrapuṣpā (SW), corresponding to Ratnasaṁbhava, offers flowers (*puṣpa*) and thus carries a flower or flowers in a dish; Vajradīpā or Vajralokā (NW), corresponding to Amitābha, offers a lamp (*dīpa*) and thus holds a lamp or a candle-wick in a pot; and Vajragandhā (NE), corresponding to Amoghasiddhi, offers sandal-powder or perfume (*gandha*) and thus holds a sandal-grater or pot of powered-incense (Shashibala 1989: 247-65).

In the Udayagiri image these *pūjopakaraṇas*, like *apsaras* in appearance and seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, are placed at the four corners. They each hold their ritual material with both hands. The *maṇḍala* is thus based essentially on the descriptions of the

Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Iconographically, however, the ritual objects held by the four female figures are identical with those held by their counterparts in the *maṇḍala* of Vajra-Tārā in the later *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (no. 16) where, as Tārā-s, they appear at the cardinal points of the inner circle (Bhattacharyya 1968: 241). In the Udayagiri image Vajradhūpā, on the right corner of the pedestal, thus holds an incense-stick (*dhūpaśakhā-karavyagrāṁ*); Vajrapuṣpā, on the upper right corner of the back-slab, holds a garland of flowers (*puṣpadāmakarākulāṁ*); Vajradīpā, on the upper left corner of the back-slab, holds a torch (*dīpāyaṣṭikarākulī*); and Vajragandhā, on the left corner of the pedestal, holds a conch of scents (*gandhaśaṅkhakarākulāṁ*). Again details, in particular the conch and the garland of flowers, suggest that the Orissan sculptors were following indigenous texts or traditions which deviate slightly from Tibetan and Sino-Japanese translations or versions, yet which appear in various *maṇḍalas* preserved in later Indian texts.

In the image of eight-armed Vajra-Tārā now housed in the sanctum of the Uttareśvara Mahādeva temple at Ayodhyā in Balasore district, the goddess is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* (Fig. 14). Her principal right hand, upraised, wields a *vajra* while the corresponding left hand, placed in front of her chest, displays *tarjanī-mudrā*. The lowered right hand holds a conch while the other two right hands hold a noose and a pair of arrows. The objects in her remaining left hands are a *vajrāṅkuśa*, a bow and the *nīlotpala*. Her *śāṭī* is fastened with an elaborate girdle and her diaphanous *uttarīya* is worn in an *upavītī* fashion. She is richly adorned and all three (visible) faces are illumined by a soft smile. Each head wears a tall tiered crown with a lotus finial. She wears a jewelled tiara with a projecting center *kirīṭa* or crest at the base of each head. Above the crest of the center face is an effigy of a Tathāgata with his hands in front of his waist, displaying either *dharmacakra-* or *dhyāna-mudrā* (Ghosh 1980: 84-85) (19). In respect to iconography, the image corresponds closely to descriptions in the *Vajra-Tārā-maṇḍala* (no. 16) of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and *sādhanas* nos. 93, 97 and 110 in the *Sādhanamālā* (Bhattacharyya 1968: 240-43).

In the textual accounts the goddess is surrounded by ten companion goddesses (*daśapāramitāśrayā*) but in the sculpture only the four *pūjopakaraṇas* of the first circle, facing the cardinal directions, are included, one at each corner of the back-slab. The upper ones are placed immediately below a *vidyādhara*. Each is seated in *vajraparyaṅka*, wears a tall conical crown and is richly adorned so that in appearance they resemble deities rather than *apsaras*. According to the text, Puṣpatārā (E) corresponds to Vairocana; Dhūpatārā (S) corresponds to Akṣobhya; Dīpatārā (W) corresponds to Amitābha; Gandhatārā (N) corresponds to Amoghasiddhi while Vajra-Tārā herself corresponds to Ratnasaṁbhava. Vairocana thus replaces Ratnasaṁbhava though his

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(19) N.K. Sahu (1958: 211) states that each of the heads has a Tathāgata image though I do not see them in my photograph.

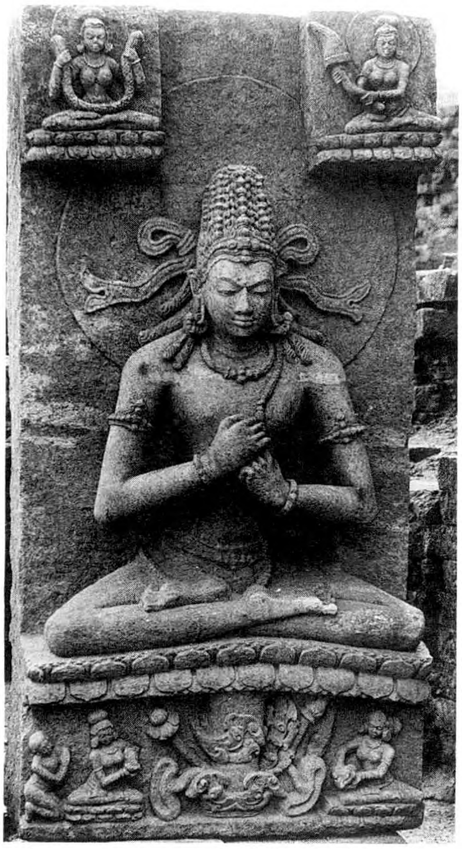

Fig. 13 - Udayagiri: Mahāvairocana-*maṇḍala* with four *pūjopakaraṇas*; 53 3/4 by 28 inches. 10th century.

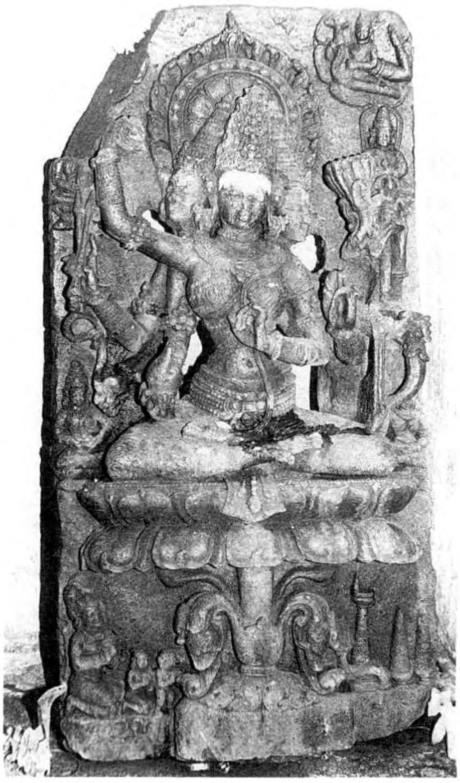

Fig. 14 - Ayodhyā: Uttareśvara Mahādeva temple; Vajra-Tārā with four *pūjopakaraṇas*. 32 by 16 inches. Late 10th-early 11th century.

position is on the east while Akṣobhya is shifted to the south. On the sculpture each *pūjopakaraṇa* holds their ritual object in both hands placed on their lap. Puṣpatārā, at the lower right, holds a flower rather than a garland of flowers; Dhūpatārā, at the upper right, holds an incense-burner rather than an incense-stick; Dīpatārā, at the upper left, holds a burning lamp rather than a torch; while Gandhatārā holds a conch of unguents or sandal paste (Ghosh 1980: 74-78, 85). Except for the conch-shell, the material-forms are thus varied slightly from textual accounts of Vajra-Tārā and, curiously, are more closely related to the material-forms held by the *pūjopakaraṇas* in the Vairocana circle in Tibetan, Nepali and Sino-Japanese versions or translations of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* as described above.

In conclusion, recent excavations and archaeological discoveries, though not completely verifying numerous foreign accounts which credit Orissa as being the legendary birthplace of Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna Buddhism (20), or as being identical with Uḍḍiyāna-*pīṭha*, strongly substantiate the existence or knowledge at the sites at an early date of some of the earliest and most important textual sources for the creation, development and dissemination of Buddhist ideology, especially in respect to the formation and iconography of sculptural-*maṇḍalas*. These *maṇḍalas* are extremely important not only in helping us to understand the evolution of Buddhist art and ideology in Orissa, but equally so in providing us with visual documentation of original Indian texts which have survived only in altered form in later foreign translations.

Conversely, we cannot rule out the possibility of a visual tradition in which these sculptural *maṇḍalas* actually functioned as the text.

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(20) The fact that these accounts and/or legends originate outside of Orissa gives more credence to them than if they were merely local traditions.

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Uncovering the Meaning of the Picture Puzzles of Bihari *Satsai* Painted by Jagannath: A Semiotic Study

by RATAN PARIMOO

I am presenting here a set of paintings based on Bihari's *Satsai*. As far as I am aware no scholar has taken note of this very important group of paintings from the Mewar school of the Rajasthani style. Indeed no attempt has so far actually been made to analyse pictorially how these verses have been visually represented, even if a large range of thematic series in various styles and schools of Indian miniature painting have been discussed by scholars. They include such frequent themes as 'Kṛṣṇa Līlā', 'Nayikābheda', etc. (1). If we go by the dates generally given to Bihari, the poet, who probably died only a couple of decades before the end of the 17th century (2), then this particular set of paintings must be the earliest known set of pictorial renderings of Bihari's verses (3). Fortunately the painted set has a colophon according to which these paintings were painted at the court of Udaipur in Rajasthan, in A.D. 1719 by the artist Jagannath (4), during the reign of Maharana Sangram Singh (Fig. 1).

Bihari's *Satsai* consists of slightly over seven hundred verses which are termed ***muktaka*** and ***ukti*** in literary parlance, because they are in random order and do not link up in any connected and sequential narrative. Often the verses are in the form

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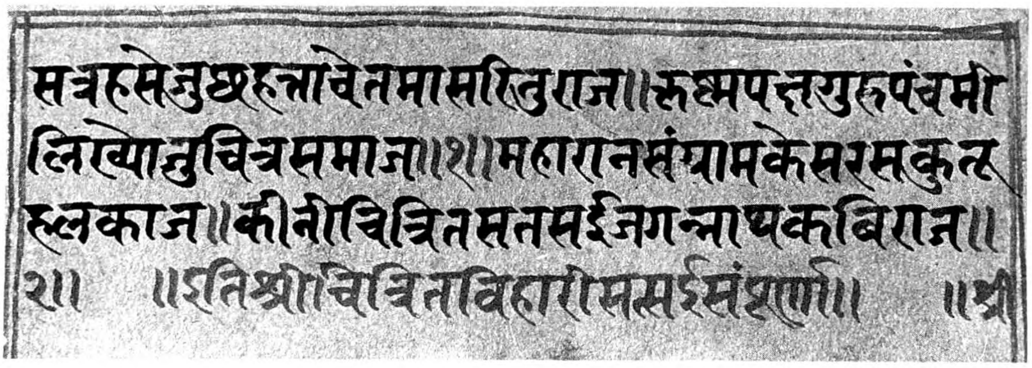
(1) See books like M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, New Delhi 1960.

(2) Biographical information has been compiled piece by piece from Krishna Lal onwards from the early 18th century (see fn. 5) and summed up by Sudhakar Pandeya in Bihari *Satsai* (which also includes the 'Lal Chandrika'), Varanasi 1977. According to this Bihari is believed to have been born in V.S. 1652 (i.e. A.D. 1595) at Gwalior. He may have arrived at the Orccha court where he was influenced by the major poet of the age, Keshavadas, Bihari has claimed one Nagaridas of Budhelkhand as his guru who later shifted to Vrindavan. He may have joined the Jaipur court during V.S. 1691 and 1694 after travelling through Agra, the seat of the Mughal court. It is here that Bihari composed the *Satsai* during the first two decades of the next century (A.D. 1662). Bihari died in *c.* 1665 A.D.

(3) The set of paintings from which a few selected examples are discussed here, are housed in the State Library, Udaipur. Another set is known from Pahari School, datable to the late 18th century. See M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Satsai*, New Delhi. But this set is not as fascinating and puzzling as the one under discussion in this paper.

(4) Sh.K. Andhare has only published the colophon in 'Three New Documents of the Reign of Rāṇā Sangrān Singh of Mewar', *Lalit Kalā*, 19, 1979, p. 60. A preliminary report including some analytical notes were published by the present author in *India Magazine*, New Delhi, June 1984, and *Kala Traimasik* (Hindi), March-May 1983.



सत्रहसेजुछहत्तरोचैतमाससितुराज॥रूक्मपत्तगुरुपंचमी
लिख्योसुचित्रसमाज॥१॥महारानसंग्रामकेसरसकुत
हलकाज॥कीनोचित्रितसतसईजगन्नाथकविराज॥
२॥ ॥इतिश्रीचित्रितबिहारीसतसईसंपूर्णा॥ ॥श्री

Fig. 1

of aphorisms or maxims and moralizing witticisms. Even the references to the feelings of lovers are suggested in enigmatic and concise pithy sayings (5).

There must be some particular reason as to why so soon after the verses were composed, they were transformed into pictures at the Udaipur court, although historical tradition connects Bihari with the neighbouring Jaipur court. Many scholars hold the view that Bihari was patronized by Mirza Raja Jaising whose name Bihari has referred to in several of the verses (6). However, I am not going to deal with such historical details here. What I wish to emphasize is that it must be the first time that a whole series of pictures are based on abstract ideas and metaphors and wise sayings, although a large number of verses belong to the class of *śṛṅgāra* or love poetry. Bihari does not treat love in any direct erotic connotation but portrays in a wide variety of similes and metaphorical comparisons the psychological and behavioural consequences of the mutual infatuation of man and woman (7).

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(5) There are many commentaries on the Bihari *Satsai* by Hindi language scholars. Indeed, the corpus of literary criticism on Bihari constitutes a very rich and perceptive critical preoccupation in Hindi during the last 150 years. Perhaps the first compilation and interpretation was by Lallu Lal Kavi in 1819 from Calcutta. Lallu Lal Kavi was Bhasha Munshi in the College of Fort William. This commentary has become known as 'Lal Chandrika', and was rediscovered and republished by George A. Grierson in 1896. The other authoritative study of the Bihari *Satsai* was carried out by Jagannath Das 'Ratnakar' which was published in Lucknow in 1926. I have followed the number sequence of the verses as given in the 'Ratnakar' edition. Another edited version is by Smt (Dr) Ram Kumari Mishra, entitled *Bihari Vibhuti*, Allahabad, n.d. All are based on the collation of many manuscripts, the last claims to have corrected many errors in the 'Ratnakar' version. One of the earliest manuscripts used by Dr Mishra is dated V.S. 1724. Our painted set also has verses written on the upper part of each folio, but whether this recension has been referred to by compilers is not clear. The first *tika* which also established a particular sequence of the verses is ascribed to Krishna Lal dated V.S. 1719 whereas yet another sequence was given to the original verses by Kovid in V.S. 1742.

(6) Bihari in his closing verse (see painting no. 21 and the discussion of it) has referred to his patron the Jaipur ruler, Jaisingh. Bihari has also mentioned the victory of Balakh (*c.* 1660), which was won by Aurangzeb with Jaisingh as his military commander. Bihari admonished Jaisingh in a verse for neglecting his duties towards his subjects (see Sudhakar Pandeya, *op. cit.*) which won him a coveted position at court. On another occasion he criticized him in v. 38 (see my discussion on it).

A perusal of the critical studies on Bihari's poetry, amply reveals the profuse use of what Sanskrit poetics terms *alaṃkāras*, that is figures of speech which include a wide range of similes and metaphors, the equivalents of *alaṃkāras* in the English language (8). At the same time, being interested in semiological literature I found that since semiotic analysis is concerned with uncovering the meaning through certain symbol systems, not only in literature, that is, in the usage of language, but also in the wide range of human activities and expressions which include such art forms as the theatre, film and the visual arts, there is a great need to re-interpret the place of *alaṃkāras* in literature not only in the Sanskrit language but also in Indian languages in general (9). Rather, one could argue that the traditional critical commentaries of mediaeval Sanskrit scholars on *alaṃkāras* as Indian literary theory, needs to be re-evaluated in the first place, in order to have a fresh understanding of the function of *alaṃkāras*, which are intrinsic to the literary medium (especially the poetic expression). They are not to be considered merely at the level of decoration and thereby a superfluous addition comparable to the ornaments as worn by a beautiful woman, which could not be basically responsible for her exceptional beauty (10). The way Western critics in the present century have re-interpreted the range of metaphorical and allegorical usage of European languages in respective literary expressions needs to be taken with the same seriousness by Indian scholars who are too much preoccupied with the other well-known Indian aesthetic concern, namely the Rasa Siddhanta (11). At least a great contemporary Sanskritist like V. Raghavan has attempted to redefine the *alaṃkāras* but I am not aware that this redefining attempt has been continued (12). The next logical step would be to understand the potential of a fresh study of the *alaṃkāras* in the light of the new science of semiology to give a kind of indigenous base to semiological studies in India.

(7) The psychological situations were already explained in the commentaries beginning with the 'Lal Chandrika'.

(8) Lallu Lal Kavi was probably the first interpreter to set out the classification of the *alaṃkāras* employed by Bihari and also to indicate the *nāyikā* implied in the particular *śṛṅgarika*, 'situation'.

(9) For narrative and semiotic studies see: R. Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, New York 1984; Ch. Metz, *Film Language*, Oxford University Press, 1974; S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca 1980.

(10) V. Raghavan, *Studies on Some Concepts of the Alamkara Sastra*, Madras, rev. ed., 1973. It is a misnomer to brush aside *alaṃkāra* theory in preference for to *rasa* theory. The value of *alaṃkāras* is recognized in the *dhvani* theory. Moreover *alaṃkāras* indicate the creative imagination of the poet (and by implication of the artist in general). A good summary of *alaṃkāras* is contained in 'Baladeva Upadhyaya', Sanskrit Alochana, Allahabad 1963.

(11) For studies on metaphor and allegory see: J. Margolis, *Philosophy Looks at the Arts*, New York 1962, Chapter on Metaphor, by M. Black; T. Hawkes, *Metaphor*, London 1977; J. Mac Queen, *Allegory*, London 1976; *Allegory, Myth and Symbol*, ed. M. Bloomfield, Harvard Univesity Press, Cambridge 1981.

(12) Raghavan, *op. cit.*

This paper has been possible due to the fortunate discovery of this unusual set of paintings which enables forays into the traditional Indian literary theories and the obvious possibility of linkage with a contemporary Western literary theory. However in this initial presentation, I would first like to draw attention to my basic data, namely some aspects of the set of paintings and then the aspects of the *alaṃkāras* used, which would lead to the connections I am implying with the semiological theory. The present space will not permit going intensively into the theoretical arguments.

Jagannath, the painter of Bihari's *Satsai*, has admirably succeeded in finding pictorial equivalents for verbal ideas. Therefore this set of paintings is a very good example of literary influence on the visual arts because not only is the subject-matter of these paintings derived from the verses but even the delineation and imagery follows the literary devices of the poet. Thus these paintings are neither episodic nor narrative in character nor are they mere descriptions. They differ from the story-telling paintings describing the Krishna episodes from the *Bhagavata-purāṇa*. They are also not simple straight forward statements such as, it is an *abhisārikā* on her way to keep a tryst with her lover. They are rare examples of paintings that mean more than meets the eye. They are picture puzzles and their meaning can be understood only with reference to the verses and their import, which has been the starting point for the artist. An analysis of these paintings would enable us to understand how an artist can be inspired by poetry and how he goes about evolving visual equivalents of verbal ideas (13).

It is likely that Jagannath had designed one painting for each verse. The known set of paintings consists of around 300 folios, and on top of each one, the verse which it illustrates has been inscribed in very neat and legible calligraphy. Therefore it could be surmised that Jagannath had illustrated all the seven hundred odd verses. But the whereabouts of the remaining four hundred paintings cannot be ascertained (14). The execution of seven hundred paintings on such abstruse themes and consistently to maintain a high quality of creative imagination has been truly a colossal task which must have taken him many years of persistent work. There are many variations in the several available written manuscripts of the *Satsai* debated by literary critics as well as marked differences in the opinions expressed by them regarding the meaning and interpretation of the verses (15). It must be noted that often the ideas expressed in the verses are very terse, not always translatable in visual imagery. Yet Jagannath dared to accept the challenge. Considering the formidable complexities involved in the task, it is really incredible how Jagannath gauged the appropriate meaning of each verse and then visualized suitable pictorial imagery. The consistent quality of those paintings together with his other output, namely the *Gīta Govinda* set of paintings, which also runs to several hundred folios each in large format, seems to offer ample evidence of Jagannath's high intellectual capacity (16). Of course the obvious surmise is that the artist was in close contact with the literary pundits of the court and a very alert listener of the intellectual company. I would like to believe that since many of the verses contain ideas of worldly wisdom, manifestations of human feelings and social mores which are prevalent in middle class Indian society, Jagannath did not need to depend on instructions from other quarters. From the kind of imagery invented and visualized by the artist, he emerges as a very perceptive observer of mediaeval Indian life, not so frequently found among the works of other painters, which are generally dominated by *puranic* themes or too closely based on literary texts, leaving little scope for bringing in elements from everyday life. Keeping in view the high esteem in which Bihari's poetic work is held, it can be claimed that Jagannath has risen to the occasion and very ably matched his creative talent with that of the poet.

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(13) Earlier scholars indicated the relationship between Indian painting and literature but considered painters as subservient (see e.g. N.C. Mehta & Moti Chandra, *The Golden Flute, Indian Painting and Poetry*, New Delhi 1962). I take this view that painting is not 'illustration' of 'literature' but a language of narration with its own characteristic 'linguistic' aspects. Jagannath's paintings are significant to reveal this.

(14) Stray folios are known in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (see Andhare, *op. cit.*), Govt. Museum, Chandigarh (see B.N. Goswamy, *Rasa in Indian Art*, Los Angeles 1986), Edwin Binney Collection, San Diego (see E. Binney, *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of E. Binney*, Portland 1968), and also Galbraith Collection, U.S.A. (Fig. 23). Binney was not aware of the date and the colophon.

(15) The first *maṅgalacāraṇa* verse itself has several interpretations, see Sudhakar Pandeya, *op. cit.*

What follows below is a tentative analysis of a few carefully selected paintings to bring out how the artist visualized and interpreted the meaning of the verses. Some of the paintings presented here could be classed in two groups. One, the *śringārika*, i.e. which deals with the phenomenon of the man-woman relationship especially the moods of the *nāyikā*. Often these moods are depicted in the context of social modes and norms of feminine behaviour, moreover certain types of moods are particularly attributed to the *parakīyā nāyikā*. There are noteworthy differences between these *śringārika* paintings derived from Bihari's verses and the other sets of *nāyakanāyikā* or *nāyikābheda* paintings of Rajasthani and Pahari schools, most often based on either Bhanudatta's *Rasamañjarī* or Keśavadāsa's *Rasikapriyā* (17). These paintings lack the variety and imaginative juxtaposition of Jagannath's imagery. Moreover, these usually consist of simple conventional compositions showing a *nāyikā* sitting or standing under a tree to be understood as pinning for her lover, either already disappointed and feeling jilted or full of happy expectation. On the other hand Jagannath creates parallel situations perspicaciously trying to fathom the depth of the poet's intentions.

The other group of paintings are based on verses which are rather like aphorisms of worldly wisdom. They also refer to social beliefs and ethical values. Verses of this nature are very terse and at times obscure. The figure groups and other images in these paintings would appear incongruous and unrelated to each other, unless one attempts to understand the import of the verses and the allegorical aspect. Jagannath, the painter, shows a remarkable sense of humour and satire and pictorial irony, while

(16) Other sets known to have been painted by Jagannath are indicated by Sh.K. Andhare, *op. cit.*

(17) M.S. Randhawa and S.B. Shambri, 'Basohli Paintings of the Rasamanjari', *Roopalekha*, XXXVI, 1967, 1-2.

also being realistic in the sense of incorporating much from his observation of everyday life. Another significant point in Jagannath's pictorial conception is the manner in which he incorporates in his paintings the narrator and listener of the relevant verse, in each case the pair is placed in a different way, in some a masculine pair, in others a feminine pair. Analysing these paintings is also an exciting exercise in 'how to read or decipher a picture'.

II

I shall first discuss the paintings based on aphorisms of worldly wisdom, e.g. v. 439. The painting (Fig. 2) based on this verse shows a group of elephants on which *mahauts* are riding holding goads in their hands. Lead by two horsemen, they are approaching a residential settlement where a family of potters is at work, a family of washermen is busy at a river *ghat* and a pair of earth diggers are hurrying forward carrying their tools on their shoulders. The cubical blocks of their houses are juxtaposed to the courtyards and at least two donkeys are sticking their heads over the flat walls. Apparently none of these three activities are related to each other or to the arrival of the elephant procession as an intrinsic part of the narration of any episode. The meaning becomes obvious only when the verse has been read and understood, then the apparently unrelated figural groups with their preoccupations, serve to illustrate a very pithy idea. The literal meaning of the verse is: 'o, you trader of elephants, what business deal can you expect to accomplish here, in this town live the washerman, the earth digger and the potter'. Now the beast of burden that is commonly required by these trades is the donkey. That means the epithet donkey is also indirectly implied by the poet's reference to these professions. Since only rajas and aristocrats can afford elephants, the further meaning becomes plain. Where wisdom is not required or where wisdom will fall on deaf ears, it is futile and inappropriate to offer it. The donkey's association with foolishness is well known. This painting is a perfect allegorical representation of the humdrum or even the grossly foolish, in terms of that particular kind of menial work. The painting also happens to be formalistically remarkable. In order to give spatial unity and an anecdotal character to the elephant group and the three trades, the artist has deliberately delineated the former as a procession, on the perifery of a town, which stumbles across men and women engaged in the three separate activities who do not even notice the intruders.

The painting depicting v. 300 (Fig. 3) appears at first glance to be a scene depicting the past-time of falconry. The composition has three units, two gentlemen stand on the roof of a house placed on the right half of the painting, the gentlemen seem to be watching a falcon hunter galloping on a horse preceded by an attendant. He is about to release the 'deadly bird', who in the next instant has over-powered one of the birds in a flight of cranes in the sky. The verse enables us to understand the meaning. The falcon is likened to persons employed by rajas to suppress or harm innocent people. The poet admonishes the bird of prey: 'you have no personal motive to fulfil nor to perform a sacred duty, then why should you become a servant and indulge in this cruelty to the harmless birds'. There are other subtle suggestions. The falcon, as a 'captured' bird having become a tool in the hands of his master attacks the 'free' birds. Although the falcon is presented as a perfect metaphor for the stooge yet no pictorial device has been employed by the artist, yet the painting is to be understood in allegorical terms. (It has been suggested that the verse was written with reference to Jaisingh's military expedition against Shivaji at the behest of Aurangzeb) (18).

The ideas depicted in the two paintings derived from vv. 434-435 (Fig. 4 and another painting) are similar to each other and are addressed to a vainglorious person having temporarily gained some importance. In both the paintings the central activity is the feeding of the inauspicious crows but who are in demand during the fortnight of the *śrāddha* ceremony. In no. 434 the crows are depicted hovering over the rooftops where some food stuff has been scattered by the two couples in accordance to the custom, who have just come out of their homes after performing the *śrāddha*. The fluttering of the wings as the birds attempt to dive down to peck at the food, is brilliantly delineated by the painter. In the second painting a crow is beckoned to come and receive the offering, while three crows perched in a row have already some food in their beaks. An added detail is the neglect of the weakened pet bird, the parrot, placed in a cage, famished by hunger, who otherwise is a pampered creature, but during the *śrāddha* fortnight no one remembers to attend to him. This maxim is based on the annual Hindu ritual of paying homage to the dead which is performed for a whole fortnight, when the otherwise inauspicious crow is temporarily regarded as the representative of the ancestors.

The last painting (Fig. 5), based on v. 620, which I have included from the group of aphorisms of worldly wisdom, is perhaps the most strikingly allegorical. It depicts a flood or an overflowing river which is painted quite naturalistically. The pair of narrators are standing on the overflown wall or embankment. The flood here is not a literal scene of inundation but a visual counterpart of the maxim that when a man rises high his pride has no bounds, in a similar manner an overfilled river tends to burst its embankments. The embankment of the river here is likened to the *maryādā*, i.e. restraint or keeping to the accepted social norms. It is noteworthy that the swirling water is depicted with greater force as it spills over the wall to make this idea particularly conspicuous. With the utmost simplicity the painter has made the flooding river the central image.

In the next group of paintings I should like to take up the *śriṅgārika* verses, that is verses which deal with the man-woman relationship of love. Here feminine beauty, which is the cause of the stormy relationship between the two sexes, has been qualitatively expressed without having taken recourse to plain description or resorting to direct erotic references to the female body. In v. 316 all such objects, persons and phenomena are listed which are characterized by waves or curves or some sort of turns and twists, namely the gaze of the eye, the eyebrow and the bow, the construction of a fort, the eyelid and the hair lock, the youthful girl, the horse and the musical melody. According to the poet the value of all these increases in terms of the quality of curvature, sinuosity, inflexions and deflections. For the expendiency of military strategy the construction of a fort should include a series of labyrinthine paths and walls, and often the oblique gaze of a girl is considered to be more deadly or suggestive of inner intentions. The Hindi word *bankpan* for the 'curviness' has many facets and connotations especially when associated with a young girl, not only referring to the sinuosity of her body and limbs, the inflexions created in them during her walk, but also her manner of speaking, choice of words, facial expression and general behaviour frequently feigning annoyance, aggressiveness, sarcasm and over-concern. Thus without using many words much has been said qualitatively about the desirable kind of young woman. The functional aspects, natural contours and human behaviour are simultaneously compared. The painter (in painting of Fig. 6) has depicted the images referred to in the verse like a collage but has been ingenious enough to place the horse and rider in the foreground and the fort at the far end suggesting continuous space. The middle ground contains two pavilions, one to depict the playing of music, and another to contain the narrator/listener pair. Placed conspicuously between the two architectural settings is the beautiful girl whose obliqueness is the aspect of pictorial depiction by comparative juxtaposition.

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(18) Suggested by R. Mishra, *op. cit.*

The next painting (Fig. 7) is based on a verse (478) which also alludes to female or *nāyikā*'s beauty. The golden complexion and body of the girl wrapped in a white sari is superior to the dazzling lightening of the autumn clouds which too happen to be white. As is the deception created by our painter, he depicted in one space the house in which a girl (presumably the *nāyikā*'s friend) is expounding the metaphor to the *nāyaka* while the bath of the *nāyikā* is taking place outdoors, where it is not unusual to depict the sky ablaze with serpentine lightening. But the meaning of the verse requires us not to see the lightening in the sky above as incidental but as the object of norm to emphasise the superiority of the *nāyikā*'s beauty, whereas the house has nothing to do with the total meaning, but only to give visual credibility to the scene.

Among the paintings which depict the feelings of lovers, I shall first deal with their feelings which are presented as they experience them jointly in relation to each other. The painting (Fig. 8), based on v. 193, is one of the most expressive and inventive in this class. The *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* as they look at each other from opposite sides, establish an imaginary tightrope over which their hearts travel and link up, unmindful of whether they may be exposed to society or might run the risk of crashing to the ground. How to depict this simile with the imagery of the tightrope of the traditional acrobats called *nats*, who do precarious balancing acts on it, has been entirely the artist's contribution in this painting. Again here the artist has ingeniously connected the hazardous performance of the acrobats and the amusing detail of a man pretending to be ready to rescue any falling acrobat, with the two houses on either side, on the

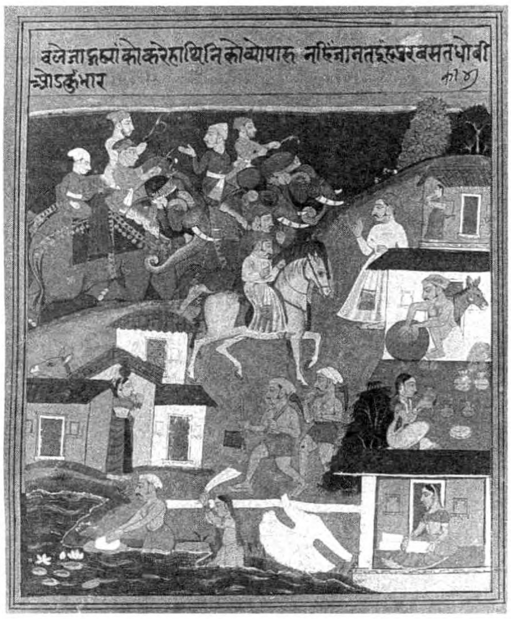

Fig. 2

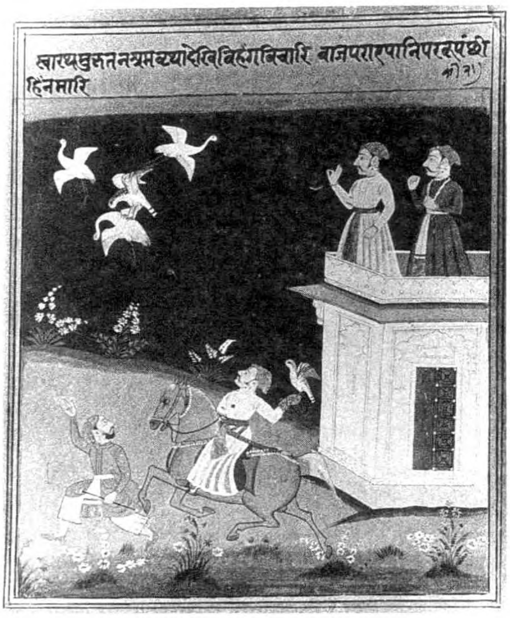

Fig. 3

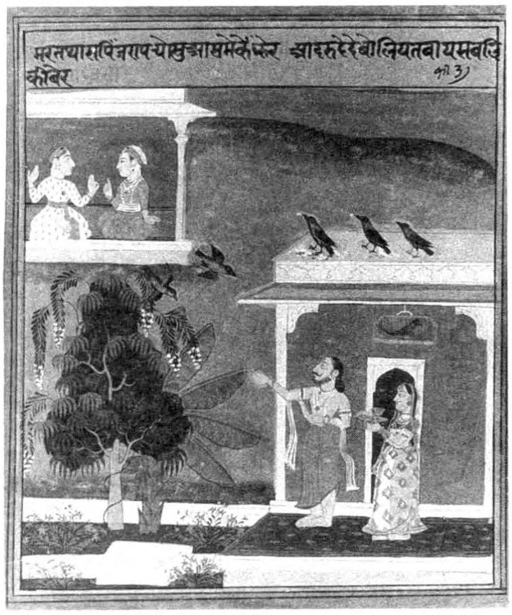

Fig. 4

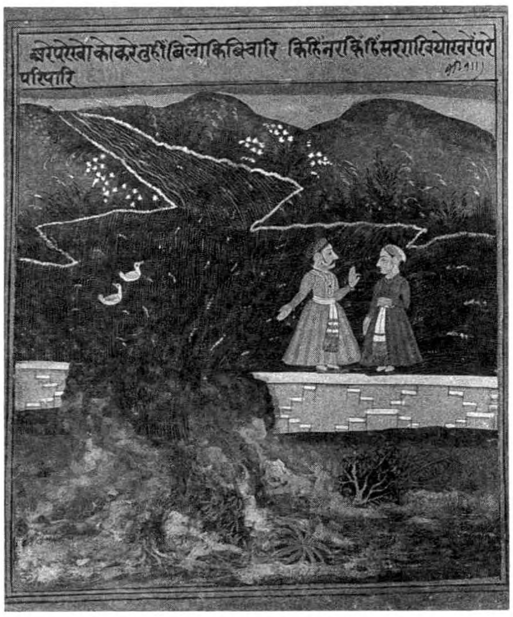

Fig. 5

rooftops of which the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* are engrossed in gazing at each other. We many miss the real point of the painting if we take it simply as Rādhā accompanied by *śākhīs* and Kṛṣṇa along with other boys watching the acrobatic act.

The painting, based on v. 450, depicts in a most graphic manner how the lover's eyes behave as quite astonishing arrows. They inflict injuries from both ends, the target at whom the weapon is aimed at, as well as the shooter of the weapon from the rear. In one of the vertically arranged boxed sections Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the archetypal lovers gaze at each other (Fig. 9). In the second and third sections they are respectively shown bedridden tormented by love sickness and attended to by maid-servants. On the right half of the painting two archers shoot arrows at each other and consequently both are hurt and slump to the ground, metaphorically to suggest the cause of the lover's confinement.

Now I shall analyse some of the metaphors which deal with the individual feelings of the lovers, particularly those of the female partner. Inevitably the *nāyikā* is more severely afflicted and enamoured of her elegant hero, at any rate so it seems from the verses. In the painting (Fig. 10), based on v. 194, the continuous rising and falling cycle established by the dexterous control over the balls tossed up by the juggler's two hands, has been likened with the emotions of the *nāyikā*. The *nāyikā* climbs up to the terrace again and again in order to gaze at her lover, without experiencing the least physical fatigue. For fear of being seen unabashedly watching him, she adopts the ruse of descending and climbing to the terrace and is thus transfixed in the spinning act much like the balls between the two hands of the trickster. It is not clear from the actual words in the verse as to whether it is this particular juggler's trick which the poet had in mind, but the artist has quite rightly selected this specific conjurer's act. The juggler and the rising balls are conspicuously silhouetted against the vertical white wall of the house, over the roof of which the *nāyikā* is climbing so as to have a glimpse of her lover. The artist is at his best in the way he has depicted the bystanders watching the juggler's act with rapt attention, thus creating the deception that this is the subject matter of the painting.

The painting (Fig. 11), based on v. 10, deals with that emotional state of the *nāyikā* when she is full of obsession for the elegant and beautifully limbed hero, whose mind is drawn over and over again towards him. The rope or restraint of shyness has broken. The poet has used the same word here for this rope (*lāv*) which happens also to be the nomenclature for the rope with which boats are tied to the river bank. Now after the rope of restraint is broken, she finds hereself in a whirlpool, like a boat having lost its moorings. In the painting a boat is floating over the water and the artist has delineated a series of concentric circles next to it to suggest the whirlpool. Again it is worth analysing how the artist visualized the situation, starting with the hero, Kṛṣṇa, passing by the *nāyikā*'s balcony.

Verse 560 is yet another couplet refering to the *nāyikā*'s vulnerability, and a remarkable visualization of the psychological situation when she is unexpectedly smitten on the *nāyaka*'s sudden appearance (Fig. 12). While inside her home she

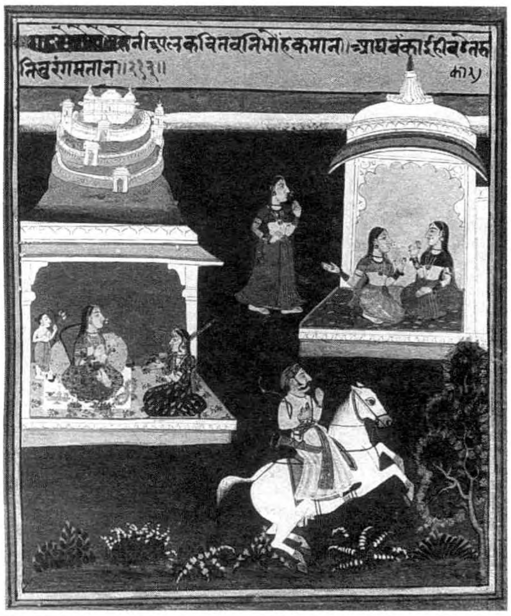

Fig. 6

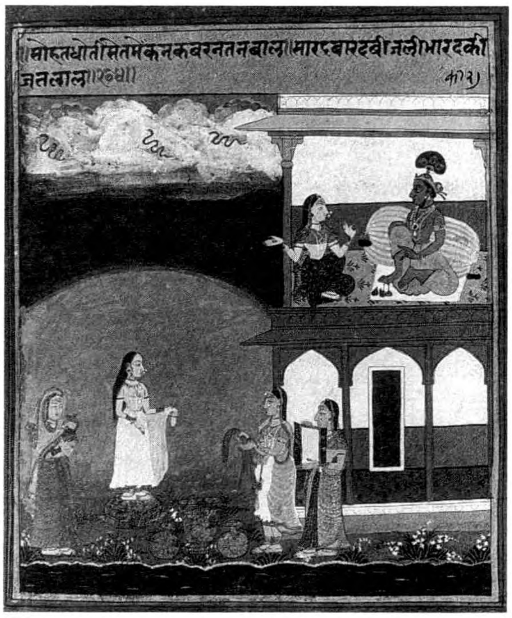

Fig. 7

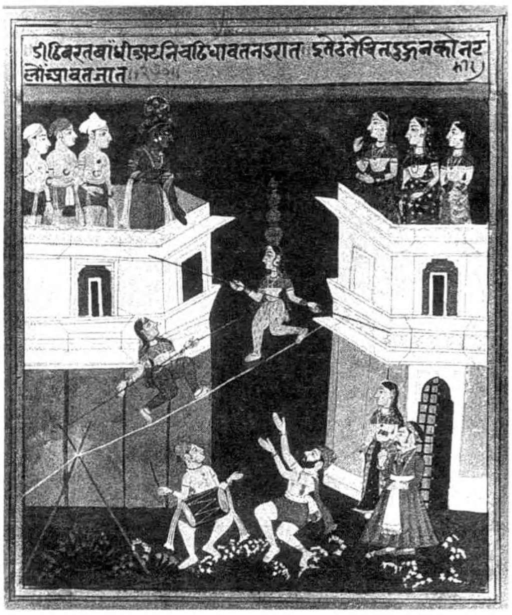

Fig. 8

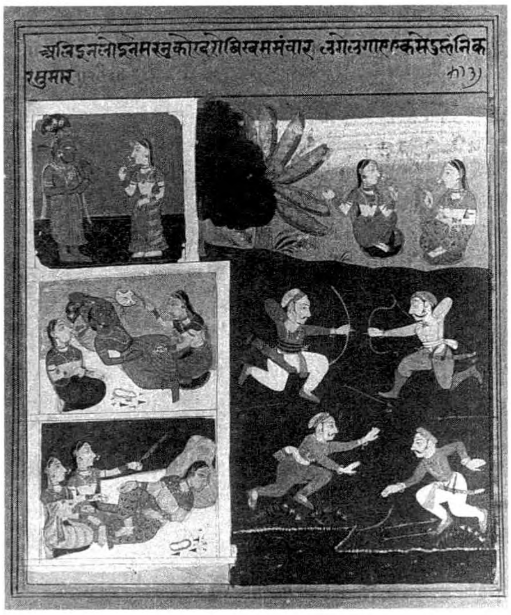

Fig. 9

heard the sweet sound of flute playing, so she joyously hurried out, with much inquisitiveness in her heart. The surprised *nāyikā* exclaims to her *sakhī* how he (the flute playing *nāyaka*) passed by inflicting on her a sword thrust. In the painting, the actual event is depicted in the lower half. The flute-playing Krishna is depicted twice, unselfconsciously arriving near the house and moving away from it, no sooner than the *nāyikā* came out of the door to look. The rooftop of the schematic house has been used to perch the narrator and the listener *sakhī* who point to the metaphorical equivalent of a soldier gashing a person with his sword in the upper half of the painting.

The painting (Fig. 13), depicting v. 634, is an imaginative and original invention of the painter. It too deals with the *nāyikā*'s intense engrossment in watching and awaiting her lover. Literary critics identify her as *parakiya nāyikā*. The artist has played on the word ***kautuk***, i.e. 'curiosity' and the verse is actually addressed to the hero whose attention is sought to be drawn to the peculiar situation of how for hours the *nāyikā* has been standing there starting at him through the slits of a checked curtain. In order to indicate that she has been waiting there for a longtime, the artist has represented Kṛṣṇa absorbed in a game of *chaupat* with three other companions pretending to be completely oblivious of the *nāyikā*'s presence. In the foreground is a very picturesque delineation of another type of itinerant entertainer who is parading a monkey dressed up like a raja and riding on a goat. Thus a typical fun-evoking vignette from everyday life has been incorporated in the pictorial visualization of the 'curious' happening. Basically the composition is in two parts. While the criss-cross pattern of the curtain has been used by the artist to focus on the key image of the patiently gazing *nāyikā* at the *chaupat*-playing hero, the showman's monkey-riding-goat-act has been painted as a parallel situation. I have recently been told that such village entertainments in the past used to be known as ***kautuk***.

One more couplet (v. 245) refers to the inner feelings of the love-lorn *nāyikā* indirectly by means of an outward activity indulged in by her under such an emotion. She is shown churning milk in a clay churn for making butter (Fig. 14). But she does not realize that she has put the churning rod in upside-down position, while she goes on spinning it in her hands. In the painting the churning end of the rod is visible, whereas it actually ought to be inside the churning vessel. Again this is a typically Indian situation and its meaning can be understood primarily in the cultural context. In this verse the two words *rayi* and *vilovana* are close to their Gujarati counterparts. *Rayi* (Guj. *ravayi*) means the churning stick and *vilovana*, the act of churning.

Now we turn to the feelings of the *nāyaka*, the male lover. The painting based on v. 318 (Fig. 15), deals with how the *nāyaka* is enraptured by the seductive beauty of his *nāyikā* and his mental state has been likened to a strange kind of intoxication which does not wear off through fear, sleep, nor through the passage of time. Here the artist has placed a lovelorn Kṛṣṇa under a bower. In the lower half of the painting a whole scene depicts the process of heating a brew (in a pot held over the fire), which is then served by a maid to a few addicts, one of whom has slumped on to the floor. This dramatic representation is the artist's attempt to suggest the power

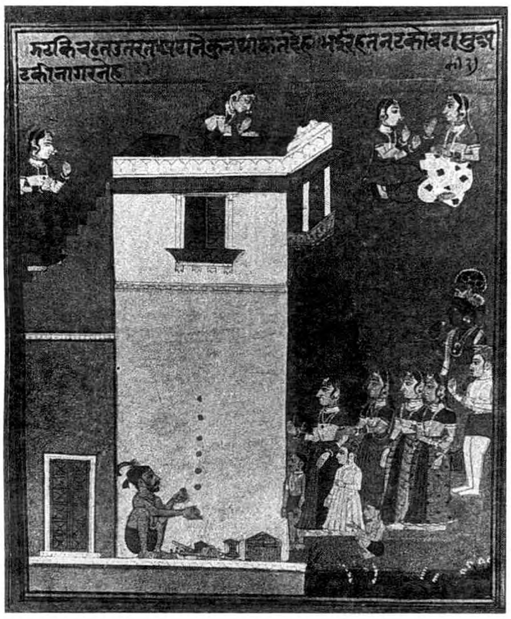

Fig. 10

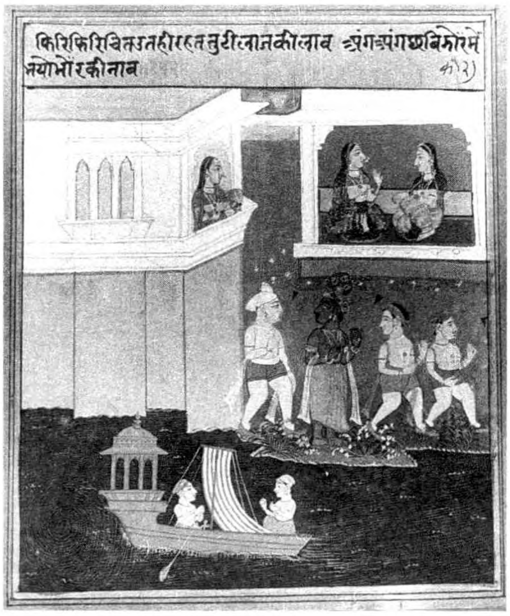

Fig. 11

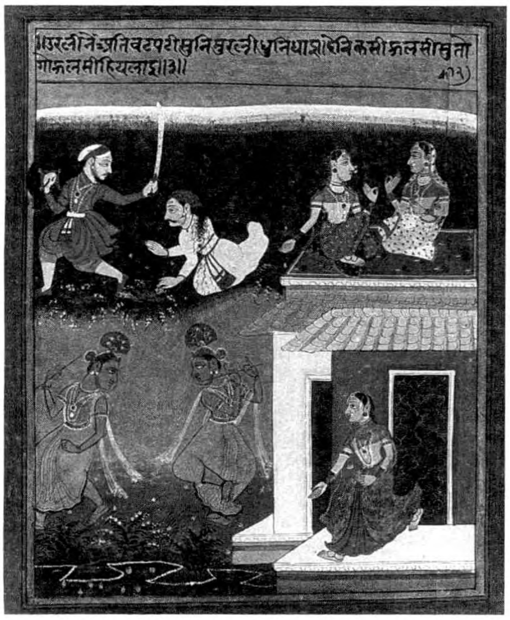

Fig. 12

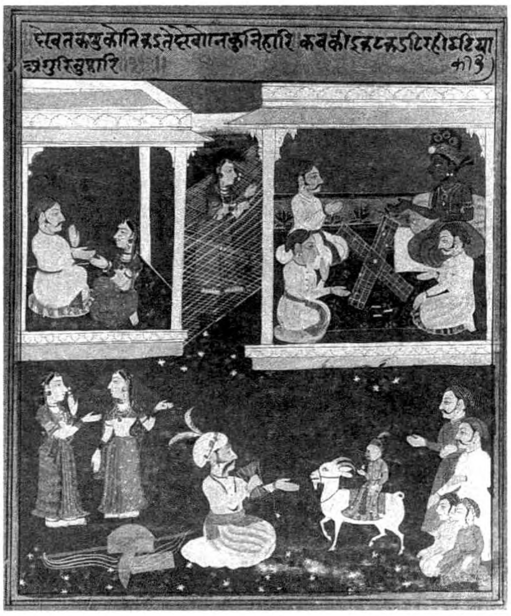

Fig. 13

of this 'strange brew'. The reclining posture of the lover on the top right-hand side is echoed by its analogue, the collapsed drunkard on the bottom left.

I shall analyse three more paintings which also focus on the *nāyaka*'s feelings and behaviour. In the painting based on v. 349 (Fig. 16), the hero is alluding to the *nāyikā*'s personality which is likened to an extraordinary arrow, although it hits the eye it pierces the heart and eventually hurts all the limbs. In the upper half of the painting the *nāyikā* is shown majestically seated attended by maids and the Kāmadeva on a treetop is the source of shooting the arrow. The scenes depicted in the foreground bring out the artist's contribution. On the right-hand side one young man is delineated with an arrow piercing his chest whereas on the left Kṛṣṇa as the *nāyaka* is standing in a casual manner who, the next moment, is delineated in the process of suddenly collapsing consequent upon having glimpsed the beloved's beauty, to suggest the phenomenon of the instant affliction of his limbs.

The painting based on v. 99 (Fig. 17), involves both the *nāyaka* and the *nāyikā*. The idea is to represent how the *nāyaka* relished the flavour of his beloved by taking advantage of her falling from a swing. She fell like a fairy from the sky and he caught her in an embrace before placing her safely on the ground. The verse compares the *nāyikā* with a fairy and keeping in view this analogue the painter has created a most interesting and dynamic figural composition. The swing is placed in an oblique position and the falling *nāyikā* is repeated three times, she can be recognized by the patterned *ghaghra*. She is on the swing, she falls from it and she is in the hero's arms. In the sky the fairy of the verse is delineated so that at once attention is drawn visually to the two women, one flying and the other falling. The artist has also conspicuously depicted scores of bees swarming over the foliage perhaps to suggest their activity of savouring the plant juice.

The painting based on v. 97 (Fig. 18), is a remarkable pictorial portrayal of the *khaṇḍitā nāyikā* by alluding to the *nāyaka*'s waywardness. The *nāyaka*'s shifting temperament is compared with that of the elephant. In the painting the crazy elephant is made to turn in the right direction by hitting him with pebbles shot from a *gulel*. (The verse mentions a *gulel* but the artist has depicted the bow). On the left-hand side of the painting the elephant moves away while the *mahaut* aims an arrow at him. On the right the elephant is now under control and moves towards the *mahaut*. This is parallel to the hero returning to his beloved after having been with another woman. Such is depicted in the upper part of the painting as Kāmadeva aims his bow at Kṛṣṇa, the *nāyaka*. The depression marks visible on the flesh of the *nāyaka*'s chest caused by the pressure of the pearl necklace of the rival woman, are noticed by the *nāyikā*, who compares them with the pebble marks on the body of the elephant caused by the *mahauts* as they hit them.

For a change instead of directly bringing in the *nāyaka* and the *nāyikā*, we may consider how a metaphorical object or motif like the Indian kite is employed by the poet (and subsequently by the painter) in two different situations though within the context of mutual love, once in association with the *nāyikā* and another in association

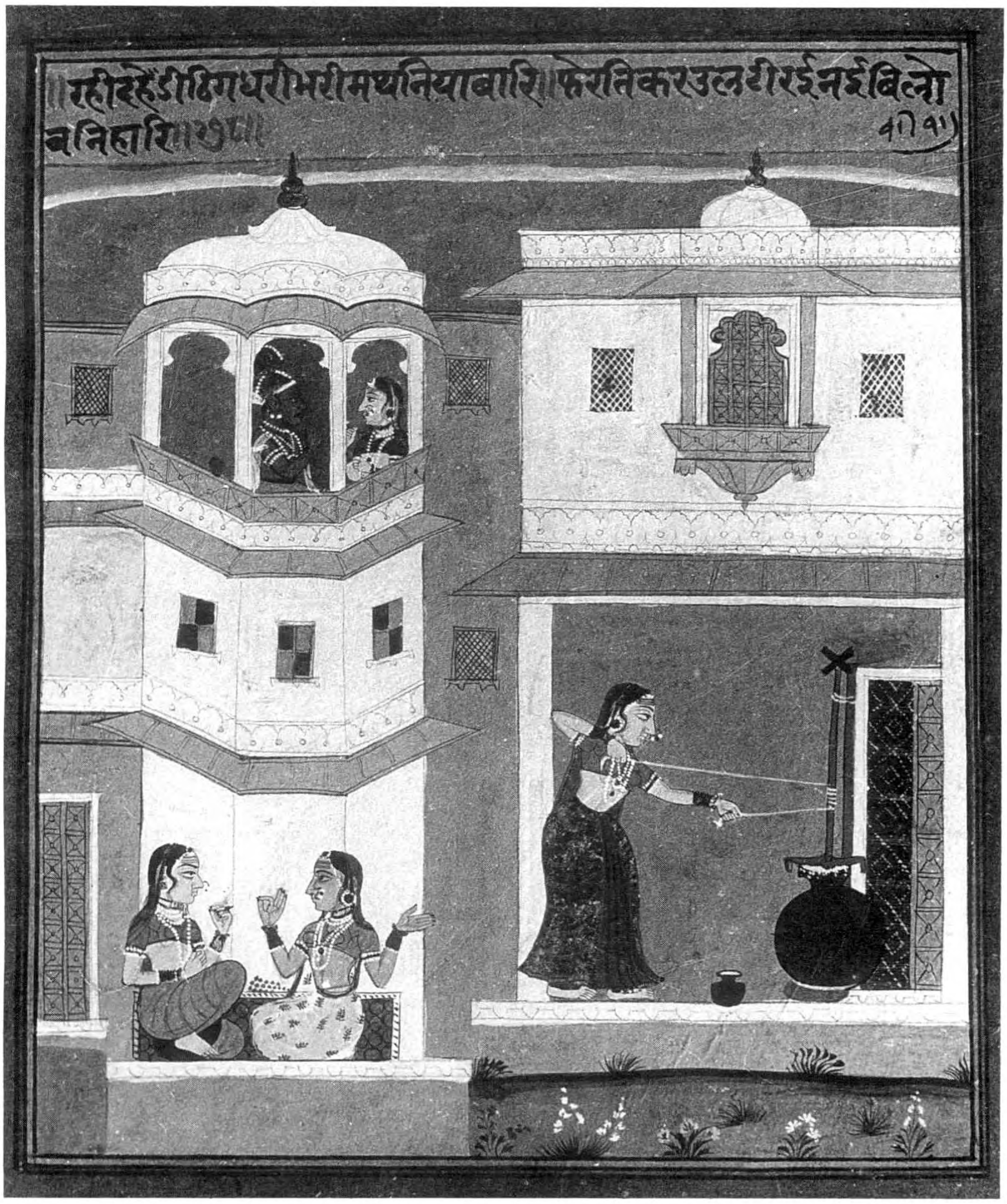

Fig. 14

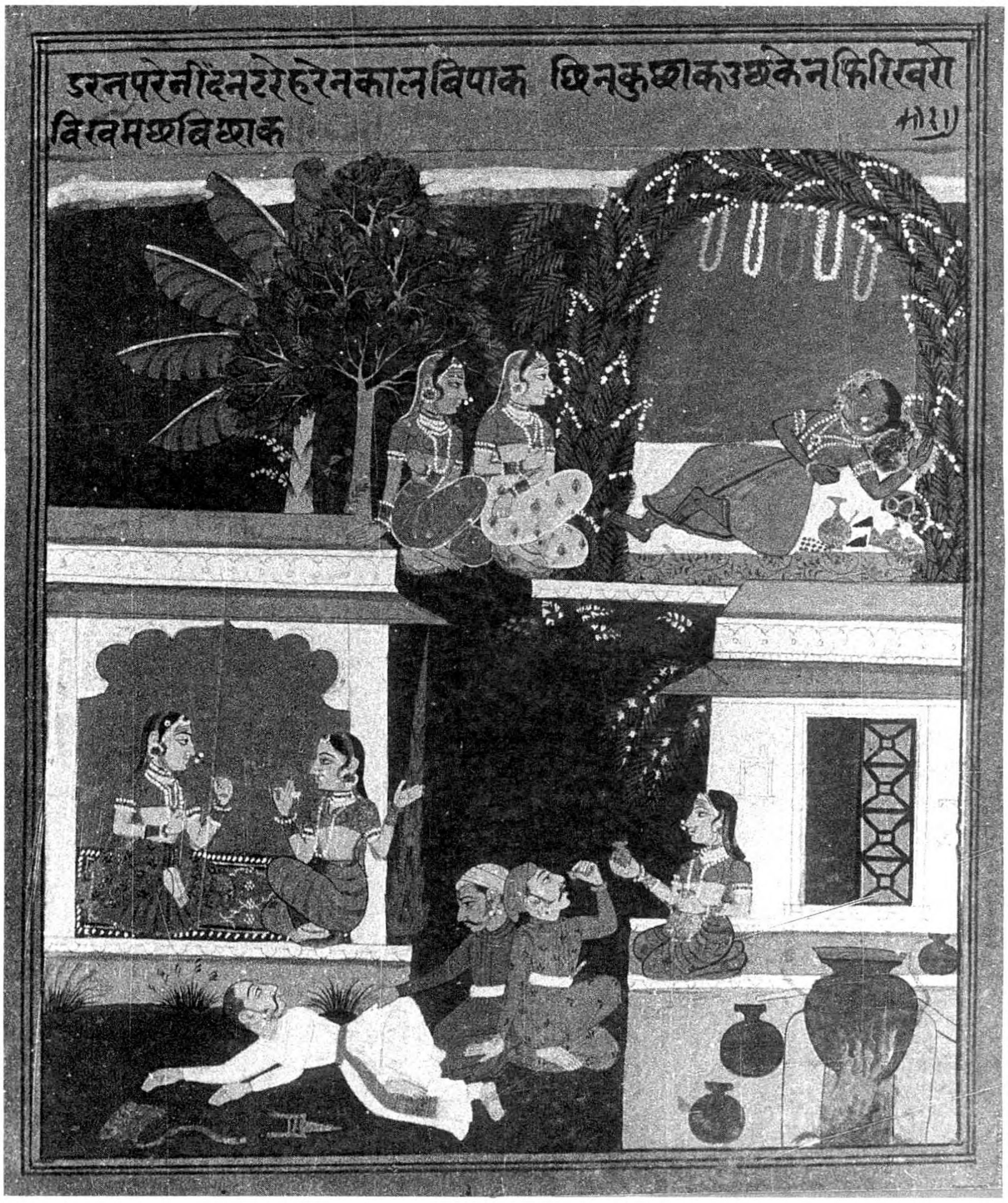

Fig. 15

with the *nāyaka*. Perhaps by comparison to him, the *nāyikā* would always like to be chained to the *nāyaka*, either so as not to feel the separation from him even if he is away, or else to establish his proximity all the time. In v. 57, the *nāyaka* has gone away. The *nāyikā* confidently expresses that it does not matter if the pair have been temporarily separated, since her mind is always with the kite which may fly quite far away in the sky but remains within the control of the flyer. The pun is implied by the string (Hindi *dor*) with which the kite is held whereas an invisible string is believed to hold the minds of the two lovers together. The painting (Fig. 19) expectedly is divided into two spaces, one the *nāyikā*'s town, the other the *nāyaka*'s town in the upper part towards which he is shown proceeding and then settled in a pavilion. In the *nāyikā*'s town, a message is being dictated to the scribe which is then rolled up and given to a courier to be delivered to the absent *nāyaka*. The written message is figuratively illustrated by the *nāyikā* in the act of manipulating a kite held by a long string as the kite significantly trespasses into the *nāyaka*'s territory. This feeling could be expressed by either of the lovers, though here it is implied as that of the *nāyikā*.

In the other painting, based on v. 373 (Fig. 20), the *nāyaka* as engrossed in kite flying is depicted in the upper half, while in the lower half three women in identical dress are depicted in three different positions. The significance of the painting would be lost if we did not have the lead from the verse, namely the eager *nāyikā* is chasing the shadow of the kite which falls in her courtyard. She seeks an indirect gratification of touching the *nāyaka* as she manages to follow the ever moving shadow of the kite. This imagery could have other meanings, in that, the male lover is as unstable as the constantly moving shadow, and that even the lover's shadow can give her the happiness she derives from his actual presence. The eagerness as well as the confusion regarding which way the shadow will shift is very imaginatively depicted by the painter in the way the fervent female figure assumes three different postures.

I close this section with a brief reference to three more verses. As mentioned earlier, more than half the number of paintings are scattered and their whereabouts uncatalogued. Fortunately, I have been able to trace the paintings based on the first or the opening verse as well as the closing verse. The opening verse (or *maṅgalācaraṇa*) as expected under the influence of the Vaishnava *bhakti* movement, is addressed compositely to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, but apparently it is Rādhā who is invoked. Such is Rādhā's shadow that when it falls on Kṛṣṇa, it makes him happy, although some scholars suggest that the dark-coloured Kṛṣṇa takes on a green tone when Rādhā's yellow complexion marges with his (19). (The word for 'being happy' and for 'green colour' is the same viz. *harita*). The pictorial depiction (Fig. 21) is difficult to interpret. It shows Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa seated in an embrace on the left, signifying the above meanings, but on the right half of the painting a young man is either begging or taking leave of a woman while a horse is awaiting nearby. A child with his mother perhaps suggests being born in to this world since yet another implication of the *maṅgalācaraṇa* is to seek Rādhā's blessings in obtaining freedom from the cycle of birth and rebirth. Undoubtedly this is a complex verse and its pictorial equivalent was going to pose difficulties. However I am inclined to think that the young man is the painter himself begging from the woman, who signifies Rādhā.

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(19) See 'Lal Chandrika', *op. cit.*

The closing verse records the orders given by the poet's royal patron, Jaisingh. The poet then claims his seven hundred verses to be an offering to Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā yet with manifold flavours. The painter (Fig. 22) has rightly picked up this meaning and quite intelligently has, in four sections of the painting, set up four different levels or classes of people relishing it by engaging each other in discourse. At the top Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā at the divine level, next is the level of the raja, third the level of the aristocrat and last, at the level of ordinary people, two half-clad young men hurry to listen to the discourse.

Finally I would like to draw attention to how ignorance of the subject matter can lead to almost absurd interpretations. I identified a published painting belonging to the Galbraith Collection (USA) to be a part of the same set of the Bihari *Satsai* paintings (Fig. 23). The careless caption mentions four women admiring their own beauty as they are resting under a bower. But a careful reading of the verse suggests how the ***virahiṇī nāyikā*** (the heroine whose lover is away and around whom the other women are grouped) is complaining about the monsoon winds which are full of sweet fragrance as they blow over newly opened flower buds, but they provoke a burning feeling in her heart. How different is the intention of the poet as well as that of the painter from the misunderstood caption (20).

III

How uncovering ***alaṃkāras*** or the metaphorical figures as used by Bihari in his verses and pictorially interpreted by the painter, Jagannath, can become an exercise in the semiological process, will be clearly illustrated by the following attempt at indicating the specific ***alaṃkāra*** classification usually accepted according to Sanskrit poetics, e.g. by one of the earliest propounders, namely Mammaṭa of the 11th century. One may refer to his *Kāvyaprakāśa*, which is an exhaustive treatise on ***alaṃkāra*** studies by the follower of the Dhvani School (21). The metaphorical figures or ***alaṃkāras*** as identified by Sanskritists over the centuries add up to more than 120, but only a selected few will be discussed here. Basically ***alaṃkāras*** are like codes for poetic interpretation and therefore pertain to meaning and thus the distinction has been made between ***śabdālaṃkāra*** and ***arthālaṃkāra***. The only relevant 'figure' from the former is ***yamaka*** or 'pun' (22), the repetition of words or syllables which are similar in sound but different in meaning.

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(20) It was published in an old issue of *Life* Magazine.

(21) *The Poetic Light, Kavyaprakasa of Mammata*, Text and transl. R.C. Dwivedi, Delhi 1970.

(22) 'Baladeva Upadhyaya', *op. cit.*

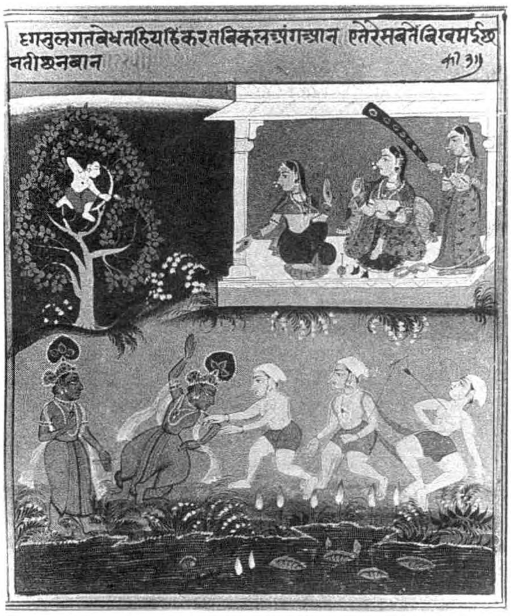

Fig. 16

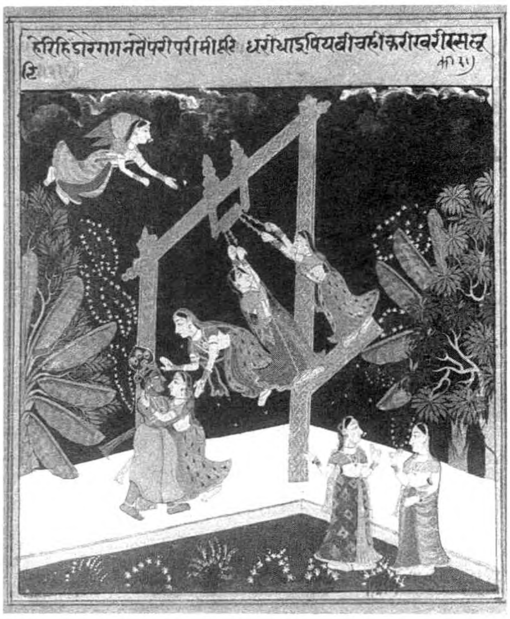

Fig. 17

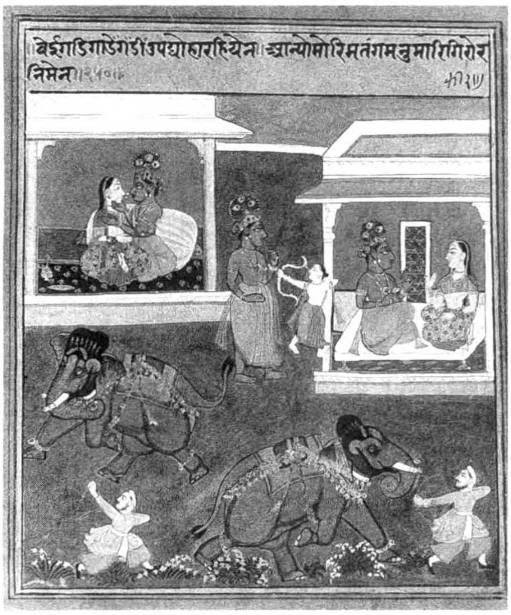

Fig. 18

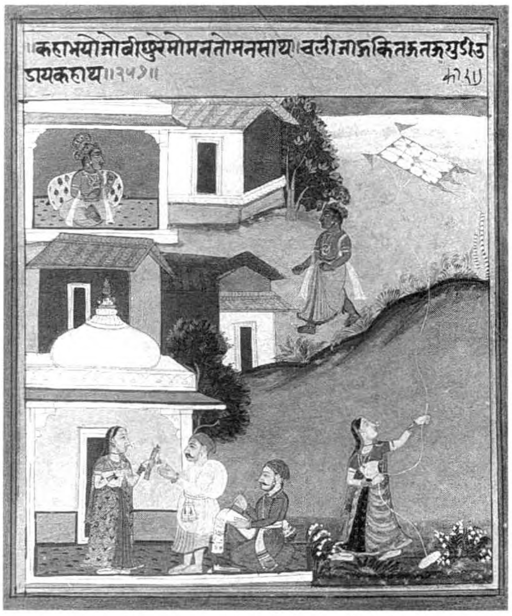

Fig. 19

Verse 99 (Fig. 17), is an example of '*yamaka*' where the pun is on the word *pari*. The same rhyming syllables are taken here to mean a 'fairy' and also 'falling'. The painter devised suitable parallel images for the falling of the fairy from the sky and the falling of the *nāyikā* from the swing, but of course the significance is given to how the *nāyaka* enjoyed the *nāyikā*'s embrace as he held her. If the *nāyikā* is construed to be likened to a fairy, then it is a case of *rūpaka alaṃkāra*. *Yamaka* and *śleṣa* should not be confused with each other. Where a group of words could be attributed two differential meanings, it is the phenomenon of *śleṣa* and has rightly been included in the *artbālaṃkāra* group. In v. 620 (Fig. 5), in the context in which '*pāri*' is used it has two meanings one for embankment of a river and the other to mean 'traditional civility'. This is an example of *śleṣa*, to pun upon words, a verbal equivoque.

Alliteration (*anuprāsa*) and rhyming also fall under the classification of *śabdālaṃkāra*, which impart the charm due to their onomatopoeic value. Here it may be pertinent to mention that each line of a Satsai verse is comprised of two divisions of 13 and 11 syllables. The rhyming need not be established only in the last syllable in each of the two lines of a verse which is termed *doba*. Instead the rhyming can be devised in the last syllable of each of the first section of each of the two lines. Such a verse is known as *soratba* and the number of syllables in the first section are 11 whereas the unrhyming section has 13 (23).

But the entire range of *artbālaṃkāras* (figures of speech determined by and dependent on meaning) fall under seven subheadings or groups out of which only four groups will be discussed here which are relevant for the purpose of this paper. This grouping was made by the 12th century Sanskrit rhetorician Ruyyaka and is different from the manner in which I have grouped the paintings together as discussed above, beginning with the aphorisms followed by the characteristics of *nāyikā*'s beauty, the emotions of the *nāyikā* and *nāyaka* towards each other when apart and when together. Ruyyaka based the first group of *alaṃkāras* on various kinds of similarities, e.g. visual or qualitative, known as *sadṛśya garbbālaṃkāra*. The principal *alaṃkāra* in this group is the familiar simile or *upamā*. The object to be understood is termed *upameya* and the object with which analogy is established, is known as *upamāna*. Generally, the latter is accepted as superior to the former and serves as a yardstick for beauty or quality. Other varieties of this group include *rūpaka*, *dīpaka*, *vyatireka* and *pratipa*, *apabnuti and dṛṣṭanta*, all of which deviate in one way or the other from the phenomenon of the simile, i.e. a simple or obvious comparison of similitude (24).

The second group is based on the factor of opposition to the simile (25). It is given the nomenclature of *virodbabbasa alaṃkāra*, because it is used for situations which are in contrast or contradiction to the actual reality. This group includes *vibbāvana*,

(23) 'Lal Chandrika', *op. cit.*

(24) B. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*

(25) See also *Alamkara — Sarvasva of Ruyyaka*, Text & study by S.S. Janaki, Delhi 1965.

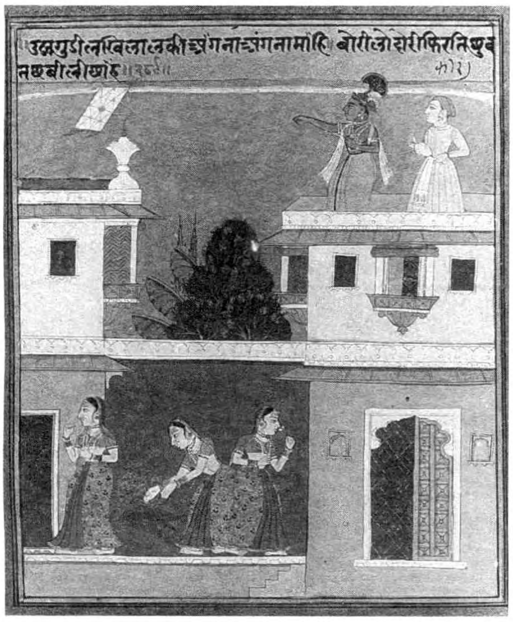

Fig. 20

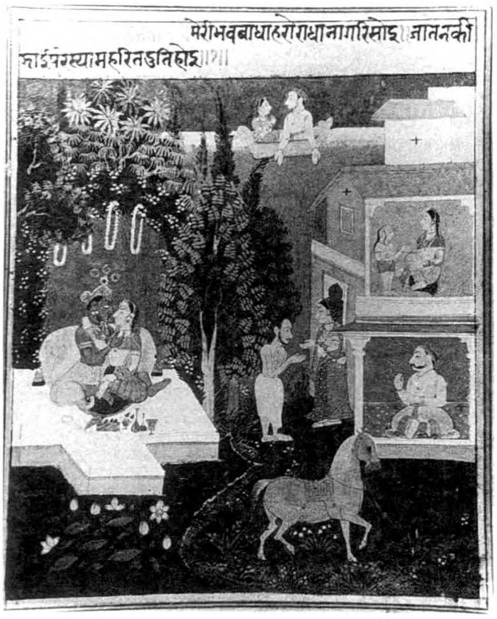

Fig. 21

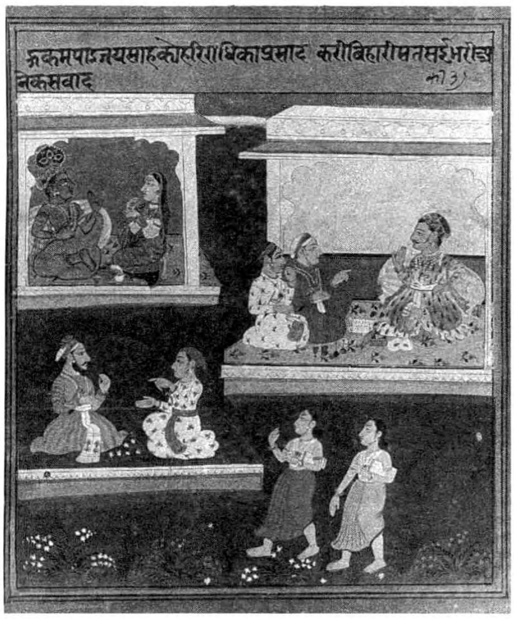

Fig. 22

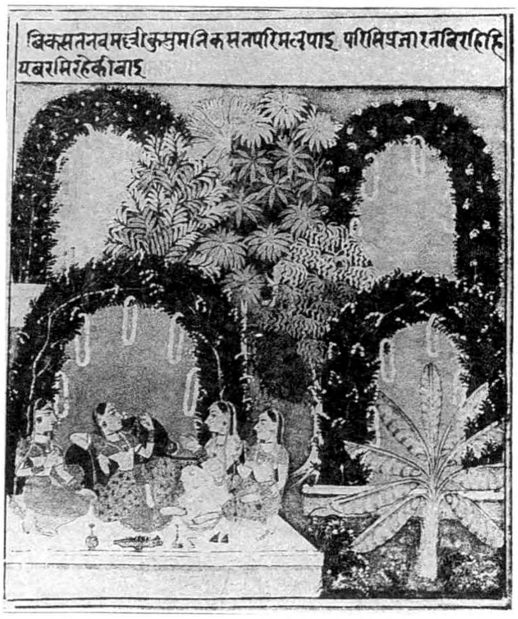

Fig. 23

viśeṣokti and *viśama*. The third group is known as the *tarkanyayamūlaka alaṃkāra* and includes *kāvyaliṅga* which refers to a situation when the cause explains the effect. In the fourth group I am including most of the aphorisms of worldly wisdom which could be categorised under *gudharthapratitimūlaka alaṃkāra*. *Anyokti* (lit., 'statement') perhaps could be included in this category. I shall subsequently indicate which kind of *alaṃkāra* illuminates the various verses and indirectly also their pictorial versions already analysed in section two.

However, one should initially also mention the *alaṃkāra* called *svabhavokti*, which does not belong to any group yet is a category by itself. While some rhetoricians do not recognize it as an *alaṃkāra per se*, because it describes the person or object in its expected behaviour and character, yet some scholars concede it the status of *alaṃkāra* because the poetic process begins from the observed image or situation itself (26). Verse 634 (Fig. 13) is an example of *svabhavokti*, as the *nāyikā*'s behaviour has not been compared with anything else in order to qualify how intensely she has been observing her beloved, though the painter has compulsively exerted his imagination to conjure up the 'imagery' for *kautuk* (i.e., 'how curious'!).

In *rūpaka* (equivalent/identical), the *upameya* replaces *upamana* and this simile is found in verses of which the pictorial counterparts are illustrated in Figures 8-11. The comparison between the connection of the two pairs of lover's eyes, with the rope of the acrobats (*nats*) on which they do the balancing act, is a situation of *rūpaka*. The comparison also draws attention to the precariousness of falling in love (see Fig. 8 based on v. 193). In painting of Fig. 9 (v. 450), the lover's eyes are not only compared with arrows but these possess sharp points at both ends to hit the shooter and the target simultaneously. In Fig. 10 (v. 194), the analogy is between the spinning cycle of balls controlled by the juggler's hand with the *nāyikā* getting transfixed as she intermittently gazes at the *nāyaka* and obsessively climbs up to and descends from the terrace. In Fig. 11 (v. 10), in addition to *rūpaka*, *yamaka* is employed where the world *lāva* means the rope of the boat as well as the discretion of modesty. The marks of the other beloved's (i.e. *parakiyā nāyikā*) necklace on the hero's chest are compared with the marks of the stone aimed at the *mast* (crazy) elephant, although these are not visible in the painting. Understandably the two actions and their effects are comparable, enhancing the prodigal lover's home-coming.

In *pūrna upama* there is a complete identification between *upameya* and *upamana*, actually in Fig. 20 (v. 373), one could say the visible image and its referent. For the *nāyikā* the shadow of the flying kite is the substitute for the beloved.

Dīpaka or 'illuminator' means quantitative comparison which is used in painting of Fig. 5 (v. 620), which is at the same time a good example of *vakrokti*, i.e. an oblique or roundabout way of making a satirical statement. The flooding river overflowing its embankment and the growing vanity of an upstart, could have only qualitative similarity and the juxtaposition makes the point forcefully.

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(26) Raghavan, *op. cit.*

Qualitative similitude (*dipaka*) is also the *raison d'être* in painting of Fig. 6 (v. 316), especially to enhance the *nāyikā*'s desirable assets. This verse is a characteristic example of a string of similes. However, had the similes been interdependent or placed in a superlative sequence outstriping the previous one, then it would be called *mālādīpaka* ([27]).

Normally when a simile or *upama* is used the thing to be compared, *upaméya*, is inferior to the object with which it is compared, *upamana*. But *vyatireka* ('excellence') is the situation when the poet reverses the positions and *upameya* is made out to be superior to *upamana* which almost disappears. This is the case in Figures 7 and 15. In Fig. 7 the *nāyikā*'s beauty outdazzles the lightening. Fig. 14 indicates that love is a much more stubborn intoxicant than wine. (Another instance of *vyatireka* is when the eyes are held to be deadlier than arrows). If the norm of comparison i.e. *upamana* has been further lowered by the poet then it is called *pratipa* and Fig. 7 could also suggest such a situation. When the poet suggests an absent person (or object) by a sign it is called *apahnuti* as in Fig. 18 (v. 97), in which the series of depressions on the *nāyaka*'s chest indicate the marks of a necklace therefore the embrace of another mistress. *Dṛṣtanta* is the last of the poetic devices under the *sadṛṣya garbhālamkāra* group discussed here which is the objective in Fig. 19 (v. 57). It indicates the similarities of attributes — the *nāyikā*'s mind is linked with that of the absent *nāyaka*'s as the kite up in the sky is linked with the hand of the kiteflyer.

For the second group of *alaṃkāras*, namely the *virodhabbasa alaṃkāra*, the example is painting of Fig. 23 (v. 175), which is a case of *vibhavana*. Here the effect is without a direct cause. The *nāyikā* is feeling a burning sensation within hereself even when a fragrant and cool breeze blows arounds her. A variation in this classification is when the cause is evident but not the effect as in painting of Fig. 10 (v. 194). The *nāyikā* goes up and down the staircase but feels no fatigue. *Viśama* is the third situation in which the effect is not compatible with the cause or is opposite to what is normally expected. In painting of Fig. 12 (v. 560), the *nāyikā* is stunned as if she had been stabbed as she came happily out to listen to the music of the flute.

The figure of speech of *kāvyaliṅga* (a sort of poetical reason) falls in the third category and is implicit in Figures 16 and 21. In contrast to the figure of speech of *viśama*, here the cause is known though only partially. In Fig. 16, the arrow has hit only on one spot, namely the heart, but the pain is inflicted all over the body, thereby *kāvyaliṅga* dramatizes the situation. Along with *sleṣa*, *kāvyaliṅga* is also implied in Fig. 21 (v. 1), in which Kṛṣṇa is happy when Rādhā's shadow falls on him, or alternatively when blue-coloured Kṛṣṇa takes on a green shade when overlapped with Rādhā's yellow complexion. However, the painter apparently could not have depicted this imagery in the visual medium.

([27]) Mammata, *op. cit.*

In the last group I am putting together all those verses which fall under *gudbartha-pratīti-alaṃkāra* and the paintings based on them. These refer to pithy aphorisms of worldly wisdom and are characterised by hidden irony. Fig. 2 depicts the futility of offering wise words to simpletons. The painting in Fig. 3 admonishes the person (falcon) who becomes a stooge and is used as a tool to terrorise his own kin. In Fig. 4, because of the *śrāddha pakṣa* (commemoration of the forefathers), the crows are enjoying temporary importance.

Do the comparisons serve only as parallels or analogous phenomenon or do these juxtapositions change the meaning, or characterize it or heighten the onlooker's experience? Often the analogies and the contradictions are between human and animal or human and inanimate objects, or between a phenomenon from nature and from human behaviour. When so required the painter has had to depict the same image or character twice or create a separate figure group as an exact pictorial parallel, corresponding to the verbal image, like the pair of soldiers who, after shooting at each other, are shown subsequently collapsing onto the ground (Fig. 9), similarly the elephant is depicted twice in two distinct moods in Fig. 18.

The above analysis reveals that there is a difference between what is represented and what is depicted. A process of decoding the meaning is necessary to comprehend these paintings. The human figures and images, taken either singly or collectively serve as signs which signify something deeper. Roland Barthes has observed, the 'signifier' is at the plane of expression, which herewith are the pictorial forms (figures, objects, settings) and the 'signified' or the plane of content is our mental reconstruction, the signifier serving as the mediator (28). Signifier is the matter and signified the substance. 'Signification' is a process which binds the signifier and the signified. A complex diachronic (sequential) and synchronic (simultaneous) relationship exists between them. This aptly applies to these metaphorical paintings or pictorial puzzles as I call them, as do these to the literary *alaṃkāras* or figures of speech. The entire painting and each of the paintings, serve as signifiers. However, it should be noted here that the visual signs in these paintings generally do not yield to the process of signification by themselves. The decoding has to be done from the point of view of the poetic form, that is, the metaphorical devices and their connotation. Only subsequently can the meaning of the visual composition be reconstructed as a connotative phenomenon, but often only in the Indian cultural context. While eventually, by uniting the signifier and the signified, these two entities simultaneously dissolve and merge. Much of the analyses contained in the second section above resembles an experiment, already implying the signification and connection, which it is possible to derive from the visual imagery by refering to the particular nature of the *alaṃkāras*. This analysis reflects my understanding of semiology.

The study of *alaṃkāras* which has either been dropped or is out of fashion, needs to be revived in the light of modern semiological theory and studies. A rich and truly

(28) Barthes, *op. cit.*

fascinating field awaits research. Likewise more such paintings should be found and examined which can serve as suitable material for semiological analysis.

IV

The very hoary tradition of Indian linguistic studies has also had its pre-occupation with the theories of 'meaning' which have much relevance to semiology as well as to the Indian pictorial arts. The Indian pictorial arts have never been discussed in terms of how the conglomerations of images lead to particular meanings even though at times transparently obvious. Thus, while it is usual to see individual images in a space and required setting where they would be naturally expected, the poetically contrived paintings discussed above are of a particular kind.

The pictorial image conglomerations and the relevance of their inter-relations have a parallel in Indian linguistic theories, namely the meaning of a word as connoted by itself and the meaning of a word when it is part of a sentence. Rather what we are concerned with are the theories which refer to the meaning of words as they occur in a sentence when actually the meaning of the whole sentence is what is of significance. This discussion from Indian linguistics needs to be brought in as a possible contribution to the theory of interpretation of the pictorial arts from the Indian critical tradition in order to enrich the thinking concerning the former. The over-quoted *rasa-sūtra*, the customary references to the *śilpa* texts, together with the mere, uncritical references to the uses and involvement with the pictorial arts in ancient times, do not constitute a critical theory of the pictorial arts (29).

In the discussion of the visual arts we have been limiting ourselves to the analogy of *śabda* and *artha* as 'form' and 'content', without realizing the phenomenon of groups of *śabdas* and then how the *artha* emerges due to relationship or associations.

The eminent scholar Kunjunni Raja in his *Indian Theories of Meaning* has given a parallel with the semiological phenomenon of the 'signifier' and the 'signified' defined by de Saussure with the implications that the Indian concept of *śabda* and *artha* have to be understood in these terms (30). Yet the wide ranging application of many of the other germinal notions has not been indicated. I will endeavour to take up some notions as the concluding part of the paper.

Firstly, from the point of view of the pictorial arts it is significant that theorists have employed the term *vikalpa*, which is not the external object to which a word *śabda* is refering, but rather its mental construct by the listener which is equivalent to the *artha*. Thus the *artha* is also a mental image which is almost the pictorial (or visual) image in the onlooker's mind.

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(29) For example even if these references are compiled by no less a scholar than A. Coomaraswamy, 'One Hundred References to Indian Painting', *Artibus Asiae*, 4, 1930-32.

(30) K. Kunjunni Raja, *Indian Theories of Meaning*, Madras 1977. Most of the references are taken from this book as a matter of convenience.

The other relevant notion is when the words are classified in terms of *yaugika*, *rudha*, *yogarudha* etc., as proposed by Yāska in his interpretation of Vedic words. Here too the 'word' could be substituted by a 'visual image' and the classification we obtain is the *yaugika* (= etymological meaning), that could be perhaps the primary or naturalistic meaning. Rudha then would stand for a conventional visual image, that is a certain meaning gets attached to it through popular usage. In the third case, *yogarudha*, which refers to compound words and therefore equivalent to a group of visual images clustered together, would receive meaning from etymological or naturalistic references and also conventional or usage references. The meaning acquired by usage has been up-held by Patanjali and also Mimamsakas. This notion of 'multiple meanings' of the 'word' has implications for the pictorial symbols as well as the iconography of Indian deities.

Now the most interesting theory is the controversy between the relative importance of 'word' and 'sentence', amongst others started and elaborated by Bhartrahari. Apropos the visual arts, we are not directly concerned with the *sphota* theory, according to which a sentence is to be considered a single undivided utterance and its meaning as 'an instantaneous flash of insight' (*pratibha*). Perhaps a group of visual images cannot reveal its vital meaning so instantaneously. But by a 'linguistic sentence' if we understand by it a total painting comprising a cluster of images in a certain grouping and hierarchy, then the 'word' versus 'sentence' issue, raised in Sanskrit linguistics would be very relevant from the pictorial point of view. Here we leave aside the defence for the individual word and its significance as propounded by the many commentators. But rather we prefer the notion of giving priority to the sentence in terms of meaning. Surprisingly I find that modern Indian scholars hardly use the term 'syntagm' as employed by Roland Barthes (*vide* modern European linguistics and literary criticism) because 'syntactical' would restrict it to its grammatical aspect and correctness or at best to the literal meaning. I am therefore drawing attention to those terms which have a relational bearing between the words and therefore applicable to relational aspects when pictorial images are juxtaposed.

The *anvitābhidhāna* theory associated with the Mīmāṃsakas, Prabhākāra and others, is also very relevant to the pictorial arts, both in the definition of iconography (sculptural images) as well as where allegorical implications (in paintings) are involved. According to this theory, the meaning of a sentence is made up of the individual word-meanings and their mutual relation. The Mīmāṃsakas have emphasised that a word taken alone, never expresses any meaning, it is only the whole sentence that does it. Every single word is understood in so far as it is related to the other words in the sentence. This phenomenon would be very true for the interpretation of a painting when it is substituted for the sentence, while the word is substituted by the individual visual image. The single image would acquire meaning only in relation to the other images present in the complete painting (sentence) and eventually the entire painting would enfold the meaning held within it, known as sentence meaning. Even Abhinavagupta held the view that the sentence has a unitary meaning of its own, the constituent words possess meaning only as they are related to this unitory sentence meaning.

The view is also significantly held by Bhartrahari and some of his predecessors that a sentence is really found in the minds of the speaker and the listener. In terms of the pictorial arts it would imply that the image cluster and its meaning is in the minds of the artist and likewise in the mind of the onlooker as he gradually begins to comprehend it.

The three factors of *ākānkṣā*, *yogyatā* and *saṃnidhi* ('proximity') propounded for the words, would also apply to the visual images. *Ākānkṣā* is the factor by which words are related to each other and receive additional signification leading to *vākyartha* ('sentence meaning'). *Samsarga* refers to association of word meanings and *tātparya* for purport or the intention of the speaker. Again we suggest from the above, that the *ākānkṣā* of visual images results in additional signification to each other in order subsequently to arrive at *tātparya*.

The term *tātparya* is again very relevant for the above analyses of the *Satsai* paintings. Abhinavagupta, who has been characterized as an *alaṃkarika*, has spoken about four distinct functions of words. At the outset we substitute these with visual images. Thus visual images have the function of *abhidhā*, *tātparya*, *lakṣṇā* and *vyañjanā*. *Abhidhā* is the power of words (here visual image) to refer to the primary meaning only in universal terms and in isolation. The meaning relation among the words is conveyed by *tātparya śakti* which is being variously interpreted. *Tātparya* would also stand for 'meaning' of visual images. Anandavardhana did mention the importance of the speaker's intention in conveying the meaning of a passage but did not recognize *tātparya* as a separate *śakti* of words, instead placing emphasis on *lakṣaṇā* and *dhvani*. But Bhoja had elaborated on *tātparya* as equivalent to intended meaning. He also accepted the *naiyayika* (Jayanta's) position of the sentence meaning resulting from the cumulative effect or *samhatyakarita* that is the *tātparya śakti* of words. It is significant that Dhanika, the commentator on Dhanajaya's Daśarūpaka, advocates the theory that *dhvani* is included in *tātparya*. He argues that the expressed meaning and the suggested meaning are not entirely different from one another. I strongly believe with Dhanika and other Alamkārikas that *tātparya* can cover the whole range of speaker's (in this case painter's) intention and encompass all implications emerging in the wake of the expressed sense.

To complete the circle of the above analysis and discussion I quote B.K. Matilal's defence of Kuntaka as a parallel thinking to that attempted by me. Matilal says that Kuntaka's 'approach was that of an artist towards the study of poetry, the approach which looks upon art that adds form to matter, invests *hyle* with *eidos*, flavours straightforward natural speech with a tinge of obliqueness to create beauty: Poetryhood consists in beautification, *tattvam sālamkarasya Kāvyata*' (31).

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(31) Even the great Indian philosopher B.K. Matilal in his last book: *The Word and the World*, Delhi 1990, has not hinted at the implications for aesthetics of the pictorial arts, though expectedly his main concern was with the 'words' *versus* 'sentence' issues.

Unknown Peoples of Southern Chitral

Part I: The Dameli

by ALBERTO and AUGUSTO CACOPARDO

SECTION 1

General Introduction to the Series

'That most polyglot corner of the whole Hindu Kush region', said once Georg Morgenstierne (1942: 115) referring to southern Chitral. And indeed it is hard to dissent, if we consider that mother languages spoken by stable inhabitants of this area about half the size of Luxembourg, include Khowar, Kalashamund, Pukhtu, Gujuri, Farsi, Kati, Palula, Dameli (*dāmi'a b'aša*) (1), Gawar Bati. Though many of these tongues are certainly not peculiar to this area, there are as many as four of them (Kalashamund, Palula, Dameli and Gawar Bati) which are entirelly local languages, mutually altogether unintelligible, each with its own dialectal variations.

Of the populations speaking these languages, only the Kalasha (the renowned 'last pagans of the Hindu Kush') have by now become fairly well known through extensive anthropological research (more recent works include: Glavind Sperber 1992; Jettmar 1975; Loude 1980; Loude & Lièvre 1984; Lièvre & Loude 1990; Parkes 1987; 1991; Siiger, Castenfeldt & Fentz 1991; Wutt 1976; 1983; Alb. & Aug. Cacopardo 1977; 1989). Concerning the other three, on the contrary, until the present research, the basic information available was still practically limited to that collected by Georg Morgenstierne in his milestone linguistic survey of 1929, which may be thus summarized.

Palula (which Morgenstierne also calls Phalura) is an eastern Dardic language not likely to be autoctonous to the area, since it is nothing but an archaic form of Shina, whose speakers are said to have migrated into Chitral from the area of Chilas. It is spoken in the valleys of Ashret and Biyori, in some settlements of the main valley,

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(*) This article is the fruit of joint research work. However, sections 1 and 2.2 are written by Alberto Cacopardo; sections 2.1, 2.3 and 2.4 by Augusto Cacopardo.

(1) All transcriptions proposed here should be considered merely hypothetical.

in the village of Purigal in Shishi Kuh, and in the large village of Sau in Afghanistan, some fifty kilometers to the south. On the basis of linguistic evidence Morgenstierne (1941: 8) states that the tradition concerning this migration may very well have a historical basis.

Dameli is spoken only in the valley of Damel, south of Ashret on the left bank of the Chitral river. According to Morgenstierne (1942: 147-48), this language seems to be a mixture of a Dardic language with a Kafir language that cannot be identified with any of the existing tongues of that group, which, he hypothizes, may have been the ancient language of the Jashi of Gawardesh (Robertson 1974: 82-83), who later adopted Komviri.

Gawar Bati, finally, is a more decidedly Dardic language with affinities with Pashai and the Kohistani group and influences from the Kafir, spoken in the extreme south of the District of Chitral and, across the border, in various settlements in Afghanistan (Morgenstierne 1932).

Subsequent research added very little to Morgenstierne's information. Richard Strand (1973: 299) integrated our knowledge about southern Chitral by specifying that the Komviri-speaking people of southern Chitral (whose dialect, of course, had not escaped Morgenstierne's attention) are settled in the village of Langurbat, whose territory extends on both sides of the Chitral river between Damel and Arandu, and, further north, in Badrugal, a village lying entirely on the left bank between Ashret and Biyori. The inhabitants of the latter are descendants of the above mentioned Jashi.

There seemed to be enough, here, to arouse the interest of many an anthropologist. Who were all these people? How long had they been islamized? What could have been their pre-islamic beliefs? Did they belong to the world of pre-islamic Dardic cultures, or did they have more affinities with the cultures of Nuristan? And, furthermore, would their oral traditions shed some light on the past of the Kalasha themselves, or of their Nuristani neighbours to the west?

Surprising as this may seem, however, these people and their cultures had remained entirely unknown. This paradox is not difficult to explain. The existence of a most intriguing non-muslim religion, that of the Kalasha, has attracted so much interest and attention that it has entirely overshadowed the presence of the other cultures of the area, which, being by now entirely islamized, have not attracted the attention of anthropologists.

Thus, when the II Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held in Chitral in 1990, the only recent research that turned out to be available on the non-Kalasha populations of southern Chitral was the socio-linguistic work done by Kendall Decker (1990) in 1989-90 on the Dangarik, i.e. the Palulo (²). This lack of knowledge about

(²) The Proceedings of the Conference are still unpublished. They include contributions by Pakistani and western participants (Bashir, Castenfeldt, Faizi, Haserodt, Israr-ud-din, Jettmar, Jones, Karim Beg, Glavind Sperber, Lièvre, Lines, Nawaz Nasim, Loude, Nayyar, Parkes, Saifullah Jan and others).

the peoples of southern Chitral was explicitly pointed out and deplored by prof. Karl Jettmar in his introductory lecture at the conference.

Since we had already worked in southern Chitral, on the other hand, we ourselves were already envisaging a research on the area which, as a logical prosecution of our previous work on southern Chitral was approved and funded by the Italian National Council of Research (CNR) through the support of IsMEO, under the heading 'The non-Kho populations of southern Chitral'.

The object of this project is to produce a series of articles (of which the present is to be the first) providing the basic anthropological information about all the so far unknown populations of southern Chitral, i.e. the Palulo, the Dameli, the Gawar, the Kom of Langurbat and the Jashi of Badrugal.

Since the time at our disposal for each field stay is unfortunately very short, we could not hope to conduct an intensive inquiry on each of these peoples, and we therefore decided to carry out a general survey of the whole area, limiting our inquiries to the fundamental information about these ethnic groups, to be acquired through interviews with appropriate informants carried out through an interpreter. In other words, we have adopted more or less the same procedure as Barth in his 1954 survey of the Kohistani (Barth 1956), or ourselves in our previous work on the converted Kalasha (Alb. Cacopardo 1991; Aug. Cacopardo 1991; Alb. & Aug. Cacopardo 1992).

Our first field stay has taken place from July 7th to July 27th 1993. In this time, we have visited and carried out interviews in several villages of the valleys of Damel, Ashret, Biyory, as well as in Badrugal. Thus, in the short span of twenty days, we have studied three different ethnic groups: the Dameli, the Palulo and the Jashi, leaving the Gawar and the Langurbat Kom (³) for our next field stay.

Such a speedy and intensive work would, of course, never have been conceivable without our previous knowledge of the area, but we must emphasize that what has made it possible has been the hospitable and enthusiastic cooperation of the people we worked with. Major Ahmad Saeed, in the first place, a prominent Palulo leader who most kindly set aside his pressing political commitments at a time of great institutional uncertainty in the country, to accompany us on part of our journey: he was much more than a guide and interpreter, since he fully understood and participated in our scientific interest. He also provided us with a copy of the farsi manuscript poem by Mirza Galdali Shah, which shall be discussed in the forthcoming Part II of this series, dedicated to the Palulo.

With very few exceptions, moreover, all the people we contacted took great interest in our work, cooperated heartily, and were exceedingly liberal in their hospitality.

(³) We do not yet know whether in Langurbat there are also Jashi. According to informants in Badrugal, their village is at present the only Jashi community in Chitral. In the past, we were told, Jashi people also lived in Nagar, Mirkani, Kauti and Langurbat.

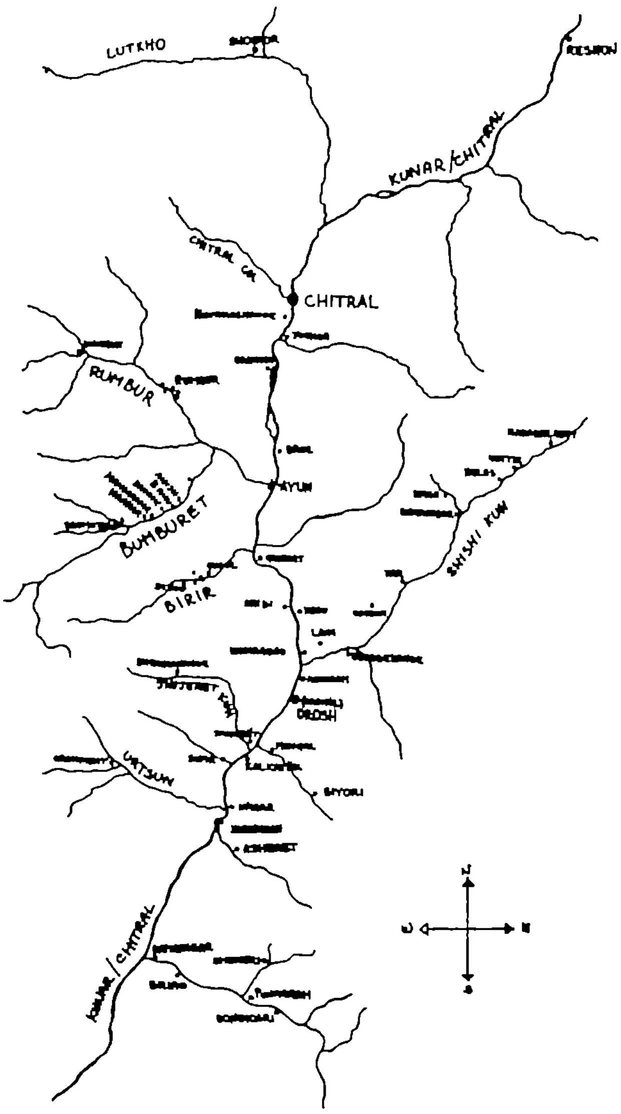

Fig. 1 - Sketch map of Chitral.

Before entering the discussion of the Dameli community, which is the central subject of this paper, it shall be useful to present a general description of the whole area (see map in Fig. 1) and of the problems involved in our research.

Generally speaking, the valleys south of Drosh are physically very similar to the Kalasha valleys to the north, but, being somewhat lower in altitude and somewhat farther to the south, they have a rather milder climate, with consequent slight differences in the distribution of vegetation, in the wild fauna and in some herding practices. The settlements are usually located in the central portion of the valleys, approximately between 1300 and 1600 m a.s.l. The whole area is definitely the greenest and warmest part of the whole district of Chitral, with comparatively thick vegetation at all altitudes. The most appropriate symbol of this minor Arabia Felix of the Hindu Kush is the famous grove of lemon trees which is the pride of Shahzada Siraj-ud Din in the garden of his fort at Nagar.

As far as population, most of the settlements on the main valley bottom are linguistically and ethnically mixed, with some Pathan, some Kho, some local people, some Nuristani, many of whom mohajirs, i.e. refugees from the afghan war, most of which, however, had by 1993 returned to their native homelands. The population of each of the above-mentioned side valleys, on the other hand, constitutes a separate and well defined community, each with its own territory and recognized boundaries, its own political and religious leaders, its own social organization and identity. Each of these communities is further divided into individual villages, each in turn with its own territory, including buildings, canals and irrigated fields.

Of course, the present culture of these different communities has so many traits in common that it is hard to conceive them as separate cultural entities, rather than mere subcultures of the wider islamic culture of the area: but this was not so, as we shall see, until relatively recent times.

Nowadays at any rate, the influence of the Kho is not so strong, south of Drosh, as it is to the north. Though we have not specifically researched this point, Kho inhabitants even in the main valley seem to be scarce and to invariably consider themselves as immigrants from somewhere in the north. The influence of the Pathan, on the other hand is very perceptible. Not only there are numerous Pathan immigrants who have settled as agriculturalists, traders, contractors, or otherwise involved in the tertiary, but Pukhtu is often used, rather than Khowar, as a means of interethnic communication.

A third influence, furthermore, is that of the Nuristani who, besides their recent wave of forced immigration, have always had close relations with the whole area. Badrugal and Langurbat are two rather large permanent villages each with its own territory, both of Komviri language. The whole right bank of the Chitral river south of Urtsun is likely to have been used in the past for winter pasture by the Kom, who still seem to consider this area, including the land of Langurbat on the opposite bank, as part of their own tribal territory (see the map in Strand 1975: 124). In pre-islamic times, the Kom had intense though varying relations of alliance, marriage, trade, tribute or enmity, with all the valleys of this area, which were often the theatre of their famous raids (Robertson 1974: 181).

From the point of view of social and political relations, the area under study may be more or less neatly divided into two separate parts. The territories north of Mirkhani are usually considered 'settled areas': here the grip of government on the communities is quite established and recognized. In other words, the situation is quite similar to the rest of Chitral.

South of Mirkhani, on the other hand, the land is generally considered 'tribal area', more similar, in this sense, to the Pathan communities to the south. Here the people always bear arms when on the move or after dark, violent feuds are very common, the people tend to avoid government interference in internal problems, and homicides are unfortunately very frequent.

At any rate, though the study of the present situation of these communities presents many aspects of great anthropological interest (such as the study of the formation of leadership, the evolution of conflicts, socio-linguistic behaviours, value hyerarchies and social hyerarchies, and so on) our attention has necessarily been more attracted by the study of the oral traditions of the people, this being obviously the most urgent task of research, since such traditions do run the risk of being entirely lost with the death of the older members of the community.

In this regard, we feel it necessary to clarify certain aspects and problems involved in this type of research, which were perhaps not made sufficiently explicit in our previous reports about the converted Kalasha.

The study of oral traditions actually has two different purposes. On the one hand it aims at understanding and describing the *image* that a community has of its own past as a foundation of its collective identity. In the process of creating, consolidating or recreating this image, the community will often select or emphasize or even fictitiously manufacture certain aspects of its past, which are coherent with its 'ideological' or practical intent, while it will overshadow, ignore or obliterate other facts, events or circumstances, which are not coherent with that purpose.

This kind of inevitable 'manipulation' of the past of course constitutes an obstacle to the other purpose of ethnohistorical research, which is more simply to contribute to the reconstruction of the actual history of the populations involved. This second purpose is furthermore hindered, in the case of the present study, by the tendency of many members of the communities to loose interest in their own past, as they tend to transcend their traditional collective identification, to integrate and identify with the larger community, at the local and national level, of the modern state they belong to. When such a tendency becomes prevalent, it brings about a complete oblivion of traditions that may have been well preserved until a generation earlier.

In the case of the populations under study, we have not found such a determination to obliterate their past, as we had found especially among some converted Kalasha of the Eastern Area, where such a determination was obviously part of an attempt to discard their specific ethnic identity to merge with the surrounding peoples. On the other hand, we have not found the most jealous concern with the preservation of oral tradition which is typical of the unconverted Kalasha, who, on the contrary, are very much committed to the protection and emphatization of their distinct collective identity.

In the islamized 'tribes' of southern Chitral, we have actually found all these forces at work at the same time, in various degrees of admixture and coexistence, with the result that, though we have been able to collect a significant body of oral traditions from all communities, these are often as fragmentary, incoherent, incomplete or contradictory as we could easily expect. The task of separating fact from fiction is therefore certainly not an easy one. However it is useful to point out since the beginning a number of specific factors, which, in this case, can contribute to produce a manipulation in the reconstruction of the past. Three of these are particularly relevant and frequent.

The first concerns the process of islamization. Though few muslims would ever assert that what makes a good muslim is the number of islamized generations he can count above his own, there definitely is a tendency, however unfounded, to ascribe a certain aura of greater prestige to groups and families of more ancient islamization.

This leads at times to a reconstruction of the group's history that tends to push back the event of islamization into the most distant and immemorable past, and, more generally, to an unwillingness to recollect and represent the exact circumstances and events connected with conversion, which, indeed, have remained for us largely clouded in mystery in most cases. The manuscript of Mirza Galdali Shah (just as, probably, most of the written historiography of the whole northern areas) is, as we shall see, an example of this phaenomenon, while the attitude of contemporary leaders, such as Major Ahmad Saeed, is an example of the contrary, i.e. a readyness to point out possible inconsistencies in the tradition itself on this point.

Another problem is that of the titles to land and forest rights. Since there is no cadastre in Chitral to certify landed ownership, nor do custom or law allow for the rule of usucapion, litigations about rights of property and use on land and real estate are based on a *regressio ad infinitum* in the claims of ownership that can go back as many generations as anyone can recall. This is true both of claims to irrigated fields or buildings by single individuals, and, even more, of claims to rights on forests by entire communities. It is quite obvious how this may generate an interest in manipulating or recreating whatever representation of the past may be more suitable for any claim that may be, or be likely to come, under litigation. There are many possible examples of this mechanism.

A third factor that encourages manipulation in the genealogies and in the general representation of the past is the frequent desire of the communities as such to conceal the origins of some groups that, for various reasons, had an inferior status in the past and have been now fully integrated in the community on equal terms with their other members. We have found the traces of lineages or groups once discriminated as a kind of lower caste in practically all the communities we have visited: they often seem to have been something similar to the *bh'aira* of the Kalasha, and they may have had indeed a similar position in pre-Islamic times. At any rate, the fact that the discrimination practiced against these people in the past seems to have been now entirely overcome, while many of them have acquired prominent positions in the communities, can only be considered a very positive development.

In any case, if we consider all these factors that can lead to a manipulation of oral history, plus the other ones that may have operated in the past, we may be led to conclude that there is no hope whatsoever of using such oral traditions to reconstruct the actual history of the past. This is not our opinion, however.

Despite all these difficulties, indeed, we are convinced that, as we have stated in the past, a careful analysis of oral traditions can contribute to the reconstruction of history, especially if combined with the use of linguistic evidence, archaeological data, a critical appraisal of written sources and whatever other scientific instrument may be appropriate.

Such a careful analysis requires comparisons between different sources, a perceptive appraisal of the values involved, consideration of the circumstances under which traditional knowledge is transmitted and elaborated and of the degree to which certain notions are shared by the community at large — plus many other things. For our part, our task here is first of all to present our data as they are, that is to relate and reorganize what we have heard. Whatever elaboration or conclusion we may draw from such data about the historical past, can necessarily be nothing but a mere hypothesis, however well founded or reasonable, that as such needs to be verified through the support of other evidence.

We feel a need to emphasize this point because we realize that, independently of our will, our present writings actually have two different and separate publics: on the one hand the international scientific community, which is well equipped to take our work for its value, and on the other hand the people who are the subject of our investigation, which have often taken an active interest in it and at times seem to expect from the western writer a sort of official historiography of their own community. This is, for the time being, not possible. The facts we can establish with certainty are few and mostly fragmentary: therefore, for one example, we would feel rather embarassed if our writings were to be used as arguments in litigation, since this is not their purpose nor their appropriate use. All we can do for the time being is, as we have said, relate what we have heard and formulate some hypotheses: only a few bricks to be added to the edification of a knowledge that has yet to take form.

SECTION 2

DAMEL

2.1. *Generalities*

Tucked away between the southern cliffs of the Hindu Raj, at a good distance from Chitral proper, the Damel valley was ignored by the early British officers who wrote about Chitral from the end of last century. Neither Biddulph (1880) nor Schomberg (1938) make any mention of it, while the Lockhart Mission (1886) didn't go further south than Drosh (Keay 1990: 137). Robertson briefly refers to it to say that from Damel the Kom got their iron, and that the valley was also one of the destinations of their raids (Robertson 1974: 181, 542), while Scott (1937: 16) provides some information on the administrative position of the valley under the Mehtar.

The existence of the Dameli as a separate people was apparently first revealed by Captain Gurdon's Military Report on Chitral (Morgenstierne 1942: 115). Subsequently their language was studied by Morgenstierne through informants he contacted during his stay in Chitral in 1929, since he could not visit the valley. In the decades that followed, no ethnographic research was ever carried out there,

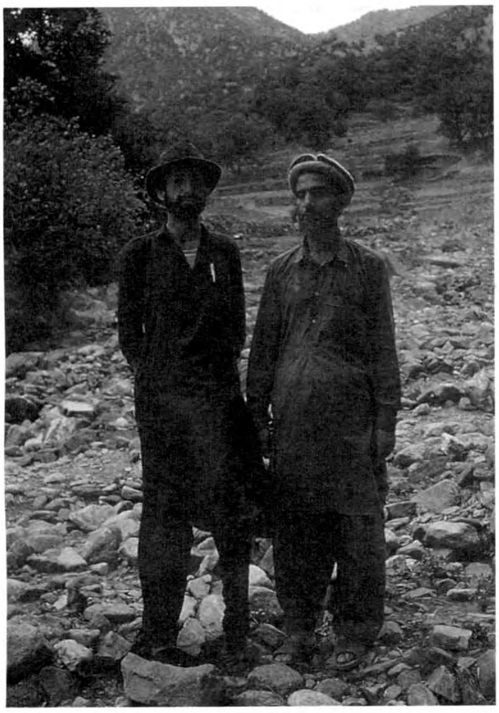

Fig. 2 - Our host and informant Maulana Gul Akbar (right) with our second interpreter Aziz Khan.

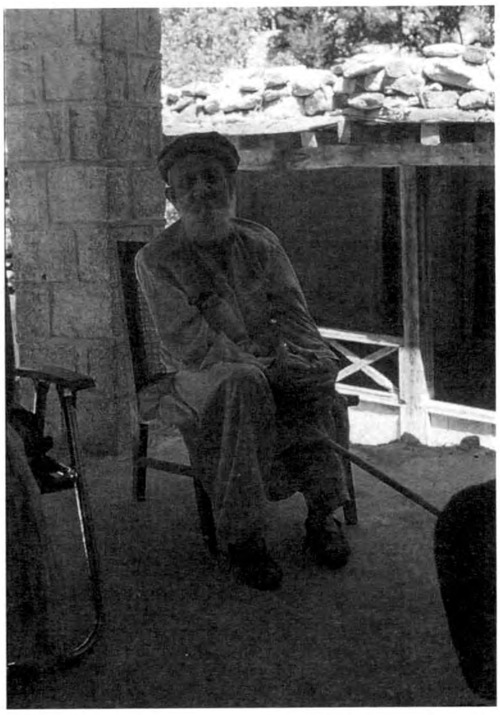

Fig. 3 - Our informant Rozi Mohammad seated under the porch of the Shinteri school.

and Morgenstierne's linguistic work remained the only available source on Damel (Morgenstierne 1942; 1974: 6).

Our field work in Damel was carried out in July 1993 in the course of two visits of a few days each, but additional information was collected during our whole stay in Southern Chitral.

In Damel we had to use non-Dameli interpreters who of course had no knowledge of the local language. Interviews were conducted in Khowar and English. Occasionally some informants slipped into the Dameli language, and then our ethnographic conversations had to go through a double process of translation: from Dameli to Khowar and finally to English. Thank to the intelligence and dedication of our interpreters, however, we believe the results have been quite rewarding in spite of these difficulties (4).

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(4) Our first interpreter was Major Ahmad Saeed, whose merits have already been highlighted. We were quite lucky also with our second interpreter, a young man from upper Chitral called Aziz Khan, who developed an interest in our work and often allowed comparisons with the Kho culture.

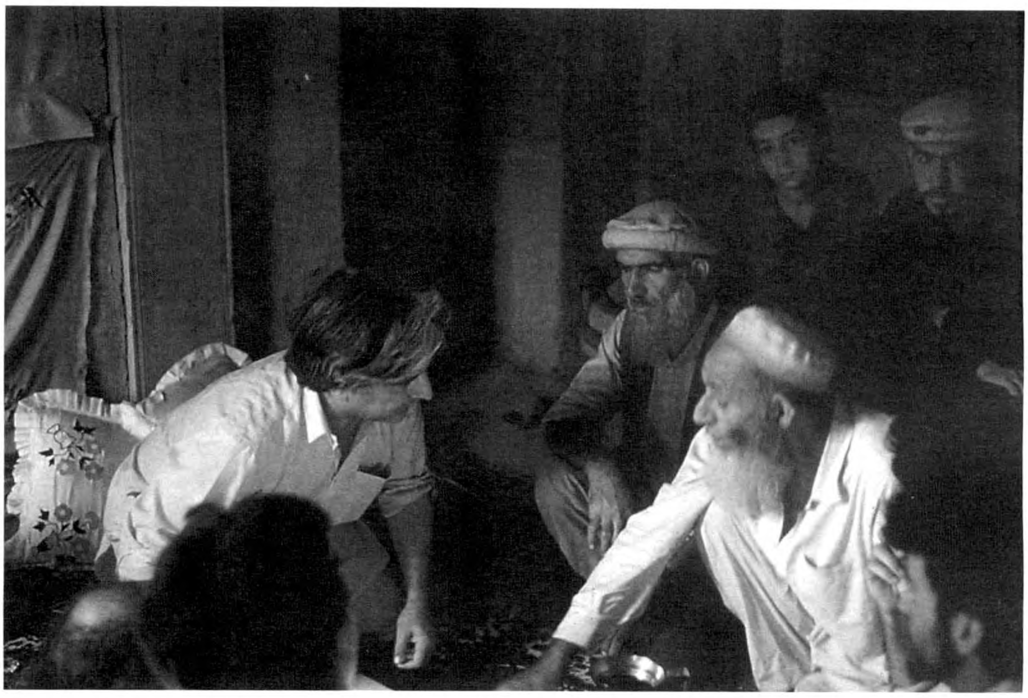

Fig. 4 - Our informant Mohammad Ali Jan (right) with Major Ahmad Saeed (left) and other listeners during an interview carried out in Aspar.

Research was conducted mostly in Shinteri, but we worked also in Aspar, Kuru and Punagram, interviewing altogether about twelve informants. A lot of our material, however, comes from only a few of these, especially from Maulana Gul Akbar (Fig. 2), who was also our generous host in Shinteri; Rozi Mohammad (Fig. 3) also from Shinteri; Mohammad Ali Jan (Fig. 4) from Aspar who has a prodigious genealogical memory. An important contribution came also from the son of Gul Akbar, Gul Ahmad, who — being a teacher — had a command of English that allowed communication without interpreters.

The valley of Damel (see map in Fig. 5) lies at the southernmost end of Chitral district at a short distance from the Afghan border. It cuts deep into the Hindu Raj range climbing from an altitude of about 1100 m at its mouth to about 1800 in its upper part. It runs in a southeasterly direction departing from Damanisar, on the left bank of the Chitral river. At its north, lies the Ashret valley where the main road runs leading over the Lowarai pass to Dir and Peshawar; at its immediate south the Arandu gol — or Ramram — marks the pakistani/afghan border. The former is inhabited by Palulo speakers, the latter by Gawarbati speakers.

Quite narrow and rocky at the bottom, Damel soon branches out in a number of side valleys that lead to fairly accessible passes. A few miles from Damanisar, where the old village of Punagram stands, a first side valley leads to Shinteri and Kharagram; from there, through the Pashtan and Phatkai passes, Ashret and the Lowerei pass can be reached in two or three hours. Two other side-valleys, those of Aspar and Zarinbagh, open up further on, on the right bank of the stream, while the main branch carries on south to Lachigram. From there, over the Zakhani pass, it is possible to reach Dobando in Dir district in about six hours.

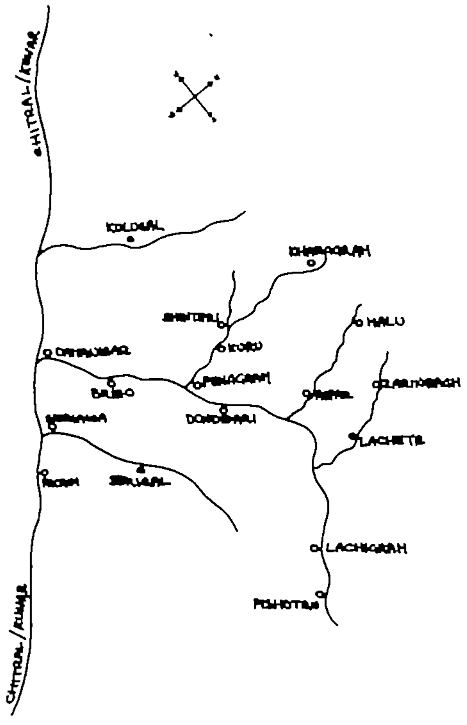

Fig. 5 - Sketch map of Damel valley.

Left aside by the main road to the Lowarai pass and quite far from the administrative centers, Damel has always been quite isolated. A jeep road built between 1986 and 1992, now branches off the main valley road at Damanisar and follows the Damel valley up the Lachigram branch to the Khanietan pass leading to Kamsei in the upper Arandu gol. For security reasons no road has been built along this latter valley.

The territory held by the Damel community is somewhat larger than the geographical extension of the valley itself. It includes the smaller valleys of Kulugal and Serigal that run almost parallel to it flowing into the Chitral river to the north and south, respectively, of the Damel debouchure; they are permanently inhabited irrigated areas hosting about 25 families each. The Dameli territory extends also to the unirrigated lands both on the left and the right banks of the main Chitral valley, in the vicinities of Damanisar. According to our informants, some irrigated areas in the main valley, once farmed by the Damelis, have been occupied by Pathan immigrants.

The Dameli community lives in four main villages: Dondidari, Sawati (Punagram) (5), Shinteri and Aspar. According to informants' estimates, Punagram is the smallest, counting about 100 homes, while the other three host between 120 and 200 families. Two other large villages numbering over 100 houses — Damanisar and Lachigram — are inhabited mostly by Pathans, while a number of Gujur families live in the uppermost settlement of Pishotan.

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(5) The names of the first three villages have reportedly been changed a couple of decades ago; they used to be respectively: Narila, Punagram, Islam kot.

The four main centers are called *gram*, 'village'. The other smaller settlements marked on our map, are considered to be dependencies of the four main ones and are called *lam*, which means 'branch'. Kuru, for example is a *lam* of Punagram, Briao of Dondidari, and Kharagram of Shinteri. We have therefore four territorial units including each a *gram* and several *lam* with their adjoining fields, canals and tracts of forest. Borders are well known and can be indicated by any adult. Each *gram* has a mosque, and an additional one has recently been built in Kharagram. In Shinteri and Dondidari houses are quite dispersed, while in Aspar they are grouped closer together. But the only real cluster village is Punagram or Sawati, which is reported to be the oldest settlement, and the site of the first mosque. It resembles in fact the Kalasha villages with their terraced roofs and superimposed homes.

The bulk of the population of Punagram has genealogical connections with the people of Aspar, while the inhabitants of Shinteri and Dondidari form two separate groups. We have thus three macrolineages, each tracing descent from a different forefather. According to oral tradition, the ancestors of Shinteri came from Dir Kohistan, those of Punagram and Aspar from Swat Kohistan, and those of Dondidari from Mandugal in Nuristan. Each group claims to be the first to have arrived. All three, however, agree that an autoctonous population already inhabited the valley and that the language of Damel is actually their language, later adopted and modified by the newcomers. Descendants of these early inhabitants still exist today, all grouped in just one lineage — the Charashdari — which lives in Shinteri. A previous Kalasha population, mentioned in the epics we'll soon relate, was on the contrary completely wiped out, leaving reportedly no descendants.

An estimate of the size of the Dameli population can only be hypothetical, since we couldn't possibly conduct a census in the limited time at our disposal. Numerical data given by informants were of course quite variable but, on the basis of their statements, the number of Dameli houses (that is excluding Pathan and Gujur immigrants) can be roughly estimated at about 700. Households appear to be large in size, counting in average, according to informants, about 10-12 members. This would make Dameli households much larger than Kalasha ones, since in Rumbur the average number of members is about 6, according to Parkes' (1983: 26) data and to our own (Alb. Cacòpardo 1974: CV). This may be due to the different pattern of settlement: where houses are more dispersed on the territory, extended families may possibly tend to stick together in larger clusters. At any rate, if the figures given by our informants are approximately correct, an estimate of about 5000 Dameli speakers would be quite conservative.

On the basis of Gurdon's data collected in the 1890's, Morgenstierne declares Damel the smallest linguistic community in the whole of the Hindu Kush. But according to our findings the Dameli should rather be considered a comparatively large ethnic group: the Kom themselves, one of the great tribes of Nuristan, didn't number much more than 4000 in 1969 (Strand 1975: 123); and the converted and unconverted Kalasha of Birir, Bumburet and Rumbur put together, are not more numerous. Since Damel is the warmest corner in Southern Chitral it is certainly not surprising to find it quite densely populated.

Rather surprising, on the other hand, is the comparison between Gurdon's data and our own. In his ethnographical notes on Chitral, he reports that at the end of last century there were in Damel only 30 houses, hosting 70 families with 40 fighting men (Morgenstierne 1943: 116). Giving twelve people per 'house' we have a population of 360, with a fifteen-fold demographic increase in just one century. This seems hard to accept, considering that even the Kalasha, who have had a spectacular demographic increase, show only an approximate quadruplication of their numbers in this century (Alb. Cacopardo 1974: C-CXI).

Furthermore, Gurdon reports Punagram as the only village existing in the 1890'ies, with just two summer hamlets, Harigram and Kuru. It seems hard to believe that the other three *gram* did not exist at the turn of the century. What certainly happened in the course of this century is that, with demographic growth, summer hamlets like Kharagram, Kuru or Malu, came to be inhabited permanently, becoming *lam* of the four main *gram*.

However etherogeneous in origin, the population we have roughly sketched now thinks of itself as a single Dameli community. Since there is no common descent and on the contrary memory is kept of different origins, language comes to be the main element of Dameli identity. The people who speak it term themselves Damia (*dāmi'a*) and the valley they inhabit Daman (*dām'an*), which means 'plain' according to our informants. Damel and Dameli are the names given by the Kho — the majority group of Chitral — to the valley and its people. The Pathan names are *gaḍ* and *gaḍ'oji*, the Palulo ones *giḍ* and *giḍ'uča*. In Gawarbati it is *dam'an* and *damani'a*, and in Langurbati *dam'eł* and *dam'ēo manʃi*.

The language of Damel is called Damiabasha by its speakers. It seems to have a good degree of vitality, because both Gujur and Pathan immigrants have learned it. Unlike the converted Kalasha, who are gradually discarding their mother tongue for Khowar, the Dameli have kept their own well alive. They are however quite polyglot. Palula, Khowar and Pukhtu are currently spoken by many males, and there are some religiously educated elders who in addition speak Urdu and can read Arabic and Persian. As we have seen, Pukhtu is often used rather than Khowar in communicating with people from other groups.

Morgenstierne's remarks about the linguistic position of Damiabasha are as follows: a) the contact with the Gawar, in the south, has not been very close, b) relations with Palula, to the north, are recent, c) Damiabasha in the past was probably directly in contact with Kalashamund, d) the Kafir element is mixed, because made of words from different Kafir languages including one no longer spoken today. These remarks, we can anticipate, agree pretty much with our ethnohistorical data. The Gawar are actually hardly mentioned in the oral tradition, while memory is kept of ancient Kalasha settlements in Damel itself (6). Contact with Palulo speakers is perforce relatively recent since they are Shina immigrants who have reached Chitral only a few centuries ago. Close and longstanding relations with the Kafir world, finally, are shown by the tales of origins and by the genealogies.

Morgenstierne concludes that Damiabasha is a mixture of an Indo-Aryan Dardic dialect and a Kafir language, but he specifies that it is not possible to determine which one of the two constitutes the original substratum. The most interesting point, however, is that the Kafir element in Damiabasha seems to belong to an independent Kafir language, different from the others existing today, which — he suggests — may be the one originally spoken by the Jashi of Gawardesh, who have now adopted Komviri. At any rate, according to Morgenstierne, the morphological structure of Damiabasha 'shows that it must have existed as a separate language for a considerable period' (Morgenstierne 1942: 147-48).

In what he considered to be a tiny linguistic community, the 'smallest in the whole of the Hindu Kush', Morgenstierne (1942: 119) also recorded with surprise the presence of dialectal variations in the speech of his two informants. In the light of our data this is not so surprising. According to our informants, there are in fact three dialectal variations corresponding quite exactly to the three macrolineages. The language spoken in Aspar and Punagram is the same, but both Shinteri and Dondidari have their own peculiar speech.

2.2. *Economy and Society in Present-Day Damel*

From the point of view of productive activities, technologies employed, forms of land ownership and use, and sources of income in general, Damel has of course much in common with the surrounding areas. As happens with other fields of its culture, it has some elements in common with the Pathan, some with the Nuristani, some with the Kalasha or the Kho, and many with all of these people (7).

Agriculture is almost entirely irrigated. The main products are wheat and maize, but other cereals such as rice, barley and millet are also cultivated, while various kinds of pulses are often sown in the open fields. Minor vegetables are grown in small, but well kept gardens.

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(6) It is worth noting that the Dameli name for the Kalasha is Kasi (*kas'i*), a point which may help throw some light on the meaning of the Chinese word Ch'ieh-shih (see Tucci 1977: 82).

(7) For comparison with the material culture of surrounding areas, sources include: Barth 1956; 1981: 3-15; Alb. Cacopardo 1974; Edelberg & Jones 1979; Jettmar 1961; Jones 1974; Laila Schmidt & Manzar Zarin 1984; Parkes 1983; 1987; Robertson 1974; Snoy 1993; Strand 1975.

The Dameli actually have fields at three different levels of altitude, which are treated with three different cycles. The great part of the produce comes from the fields of the middle level, around and between the villages, from some 1200 to some 1700 m a.s.l. Some rice is grown in the lower belt of this range, but most of the fields within it are sowed in November with wheat (or barley, or lentils) that is harvested in May. After this, a summer crop (either maize, often associated with beans, or summer lentils, or millet) is sown in late June or early July, to be harvested at the end of the summer in September. Fields are not usually left at rest during the winter, because the use of both organic manure from the herds and commercial urea from the market allows the necessary fertilization. Thus the cycle is repeated the following November with the sowing of the next winter crop.

The fields of the lower level are the ones in the main valley, where the goats are led to winter pasture. Here the Dameli do not have irrigation, which is indispensable for the summer crops, and must therefore limit cultivation to the winter crops, which are sown in October and harvested in April. But even this is only possible when the season has been rainy, since otherwise the soil is too dry for the autumn ploughing.

At the upper level above 1700 m, on the contrary, only the summer crop is possible: maize is sown in June and reaped in September, when the fields are abandoned until the following summer.

Winter crops require irrigation only at the time of ploughing and then two or three times in the springtime, but the summer crops need much humidity and must be watered every twenty days or so. At this time, turns for water usually become necessary in most villages, often including the night time. At the beginning of the watering season (i.e. in March), the owners of fields under each of the main canals meet to arrange for turns and nominate a *J̌aš-w'ali* (lit.: canal guard), who organizes the clearing of the common section of the canal (from the source to the first field), then keeps it clean, calls the owners for their turns, oversees the use of water and settles minor disputes over turns. Each owner has the duty of clearing the section of the canal above his fields at the beginning of the season.

Tools employed in cultivation and manipulation of the product are mostly common to the whole area. The plough is not the Nuristani plough described by Robertson (1974: 549-50), (which was well known to our informants, who stated it was never in use in Damel) but the normal two-oxen plough used in the rest of Chitral.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle. It is then usually threshed on rooftops or in a corner of the fields with the use of cattle or donkeys. Only for the fields lying right next to the jeepable track, a threshing machine rented from outside can be used. This is the only motorized agricultural machinery employed. No tractors had ever been used in Damel up to 1993.

The threshing of maize is done by beating it with sticks inside the houses which are cleared for the purpose removing the fire. On this occasion, which is called *aš 'ar*, a dozen men from the neighbourhood are invited to help and are fed in exchange for their work. No other payment is expected for this service, but reciprocation is of course common. No particular feasting takes place, apart from the common meal.

Storage of grain is done both with the Kalasha system of the square underground pit lined with huge and well connected stone slabs (called *dīs* in Damel), and with the large, cilindrical container made with clay and straw, used by Pathans in Swat, called ***kul*** in Damel.

Fields are private property of individual families and can be, and often are, bought and sold. The same is true of all buildings, including water-mills, which are the same as in the surrounding areas. The share of the mill owner is called *b'uñi*, and amounts to one seventeenth of the grain, i.e. one big ladle called *lapak'äi* (some 600 g) every four conical containers called *čar'e* (= four *lapak'äi*).

Traditional division of labour in agriculture seems to be more similar to that of the Kalasha than either the Nuristani or the Pathan.

The women do the irrigation, channeling the water across the fields with a small hoe. Women also carry and spread the manure on the fields, do the sowing, the weeding (which, with irrigation, is the most fatiguing and time-consuming of their duties), harvest the crops, carry them to the threshing ground, prepare the ground, build the ***kul***, store the grains, and finally take care of the grinding.

Traditionally, the only male duties in agriculture were the same as among the Kalasha: the seasonal clearing of the canals, the ploughing, the threshing and the winnowing. Nowadays, under 'modern' Pathan and Kho influence, the men cooperate in many of the traditional tasks of the women, but, despite the assertions of some informants, our own observations tell that at least the work of irrigation is still done entirely by women.

We had the feeling that the more modernist members of the community were trying to increase the men's involvement in agriculture, since one of the most frequent criticism that the mountain people get from the Pathans is that they let their women work too much.

The herding system of the Dameli is centered on goats, while cattle play a rather minor role, just as sheep. In this it is more similar to that of the Kalasha or the Waigali, rather than to that of the Kom or Kati.

All the work of herding, including milking and dairy production is traditionally reserved to men, a trait common to the Kalasha and Nuristani, and in sharp contrast with Gujur and Pathan habits. Only in recent times some families have started to bring their women along to the summer pastures, but they do not let them milk nor work the dairy products.

The transhumance of the Dameli has three named levels, within each of which a herd may stop at more than one stage. These are: *gram*, the middle phase around the villages, *šar*, the lower winter phase in the main valley, and *sān*, the high pastures of the summer.

The goats come down to the *gram* from the summer pastures in October/November, and here they mate with the billy goats, which have been kept separate at the *sān* throughout the summer. After about a month's stay around the villages, where they feed mostly on hollyoak leaves, they move down to the *šar* pastures in December, to stay there until March. Here the Dameli have temporary dwellings with eclosures or sheds for the goats, as well as their dry winter fields. At this time the goats are pregnant and feed on hollyoak and olivaster.

In March, with the beginning of the spring, the herds head back to the village level, where the kids are born in April. At this time, the grass gets fairly abundant and the shepherds don't need to cut the branches of the hollyoak trees, as they do in the autumn.

When all the kids from a herd have been born, a goat is killed at the owner's house and male neighbours, especially the poorer ones, are invited for the meal. Female members of the family are also allowed to eat the meat.

After birth, the kids are kept separate from their mothers at day and the milking season begins. In this phase, the milk, which is not very abundant, is manufactured only into two products, i.e. ghee (*g'iāũ*) and ***kil'āñ***. Butter for ghee is churned either in the goatskin, like the Nuristani and the Kalasha, or in the wooden churn used by the Pathan. *Kil'āñ* is made the same way as Nuristani ***kil'ā***, with the use of rennet. This kind of cheese is the most common among the Dameli: it is a typical nuristani product. The Kalasha produce it only once or twice a year, the Palulo, as we shall see, more frequently.

During the month of June, the goats leave for the summer pastures. According to our informants, there is no specific regulation about departure, and the herds leave one by one, at their owners' will.

In the *sǎn* phase, each herd usually has two or three stages at different altitudes, which are visited in succession, with a permanence of 15 to 25 days in the intermediate stages. The herds usually reach the highest stage around the beginning of August and stay there through September or even mid October, depending on the weather. The lower stage is mostly still within the hollyoak zone, while the other ones are in the coniferous forest. Due to the lower altitude of the mountains in the area, many of the herds never reach pastures above timberline.

Summertime is of course the golden season of milk and dairy products. The kids are now kept entirely separate from their mothers (also at night) throughout July, and when the flocks are reunited in August, they will no longer suckle. The system of dairy production used in Damel seems to be, according to our informants' descriptions (we were not able to visit the summer pastures), practically identical to that prevailing in Nuristan, thus differing from both the Kalasha and the Pathan systems.

There are two series of dairy products. The first is the butter series. The churned butter (***kuč g'iāũ***) is clarified into ghee (*g'iāũ*) on the fire, while the remaining buttermilk (*nyit*, Kal.: ***n'iyu***, Kati: *niw'o*) is either drunk as such or boiled to form buttermilk curds (*sač'ong*, Kal.: *sač'oñ*, Kati: *sačuŋ*), leaving a buttermilk whey that is drunk.

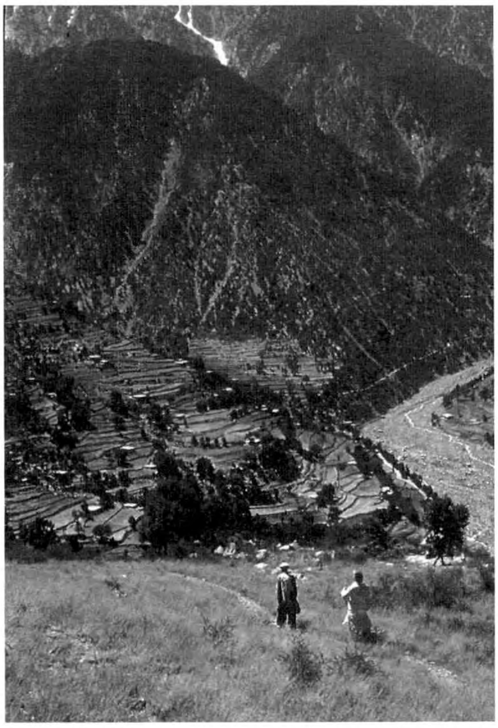

Fig. 6 - Terraced fields at the debouchure of the side valley of Aspar and Malu. On the right the main Damel valley continues towards Lachigram.

The other is the *kil'äři* series, in which *kil'äři* is produced with rennet (*zar'ai*, Kal.: *zar'ai*, Waigali: *zar'ai*), while the remaining whey (*el'a*, Kati: *elə*, Waigali: *ala*) is turned into a whey cheese called *elap'ič* (cf. Waigali *peč*).

The two series seem to correspond perfectly to the ones described by Edelberg and Jones (1979: 86), though we have not heard about anything similar to the *šip'ū* of Wama and Waigal, nor to the *amüṣ*, which seems very similar to the *ça̦ṣa* of the Kalasha. We have also not heard about production of yogurt, mentioned by Strand (1975: 129) among the Kati. In the summertime, all the products of the two series are produced in Damel, while, as we have seen, during the springtime stay at the *gram* level, the by-products *sač'ong* and *elap'ič* are not produced because milk is still scarce.

When the weather gets cold at the beginning of the autumn, the herds leave the highest stage and descend rather quickly through the intermediate ones to reach the *gram* level in November. In this period milk production decreases and dwindles to an end in November, when, as we have seen, the mating takes place at the villages.

Goats are very seldom killed for meat before maturity. Male kids are castrated shortly after birth at the village and raised for meat in the same herds as the females.

For the purposes of summer herding, the Dameli do not seem to have the large cooperative arrangements involving up to ten families, known as *pal'ê* in Nuristan. The word *pal'e* is used to describe a situation in which two persons or families mix their herds and their milk for the purposes of dairy production. It may correspond to two different kinds of agreement. In the first, a stockman with few animals, not enough to make cheese every day, joins with a larger stockowner and gives him his daily milk until he is in credit of the entire day's production of the two herds together: then he makes his own cheese and the cycle starts over again. The second kind of agreement takes place between a stockowner and his summer shepherd, who is payed for his work with the milk and the kids of five goats. Here again the milk is treated jointly and the shepherd periodically receives a day's production.

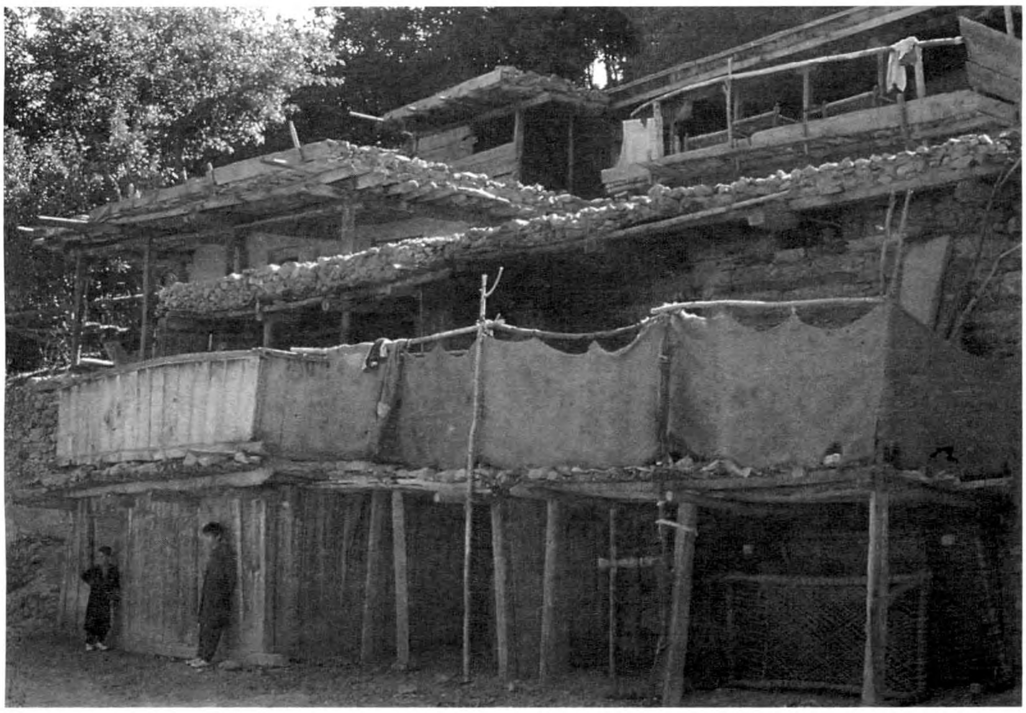

Fig. 7 - A view of Punagram village.

The winter shepherd, on the contrary, is paid with one goat every twenty under his responsibility.

The distribution of rights to pastures in Damel seems very similar to that of the Kalasha. Summer pastures are not reserved to specific lineages (as in many parts of Nuristan) or villages, but are considered common property of the whole community of Damelis. There is no shortage of summer grazing land and each stockowner may take his flocks wherever he wants: there seem to be no intra-tribal conflicts over the use of high pastures. Only the buildings used in the *son* are subject to individual appropriation by single families, and conflicts some times arise over their use. These buildings are said to consist of a large, flat-roofed, stone shelter for the man called *duk'ur* (Damelis don't seem to use the small huts called *ist'ä* by the Kalasha), with a stone enclosure for the animals called *b'iou*. We do not know whether the word *šāl* (used for the goatsheds at lower levels) is used for the entire complex, but it seems likely.

At the *gram* level, the hollyoak forest is divided into vertical strips, which are normally the private property of the owner of the houses or fields lying at its basis below the canals. The lower section of this strip is strictly reserved to the use of the owner for all purposes, while in the upper part any member of the Dameli community has the right to graze the animals and collect dry wood, but not to cut trees or branches for pasture, a practice that is usually necessary, as we have seen, in autumn and winter. Unfortunately, we do not have data about the property of pastures at the *šar* level in the main valley.

Cutting rights on the coniferous forests of highly prized deodar cedars are considered an asset of the whole community, whose individual members are entitled to fell trees freely for their own use in construction. Commercial cutting, like elsewhere in the northern areas, is done by authorized contractors under payment of royalties to the community. These are very large amounts of money for the local standards, which are equally distributed in cash to all its members. This is one of the most important sources of monetary income for Damel.

Our data about other aspects of the economy are not particularly exhaustive.

In the past the valley of Damel was a producer of iron, which, as we know from Robertson (1974: 542), was regularly sold to the Kom. According to our informants, however, this production was entirely reserved for the payment of a specific tribute to the Mehtar and had entirely dissapeared before the birth of living elders. There were no mines, and the iron was produced in the form of bars with the use of loose stones still commonly found in the valley. According to local sources, the whole area on the left of the Chitral river from Damel to Shishi Kuh is very rich in iron, though government surveys carried out in view of commercial exploitation have denied the economic viability of such an endeavour. Quite surprisingly, the old iron workers of Damel were said by our informants to be regular members of the community and not of a separate caste. They lived, we heard, in the village of Kharagram.

On the other hand, we have found traces of two former groups of shoemakers and carpenters or wood workers, but no details about them were available.

Specialized wood carvers were said to have existed in the past, but not today. Certainly this art was not as developed as in Nuristan, and all we could see were one or two very rough examples of its products. Weaving and ceramics were both practiced in the past, but nowadays all clothes and vessels are purchased on the market. The women's dress is the same as in Nuristan today.

There is no actual bazar in Damel, but only a few small shops usually close to the road. The people, however, often travel to the bazars of Drosh or Arandu for their purchases.

Sources of monetary income for families, apart from the above mentioned royalties, are the sale of agricultural or husbandry products, bridewealth, compensation for murder, and migratory work in the winter time in the cities of the plains. The latter is a fairly widespread phaenomenon which is acting as vehicle of change in the valley. This seems to show that Damel must be somewhat poorer than the Kalasha valleys, where winter emigration was very common in the early Seventies, but has now almost entirely dissapeared, probably thank to the benefits of tourism and of their minority status.

Government employment has a limited economic role in Damel. There are seven Dameli teachers and very few other public employees, such as policemen.

Education in Damel was still very limited in 1993. Few adults could read or write Urdu, Persian or Arabic, while only our junior host Gul Ahmad had a good command of English. But the younger generation will certainly bring about a change in this respect, since there are now eight primary schools in the valley (up to fifth grade), plus one high school (up to tenth grade) and even one school for girls.

* * *

The highest and most inclusive level of social organization and collective identity in Damel is the valley community itself. This community (which is variously referred to with vague words such as *gram*, 'village', or *kam*, 'nation') has a well defined territory with precise borders, can act as a single body in external relationships and conflicts, has a distinct linguistic identity, is highly endogamous, has its own internal socio-political order, owns corporate rights as such over summer pastures, coniferous forests and other real estate, but does not claim descent from a single common ancestor.

The nature of such a community and its internal organization will be the subject of the following remarks.

As we have seen, Damel is divided into four territorial units called *gram*, the villages. Though our data on the subject are not sufficient to determine exactly to what extent the *gram* function as a corporate body in socio-political relationships, we do know that they used to have a formalized representative in the past, in the person of the ***Mal'ak***, a village headman nominated by the administration of the Mehtar, who was normally chosen by the people themselves (with a veto power of the Mehtar's Hakim) and acted as their spokesman. A single spokesman for the whole village (*gram ʃ'ešta*, or *ž'ešta*) is still chosen today at times in relation to specific issues, but this does not seem to be a stable and formalized role, since today's administrative structure, as we shall see, is not based on this 'level of government'.

Each village, however, does function as a community in the sense that it has a main mosque where people congregate on important occasions to discuss common matters and where religious leadership is formed and exerted.

From the point of view of kinship, each of the four main territorial units comprises a number of minimal lineages (again called *kam*), which are a total of eighteen in the whole valley.

These minimal lineages (which may number from a few dozen to a few hundred persons) are further grouped, as we know, into four macrolineages, claiming descent from four different and unrelated ancestors: Charash, Rahzan, Khoramer and Ota.

The population of the village of Shinteri comprises all the descendants of Charash (the Charashdari, only 23 people in 1993) and those of Rahzan, grouped into three minimal lineages called Tutushdari, Phagul Khan-dari and Jafardari, the names being formed by adding the suffix *d'ari* to the name of the eponymous ancestor (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8(a)

Lineage: Tutushdari
Informant: Maulana Gul Akbar Khan
Age declared: About 45
Damel-Shinteri: 13 July 1993

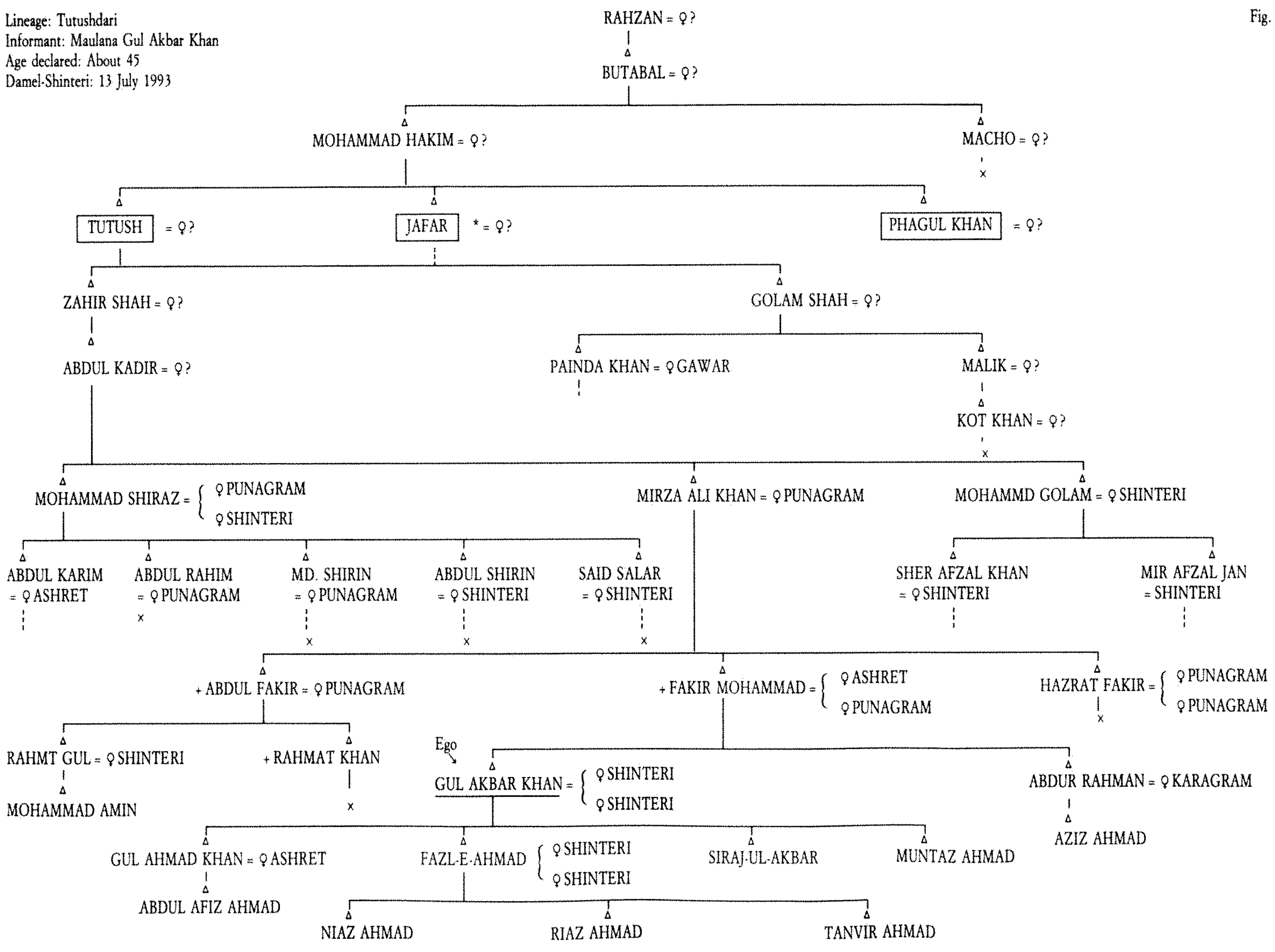

Fig. 8(b)

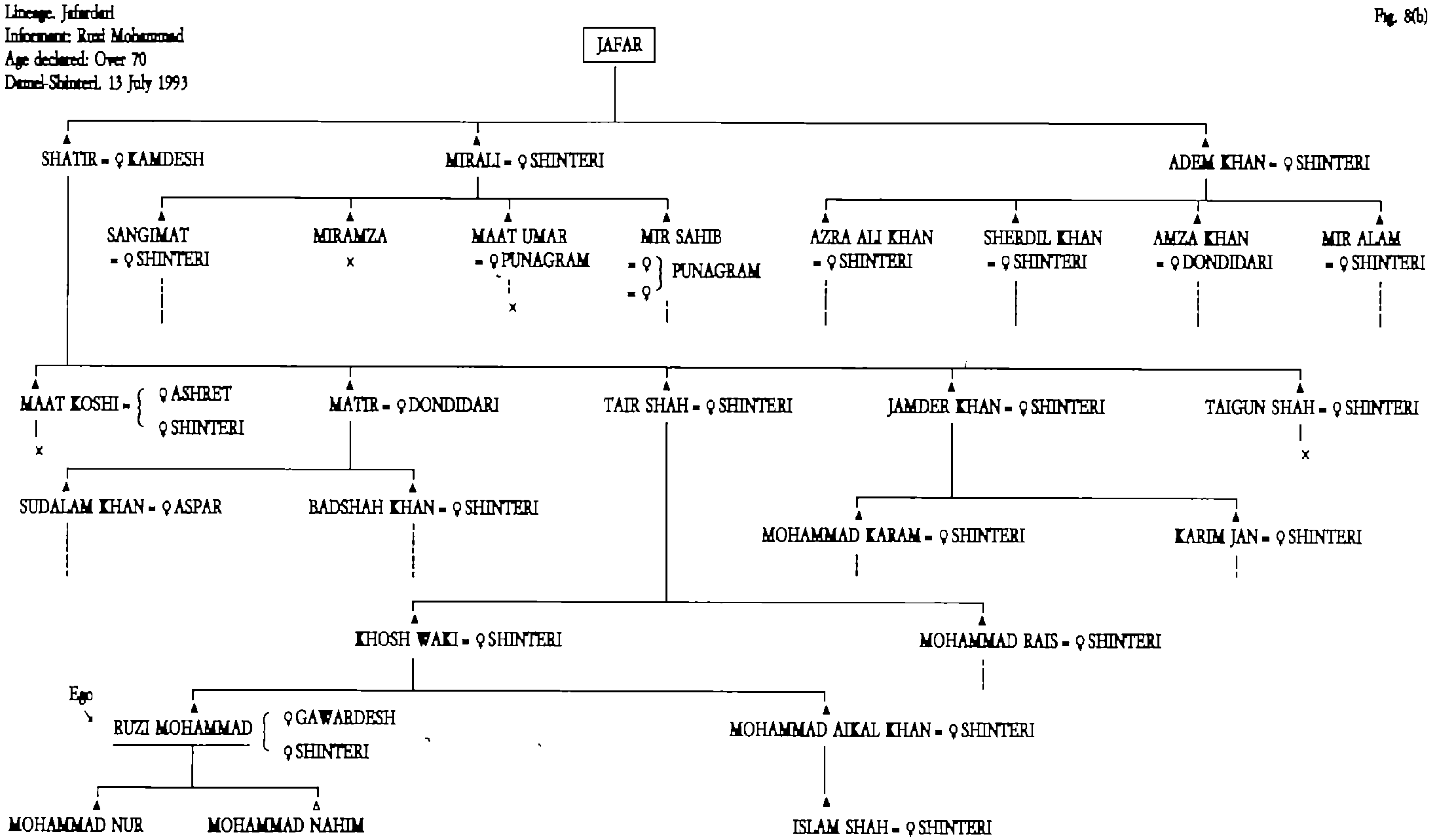

Fig. 8 - Genealogy of the descendants of Rahzan. Eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages are marked with a square. Names of wives are not given; only their village of origin is indicated. It is highly likely that early marriages with women of Shinteri were contracted with members of the aboriginal Charashdari lineage.

Lineage: Mahatebdari
Informant: Mohammad Ali Jan
Damel-Aspar 14 July 1993
Age declared: Almost 70

Fig. 9(a)

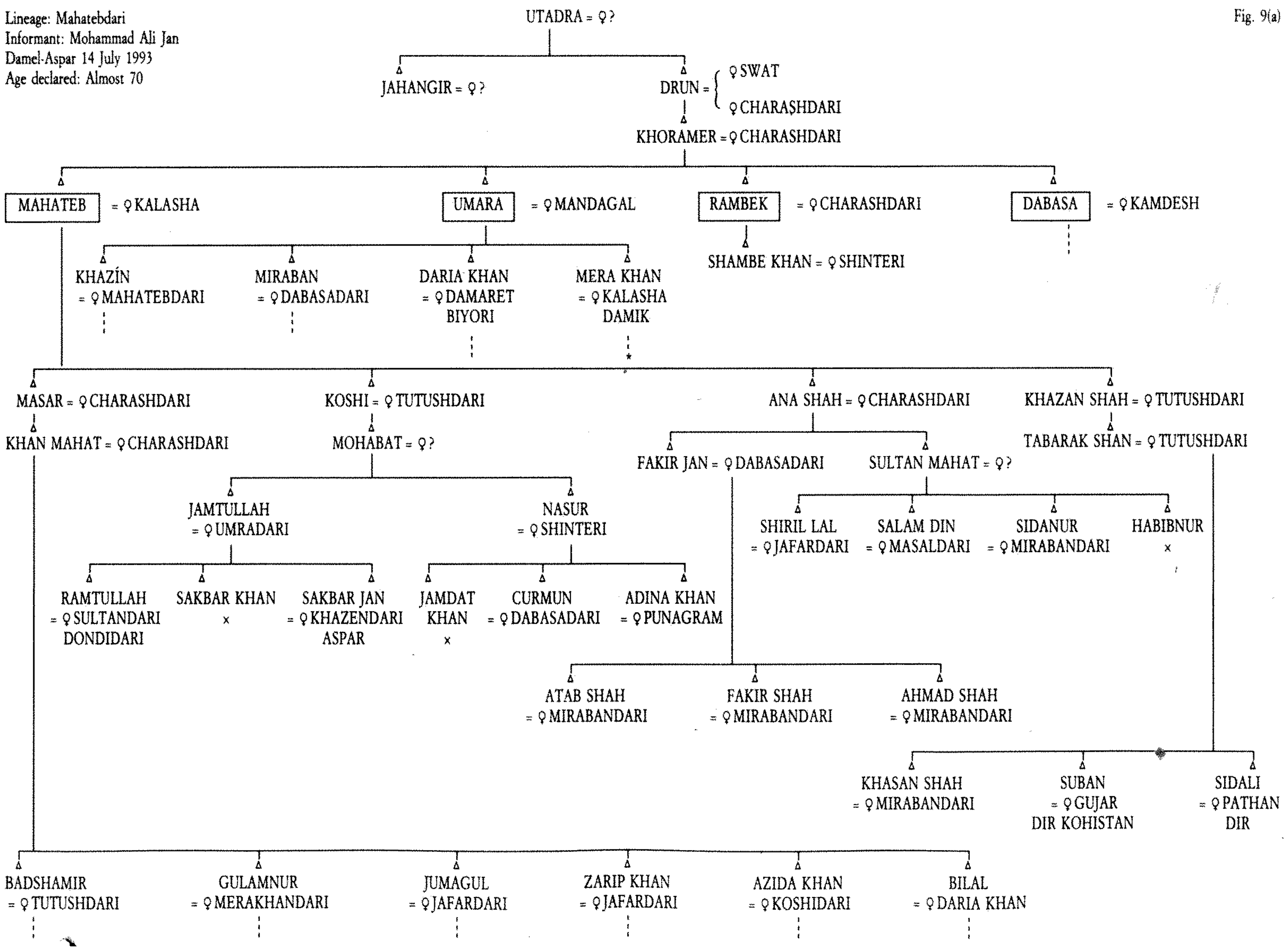

Fig. 9(b)

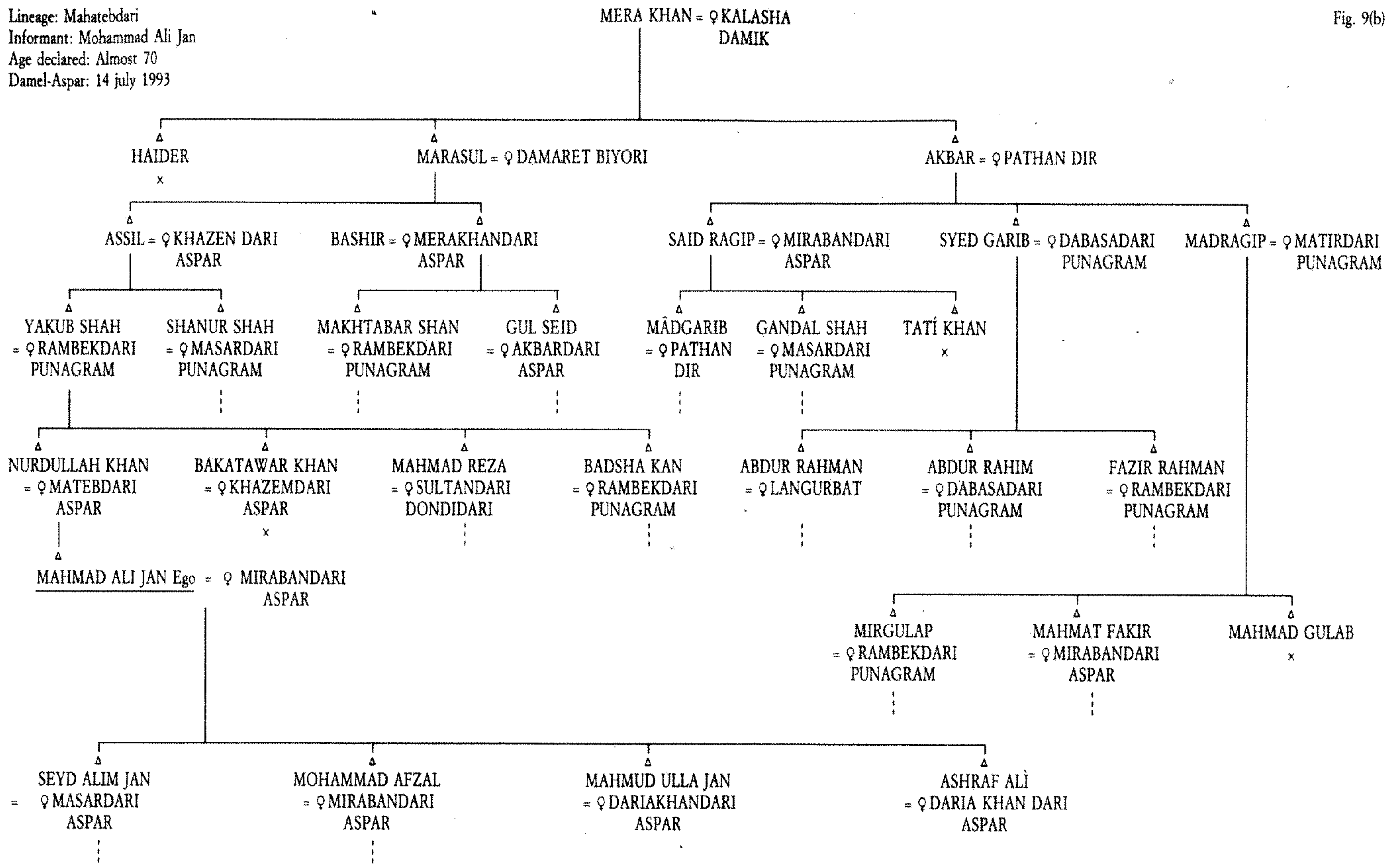
Lineage: Mahatebdari
Informant: Mohammad Ali Jan
Age declared: Almost 70
Damel-Aspar: 14 july 1993
MERA KHAN = ♀KALASHA DAMIK
HAIDER ×
MARASUL = ♀DAMARET BIYORI
AKBAR = ♀PATHAN DIR
ASSIL = ♀KHAZEN DARI ASPAR
BASHIR = ♀MERAKHANDARI ASPAR
SAID RAGIP = ♀MIRABANDARI ASPAR
SYED GARIB = ♀DABASADARI PUNAGRAM
MADRAGIP = ♀MATIRDARI PUNAGRAM
YAKUB SHAH = ♀RAMBEKDARI PUNAGRAM
SHANUR SHAH = ♀MASARDARI PUNAGRAM
MAKHTABAR SHAN = ♀RAMBEKDARI PUNAGRAM
GUL SEID = ♀AKBARDARI ASPAR
MÂDGARIB = ♀PATHAN DIR
GANDAL SHAH = ♀MASARDARI PUNAGRAM
TATÍ KHAN ×
NURDULLAH KHAN = ♀MATEBDARI ASPAR
BAKATAWAR KHAN = ♀KHAZEMDARI ASPAR ×
MAHMAD REZA = ♀SULTANDARI DONDIDARI
BADSHA KAN = ♀RAMBEKDARI PUNAGRAM
ABDUR RAHMAN = ♀LANGURBAT
ABDUR RAHIM = ♀DABASADARI PUNAGRAM
FAZIR RAHMAN = ♀RAMBEKDARI PUNAGRAM
MAHMAD ALI JAN Ego = ♀ MIRABANDARI ASPAR
MIRGULAP = ♀RAMBEKDARI PUNAGRAM
MAHMAT FAKIR = ♀MIRABANDARI ASPAR
MAHMAD GULAB ×
SEYD ALIM JAN = ♀MASARDARI ASPAR
MOHAMMAD AFZAL = ♀MIRABANDARI ASPAR
MAHMUD ULLA JAN = ♀DARIAKHANDARI ASPAR
ASHRAF ALÌ = ♀DARIA KHAN DARI ASPAR

Fig. 9 - Genealogy of the descendants of Khoramer. Eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages are marked with a square. Names of wives are not given; only their lineage of origin is indicated.

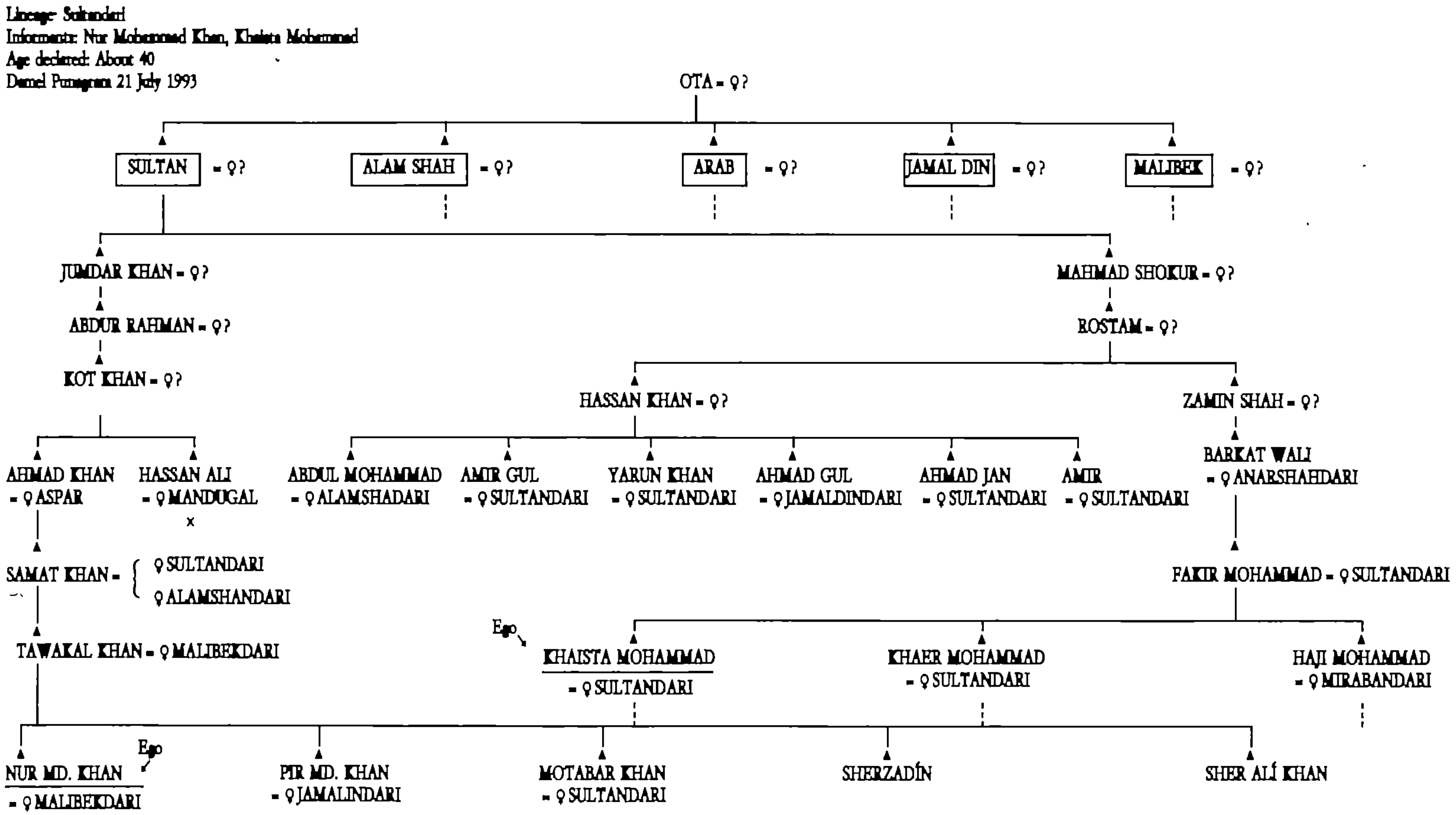
Lineage: Sultandari
Informants: Nur Mohammad Khan, Khaista Mohammad
Age declared: About 40
Damel Punagram 21 July 1993
OTA = ♀?
SULTAN = ♀?
ALAM SHAH = ♀?
ARAB = ♀?
JAMAL DIN = ♀?
MALIBEK = ♀?
JUMDAR KHAN = ♀?
ABDUR RAHMAN = ♀?
KOT KHAN = ♀?
MAHMAD SHOKUR = ♀?
ROSTAM = ♀?
HASSAN KHAN = ♀?
ZAMIN SHAH = ♀?
AHMAD KHAN = ♀ ASPAR
HASSAN ALI = ♀ MANDUGAL
x
ABDUL MOHAMMAD = ♀ ALAMSHADARI
AMIR GUL = ♀ SULTANDARI
YARUN KHAN = ♀ SULTANDARI
AHMAD GUL = ♀ JAMALDINDARI
AHMAD JAN = ♀ SULTANDARI
AMIR = ♀ SULTANDARI
BARKAT WALI = ♀ ANARSHAHDARI
SAMAT KHAN = ♀ SULTANDARI ♀ ALAMSHANDARI
FAKIR MOHAMMAD = ♀ SULTANDARI
TAWAKAL KHAN = ♀ MALIBEKDARI
Ego
KHAISTA MOHAMMAD = ♀ SULTANDARI
KHAER MOHAMMAD = ♀ SULTANDARI
HAJI MOHAMMAD = ♀ MIRABANDARI
NUR MD. KHAN = ♀ MALIBEKDARI
Ego
PIR MD. KHAN = ♀ JAMALINDARI
MOTABAR KHAN = ♀ SULTANDARI
SHERZADÍN
SHER ALÍ KHAN

Fig. 10 - Genealogy of the descendants of Ota. Eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages are marked with a square. Names of wives are not given; only their lineage of origin is indicated.

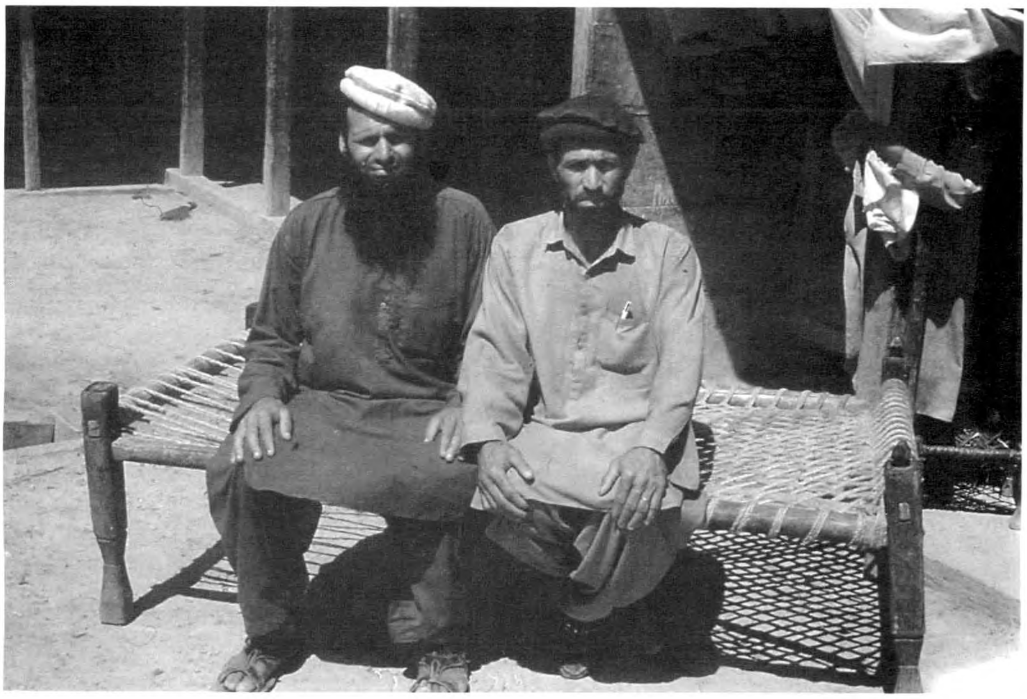

Fig. 11 - Our informants Khaista Mohammad and Nur Mohammad Khan, of the Otadari macrolineage.

The inhabitants of Punagram and Aspar are said to descend from a common ancestor called Khoramer, and are grouped into ten minimal lineages, named after his sons and grandsons (Fig. 9), while those of Dondidari are all considered descendants of Ota and grouped into five minimal lineages descending from his sons (Figs. 10-11).

Thus there is only a partial coincidence between villages and macrolineages, though the former (territorial) unit is clearly based largerly on the latter (kinship) group.

Though macrolineages certainly have a sharp identity and are likely to have a role in dealing with conflicts, their smaller segments, the minimal lineages, are also relevant in the socio-political organization of the community.

As can be seen from the genealogical tables, these segments are usually some five generations deep above the living elders, and therefore extend over a total of some eight generations down to the children. Since their head ancestors, for reasons that we shall see, seem to have lived more or less around the time of conversion, we can safely state that these kinship groups must have little to do with pre-islamic kinship organization.

Our information about their nature and functions is of course limited, but a comparison between the genealogies of the Rahzan group and the Khoramer group, shows that these lineages are likely to segment into smaller groups whenever they become too numerous, the children of the previous eponymous ancestor becoming the heads of the new-born lineages.

That these groups are recognized social units, and not merely 'the agnatic descendants of a male ancestor', is confirmed by the fact that different informants would always define lineage membership of a person by referring to the same ancestor. Thus in the Khoramer group, a descendant of Shambe Khan would always be called a Rambekdari, and never Shambekhandari, since the lineage has never grown to the point of being divided, while, for the opposite reason, a descendant of Khoshi will be called Khoshidari and not, normally, Mahatebdari.

One thing we can tell for sure about the process of segmentation is that, unlike with the non-muslim Kalasha, it has nothing to do with exogamy, since Dameli lineages are not exogamic units today.

To define their function in social life, we must also consider that these lineages do not own corporate rights on land or any other property, since, as we have seen, fields and buildings belong to individual families, while the high pastures are considered the common property of the whole valley community. Homes and cultivable fields of the members of a lineage, however, apparently tend to be territorially concentrated in the same area: this was said to be the rule in Shinteri and Dondidari, less so in Aspar. What usually happens is that lands currently belonging to members of a lineage are said to have once belonged to its eponymous ancestor, who is often credited with the construction of the main canal that serves to irrigate it. Since, however, land can be freely bought and sold (subject only to the right of pre-emption of the immediate neighbours), this territorial localization of a lineage can tend to blur with time.

At any rate, lineages do act as a corporate body to a certain extent. For one thing, they have a single spokesman (called *ǰ'ešta*, elder, or *ǰešt'ero*, a comparative form of the same word (see Biddulph 1986: 17), who can represent them whenever necessary. The *ǰ'ešta* is selected in a meeting (*ǰirg'a*) of the male members of the lineage, in which, without a formal vote, the matter is discussed until unanimity is reached, the normal decision-making procedure in any non administratively formalized assembly in the whole area.

This *ǰ'ešta* was said to represent the lineage in village and valley-wide meetings, to cooperate in the settlement of controversies and violent conflicts, and to participate in the arrangement of marriages. However, informants also stated that other capable male members of a lineage can participate and speak in meetings at any level, and that the involvement of the lineage 'leader' himself is not necessarily required in arranging a marriage.

Since conflicts are the situation in which the functions and identity of the lineages and their leaders become most apparent, it is worthwhile to give a general idea of their treatment.

Unlike most of Chitral district, conflicts are unfortunately very frequent and bloody in Damel, which seems to follow the Pathan model in this respect. The causes of the most serious controversies were said to be disputes over land and over unrepaid loans. Less frequent, but not inexistent, are disputes over women and marriage arrangements.

The procedure for the settlement of conflicts may be thus summarized on the basis of available data. If a minor conflict, not involving a homicide, takes place between members of a lineage, it is taken to the lineage elder, who takes a decision. If the decision is not accepted by one of the parties, it is taken to the assembly of the elders of other lineages. If their decision is not accepted, or an agreement is not reached, then the case is taken either to the islamic courts of the district or to the secular authorities of the state.

If a conflict between members of a lineage involves a case of homicide, then it is submitted to the *firg'a* of the *f'ešta* of the whole community, which, if not paralyzed by internal contrasts, will take a unanimous decision, which, even if not accepted by the parties, will nevertheless bear considerable influence on the subsequent pronouncement of the religious or secular court.

If a minor conflict takes place between individuals from different lineages, it will be discussed by their respective elders, and, as long as the matter does not become serious, members of the lineage are not obliged to support their agnate, especially if they have affinal relations with the opposing party. But if the matter becomes serious, then it will be deferred to the assembly of all the elders, and each lineage will act as a single body, usually supporting its member, but also, at times, refusing such support if he is deemed responsible of the trouble.

Homicide is unfortunately very frequent in Damel. Informants stated that there had been as many as eleven cases of homicide in the last three years. For a population of 5000, this would give a yearly homicide rate of some 70:100,000, a very high rate indeed, if compared to the 8:100,000 of an area like Sicily, which has one of the highest criminal densities in the western world.

This number is all the more surprising if compared to the almost total absence of cases of intra-tribal homicide in the memory of the Kalasha for many generations, or their rarity in a valley like Biyori, only a few miles to the north.

To attempt an explanation of such a macroscopic difference between so closely neighbouring people is not our purpose in the present work. We can only remark that conflictuality rates in Damel are likely to be in line with those prevalent among the Pathan communities to the south, which must have had an influence upon this trait of the culture of Damel.

In case of homicide, the customary law of Damel applied by the elders in their *firg'a* states that if the victim was innocent, then his relatives are entitled to receive a compensation (*nēk*), which is uniformly fixed by tradition in 22 cows or the equivalent. If the murderer pays the *nēk*, he will be pardoned and protected by the community, but if he refuses to comply, he must flee the country into exile, or be handed in to the authorities for imprisonment. As we shall see, exiles after murderous conflicts with agnates were often the cause of ancient migrations according to oral traditions. Such exiles still frequently take place even today.

If, on the other hand, the victim is not deemed innocent, then the homicide may be considered a form of legitimate revenge, in which case the family of the deceased is not entitled to compensation. In this situation, if the two parties are closely related, or anyways intend to settle their differences, the women from the family of the murderer may visit the victim's family bearing the Holy Coran and offering half of the *nēk* for peace-making. This procedure, called *nanaw'ati*, is of evident Pathan origin (Caroe 1958: 351; Spain 1963: 66).

If *nanaw'ati* is not carried out, which is often the case when the opposing parties are not closely related, then the victim's family, left without compensation, will often take revenge and re-open the cycle.

Altogether, the political organization of Damel seems to be (like in other communities of the area) the product of a rather complex and fluid admixture of three elements: traditional roles and rules specific to the Dameli community, generalized islamic concepts and practices, and the formalized structures of the modern state of Pakistan. In the latter sphere, Damel has two representatives (called *mimb'ar*, i.e. 'member') in the Union Council, the elected body at the *tebsil* level, one for the people of Punagram and Shinteri, the other for those of Aspar and Dondidari. In the District council of Chitral, Damel contributes to the election of one member, whose constituency includes all the territory south of Mirkhani.

We have stated earlier that Damel is a highly endogamous community. Our information on the subject is based mainly on the analysis of 136 marriages, spanning over eight generations, reported by our most reliable informants. We must warn that our sample is not a statistically significant one, since the male partners in the marriages are largely concentrated in less than half of the eighteen minimal lineages. Furthermore, the data have not been cross checked and may therefore contain many mistakes. However, the correlations that emerge are so high that it is hard not to consider them reliable.

Of the total marriages considered, as much as 117, i.e. 86%, are valley-endogamous, taking place within the Dameli speaking community. Furthermore, approximately 70% of the total are macrolineage endogamous, with both partners belonging to the same of the four main descent groups of the valley. Such a high rate of endogamy contrasts quite sharply with habits of other islamic communities of the area, such as Ashret, Badrugal, or the main valley settlements.

Non-Dameli marriage partners include six Nuristani, six Palulo, and three Dir Pathan women, plus one Gawar, one Gujur and, in the higher generations, two Kalasha women. We have no data about external marriages of Dameli women, but they do not seem to be any more frequent.

If, however, we disaggregate our data by generations, we note that the frequency of intra-valley marriages becomes higher and higher in more recent times. On the 115 marriages recorded within the third generation above our informants, the percentage of intra-valley unions rises to 89.6%, while out of the 21 marriages in the higher generations only two thirds are with Dameli-speaking partners.

Furthermore, if we come down to living couples, out of the 29 cases recorded, 28 are valley endogamous, and as many as 23 (79.3%) are marriages within the same macrolineage.

According to our informants, their is a recognized preference for marriage with close agnates, since such unions are believed to help in preserving the unity of the lineage and avoiding conflicts between siblings and other close agnates. This argument — although quite controversial — is at the basis of the general tendency toward lineage endogamy found throughout the Middle East (Lindholm 1986a: 347), and it is well known also to the Pathans (Barth 1959: 40), whose influence on this trait of Dameli culture seems hard to deny.

On the other hand, the shift from the exogamy of the higher generations to the endogamy of the present ones, seems just as naturally to be connected with the islamization of the community. Though our informants never admitted any knowledge about the preislamic kinship system of Damel, on the basis of what we know about surrounding peoples, it seems quite reasonable to suppose that it must have been based on some exogamic rule of the kind found among the Nuristani (Robertson 1974: 86; Jones 1974: 144) and the Kalasha (8). That marriage with agnates and other close relatives was forbidden, is clearly shown by the fact that in Dameli terminology the word for any kind of female first cousin (FaBrDa, FaSiDa, MoBrDa, MoSiDa) is the same as 'sister', though all these can happily be married today.

The circumstances and time of conversion in Damel remain entirely clouded in mystery, since our informants never could afford any information about them. However, a careful analysis of the genealogical data available, may help us to venture some hypotheses, on the basis of this switch in marriage rules.

The data from Shinteri and Dondidari do not provide information about the marriages of earlier ancestors, above the informants' great-grandfathers, but our best informant from Aspar, Mohammad Ali Jan, did claim knowledge about all the marriages of his ancestors until the eighth generation above his own. Though, as usual, we politely declined to inquire about the names of the brides, we did record their lineage and/or community of origin. Of course, the historical accuracy of this information could never be proved at the present state of our knowledge, but, nevertheless, it remains significant since it does reflect a concept about marriage relationships handed down by the oral tradition of Damel.

Thus the four original 'brothers' of this line are all married with non-related women. Such marriages are likely to symbolize the early alliances of this section of the Dameli community: one brother 'marries' with the Charashdari, two with the Nuristani, one with the Kalasha of Suwir. Though it is not impossible that these people were muslims, it is much more likely, since they cannot be any later than the 18th century, that they were all 'pagan'. In the next generation, the four sons of Mahateb are all married with non-related women and may have therefore been non-muslim, while of the four sons of Umara, two are married with close agnates, and must therefore have been muslims. The other two 'sons' of Umara, on the contrary, seem to have remained unconverted, since one, Daria Khan, married a woman from Damaret in Biyori, who may have been Kalasha at the time (see the forthcoming Part 2 of this series), and the other, Mera Khan, had a Kalasha bride from the village of Damik, close to Jinjeret village in the main valley. This generation may have lived around the beginning of the 19th century, and may have witnessed the first conversions. In the following generation, we still find both endogamic and exogamic marriages in the line of Mahateb, while if we follow the line of Mera Khan, the lineage of our informant, we see that his two sons are married one with a Dir Pathan woman, therefore a muslim, the other again with a lady from Damaret, possibly unconverted Kalasha. In the next generation, at any rate, all the marriages are endogamous in the Mera Khan line, and most of them on the Mahateb side. This generation, that of the great-grandfathers of our informants, is likely to have been entirely converted, or even born muslim. This is confirmed by the fact that the earliest mullah remembered in Damel, a man of the Dabasadari lineage named Mullah Fazil whose grave is still honoured in Punagram, is said to have lived at this time. If the genealogy is not too inaccurate, we should be here some time around the mid 19th century, a period that coincides, as we shall see in Part 2 of this series, with the probable time of the conversion of the Palulo. Given the geographical vicinity and the ancient relations between the two valleys, that their conversion was more or less simultaneous does not seem a far-fetched hypothesis. It may be useful to specify that we cannot rely much on ancestors' names to date conversion, since the use of islamic names by unconverted people has long been widespread in the area.

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(8) Nuristani and Kalasha lineages are exogamous. Among the Kalasha, marriage is forbidden between agnates who have a common ancestor within the seventh ascending generation. Lineages usually segment as soon as the genealogical distance required for intermarriage is reached.

Marriage procedures in Damel are once again a mixture of islamic and 'tribal' customs. The first step of the process, called *ḍ'ula*, may take place when the spouses are still children. The father of the girl sends a party of prestigious elders (generally including the *ješt'ero* of his lineage) to the father of the boy. The marriage is agreed upon, but no mention is made of the bridewealth.

Some time later, the messengers come back to the bride's father's house in the company of the groom's father, bringing a gift of two or three goats. This is *kbłow'a*: the amount of the bridewealth (*mal*) is agreed upon and the goats are eaten in a small feast. The standard *mal* was said to be of 30 goats, two cows or bullocks and 40 rupies in Shinteri, in the other villages of 25 goats, three cows and 30 rupies. Informants stated that money is often substituted for the animals, but in that case, only half of the market value is counted. After *kbłow'a*, the maternal uncle (*mam*) of the bride is entitled to receive *māmer'uk*, the gift of a cow or a gun.

Kal'una is an alternative form of bridewealth, for those who do not have means to pay: they must work for their bride's father for nine years, after which ***kbłow'a*** is held, and then the marriage ceremony is celebrated.

The ceremony, called with the islamic term ***nik'a***, is normally held in Damel only after the entire ***mal*** has been paid, because they say that otherwise, 'having had the body', the man may withdraw without paying his dues. This rule contrasts with both standard islamic concepts and the custom of Chitralis in general.

On the day of ***nik'a***, the two families feast separately with friends and relatives, and, after eating, meet at the bride's house, where in the past dances were held, while now they practice some mark shooting and sit together. Then the wife's maternal uncle physically carries the bride to the groom's house, where the spouses drink some water from the same cup, while the mullah recites verses from the Koran-e-Sharif. The ***mam*** receives another cow (*darkač'a*) on this occasion.

From now on co-habitation begins. After a week, however, the couple moves back to the bride's father's house for a few days, and there receives a further gift of a cow (*nām'ăna*) and a goat (*bānaw'ui*). Then the couple returns to the groom's house to start their normal married life.

This is the standard procedure. Like in other parts of the world, however, things often happen to become more adventurous. Despite the strictness of islamic law on the subject of extramarital relations, Dameli custom allows for some practices which are clearly of pre-islamic origin.

Thus if a woman leaves her husband to elope with another man, instead of the death penalty prescribed by the Shariat, they may get around with a payment called ***kam'ăn***, equal to the triple of the original ***mal***. This custom of elopement, said to have been much more frequent in the past but still practiced today, is called ***ulaṣ'ang*** in Dameli, a name which clearly reveals its affinity with the ***alaṣ'ing***, so widely practiced today by the unconverted Kalasha (Parkes 1983: 514-98, 633-34; 1987: 641-42; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 101-6). The affinity is not a secondary one, since ***alaṣ'ing*** is considered one of the *tre gh'ona dast'ur*, the 'three great traditions' of the Kalasha (9). It is worth noting, however, that while homicides never occur in connection with ***alaṣ'ing*** among the Kalasha, in Damel the offended husband is entitled to kill the guilty couple, without having to pay compensation, and he is not obliged to accept the ***kam'ăn***.

Premarital relations are said to be rare in Damel: if they take place, the couple may be killed without guilt by the girl's agnates, but the man may implore pardon from them by practicing ***nanaw'ati***, as seen earlier in case of homicide.

(9) The other two are the Chaumos winter solstice festival (Loude & Lièvre 1984; Wutt 1983; Aug. Cacopardo 1974: 148-91; Alb. & Aug. Cacopardo 1989) and the Biramor distributive feast (Darling 1979; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 114-39).

The custom of *dut'ol*, finally, agrees with islamic prescriptions: in this case, the woman who leaves her husband to return without elopement to her father's house, must pay the double of the ***mal*** and is freed from any further obligation. Informants stated that, like *ulaş'ang*, this never happens after the woman has had children from her husband.

2.3. *Oral History*

The oral history of the Dameli is a fairly complex corpus. Each one of the three macrolineages has its own tale of origins and its own version about early events in the valley. These oral traditions begin with the departure of the apical ancestor from a previous homeland and his arrival in Damel; in all three cases the migration is caused by a conflict. The accounts are based on the genealogies. Of these we collected six charters, from different informants belonging to the three macrolineages; a genealogy of the Charashdari could not be obtained. The Rahzan descent (Fig. 8) was collected from two informants who gave each their own line, claiming to have no knowledge of the other ones. The Ota line (Fig. 10) was given in cooperation by two rather young men, in their late thirties, and it may therefore be incomplete. It is however just as deep as the other two. Only of the Punagram/Aspar macrolineage (Fig. 9) — the descendants of Khoramer — were we able to acquire three independent but partial charters, given by members of different sublineages.

Genealogical memory is still quite rich in Damel. It seemed that a good number of men knew at least their own pedigree, while only a few elders were able to relate the whole genealogy of their macrolineage. Although we sought people who were believed to be experts, our data possibly represent only a fraction of the genealogical knowledge existing in Damel. With more time, other elders not immediately available could have been questioned and the various charters could have been compared to assess the extent of their reliability.

How reliable are then these genealogies? In general, we may note that all the charters we present here, can be divided in two parts. The upper part is single-track and essentially mythical. There the number of generations is meaningless for the count of time, because those ancestors are likely to have largely been forgotten, apart from a few very prominent ones. The lower part, from the fourth/fifth generation above our informants down, just below the eponymous ancestors of present day lineages, is on the contrary quite ramified and definitely more historical.

The charters in fact become more reliable at the point where a connection is established between present-day lineages and ownership of land. The eponymous ancestors of existing lineages are supposedely brothers, who receive from their father — or grandfather — a portion of territory that they organize for cultivation by building the main canals, still used for irrigation today. In Shinteri we were shown the exact borders of the areas allotted to Tutush, Japhar and Phagul Khan, the three sons of Butabal, and we were told that ownership of land is still distributed approximately in the same way among their descendants (apart from some changes due to the fact that, as we have seen, landed property can be freely bought and sold by individual householders).

Actually the reported fraternal relation between these eponymous forefathers may be somewhat fictitious, just reflecting an ideal model according to which existing sublineages are issued from the same ancestor and therefore from a series of brothers who may be his sons or grandsons. It is however quite reasonable to believe that a relation of common descent between lineages of the same macrolineage does really exist, even if it may not be as simple as that. The exact connection can be forgotten or it may be purposely simplified, but the important point is that members of a macrolineage consider themselves of one stock. A similar process of simplification according to a model, we witnessed among the Kalasha in Rumbur. There we were given both simplified versions of the general charter of the community, where the eponymous ancestors of the existing lineages were represented as brothers, and more realistic ones where they were shown as belonging to different generations (see also Parkes 1983: 374, 382, 388).

However, one or two generations below the eponymous forefathers of present-day lineages the charters become so detailed that it would be unreasonable to deny them an historical character. Knowledgeable elders remember also, as we mentioned, the lineage and place of origin of the wives. A comparison between the same genealogies given by different sources shows some minor incongruencies, but confirms the general reliability of these data.

For what concerns the events related in the narratives woven around the higher portion of our genealogies, we have obviously no way of telling to what extent they are related to historical facts. In people's recollection remote events not only naturally fade away through the passing of time, they are also purposely moulded and reshaped to fit, as we mentioned earlier, ideal models based on ethnic pride. A final defeat, for example, shall never be admitted, and relations of servitude shall be recognised only to relate the rebellion that put an end to them. We must, therefore, read between the lines of these oral accounts, if we want to detect the kernel of truth that, as is generally the case with legends, they are likely to contain.

This is obviously quite a difficult task in the absence of written documentation or archaeological investigation. However, in some cases, by comparing accounts of the same events from different sources, it is possible to be reasonably certain of the historical quality of some specific circumstance. For example, as we mentioned earlier, while each macrolineage claims to be the first to have arrived, they all agree that their ancestors found the valley inhabited by an indigenous population. It seems therefore quite reasonable to give credit to oral tradition on this point, and to accept the existence of a former ethnic group in Damel as a very likely historical fact.

Much more complex is however the question of who the latter people were. We shall start from this point our account of Dameli oral history, and then we shall proceed to relate separately the oral lore of the three great macrolineages, trying to highlight the points that seem to have some historical consistency and trying to infer possible historical circumstances by 'reading between the lines' of the oral texts.

The Charashdari

The story of the encounter with the previous Dameli population was told in very much the same terms by informants from all the three larger kinship groups and from the small lineage of the supposed descendants of the indigenous population. The account we are about to give is therefore a compound of very similar versions of the same story heard by members of all descent groups.

To start from the beginning, the indigenous population of Damel was reportedly composed of two different groups whose relations are left quite obscure. At Sali kot and Malu there were two Kalasha communities to which we shall come back later, that have reportedly left no descendants. The stories of the arrival of the ancestors, however, don't mention the Kalasha; their presence is revealed somewhat later, when a conflict arises between them and the immigrants, who manage to wipe them out with the help of the Chitral ruler.

The legends first mention the other group of people, whose descendants form the small Charashdari lineage (23 members in 1993) and who seem to be considered the real autoctonous population of Damel: Damiabasha is considered to be their language, adopted and modified by the immigrants. If the ancestors of the Charashdari — and not the Kalasha — are deemed to be the true original Dameli, this is seemingly due to the fact that they allied with the immigrant groups and have left descendants, while the Kalasha became their enemies and were wiped out.

The story of the forefathers of the Charashdari tells that the men of that ancient community were ambushed and slaughtered by the Kom of Nuristan during their sleep while they were resting on the way back from a war expedition. When the women and children came to know of the massacre they fled Damel to seek refuge in Waigal, and further in Kordar, which appears in Edelberg's map (Edelberg & Gramstrup 1971) as a western tributary valley of the Pech, south of Wama. Only a man and a woman — Kambrash and Shambrei were their names — stayed behind, and hid themselves in a cave high on the flank of the mountain opposite Shinteri, the area where their people used to live. Its entrance can be seen from afar and it was indicated to us by all informants.

Kambrash and Shambrei went about naked and their bodies were covered with hair; they survived by stealing milk and cheese from the new Dameli population. One day they approached a storage room and the man sneaked in to get hold of some food. From outside the woman called him asking whether the milk had turned into *nyit*.

This alerted the people who captured the intruders. Their bodily hair was shaved off and they were dressed with proper clothes. They were accepted into the newly arrived group as affines and intermarriage started to take place.

The notion of a wild, primitive people, hiding in the hills and sneaking at night into the houses to steal food, is found also in Kalasha oral tradition (Alb. & Aug. Cacopardo 1992: 357-60). On the other hand, in Ashret we find the exact parallel of the Charashdari story, but there the wild survivors are Kalasha: a boy and a girl escape the massacre of their people by the newly arrived Palulo, and take refuge in a cave. Later they are adopted into the community and give rise to one specific lineage, still existing today. The structure of the story is exactly the same as in Damel, only that here we are dealing with the remnants of an unknown ethnic group.

The name Charashdari is actually a puzzle since it has nothing to do with the legendary couple, which had very different names. We coudn't obtain a genealogy of the lineage, but it is quite likely that it was named after some other more recent, and possibly more historical, ancestor called Charash. No one, however, seemed to know anything about this eponymous forefather. A more significant question may rather be that of the language spoken by this early Dameli population. All would seem to indicate that they must have been the speakers of the unknown Nuristani tongue, whose traces were detected by Morgenstierne in modern Dameli. Although this language is now lost, we were able to collect a single verse of an ancient song connected with the story of the conflict with Ashret (see further), where some words of it may have been preserved. The verse is as follows:

c'upi	*lal'ui*	*kari'u*	*rošk'ala*	*ṭikoṭ'ak*
jump	young men	make	dawn	tikotak

The meaning was thus explained: Jump high, young men (of Ashret) in your dance, tomorrow at dawn your legs will make *tikot'ak* (the last kick of a slaughtered goat). We were given the following translation in Damiabasha:

c'upi *zuw'an* *kure'a* *rosk'ala* *ṭikoṭ'ak*

Only the words *lal'ui* and *kari'u* are different from modern Dameli. Informants specified that *lal'ui* was the plural of *lal'i*. This would seem to indicate that if these words do belong to the old Dameli speech, that ancient language is not so completely forgotten. Only linguists, however, may be able to determine whether these fragments are connected to the lost Nuristani tongue once spoken in Damel or if they are merely archaic forms of present-day Damiabasha.

But who were these people, and can they be connected to any known group? In the light of available data, nothing certain can be said on this issue. The oral traditions of the Kalasha, the Kom (Robertson 1974: 82-83) and the Dameli, all mention an early autoctonous population of their areas. The Kalasha of Birir and Bumburet call these indigenous people Balalik, the Kom call them Jashi, and for the Dameli, we have seen, they are the ancestors of the Charashdari. Jashi still live in Gawardesh in Nuristan, and a branch of the tribe has migrated to Badrugal, a village in the Chitral valley where, as mentioned, we also conducted field work. The Jashi now speak Komviri, and any trace of a previous language is reportedly completely lost.

About the Balalik we have already made some remarks elsewhere (Alb. & Aug. Cacopardo 1992: 371-73), but we haven't yet been able to fit them in the ethnic puzzle of southern Chitral. Morgenstierne (1942: 119) heard the name used as another denomination for the Jashi of Gawardesh. It could very well be that both the Balalik and the ancestors of the Charashdari were really Jashi; however, we have no data to add in support of this suggestion. As far as the Charashdari are concerned, actually, it was even expressely denied by one of our main informants, that they ever had anything to do with the Jashi; but on the other hand the connection may be so ancient to have been completely forgotten. Only through further research in Gawardesh and among the neighbouring Gawar shall it be possible, we believe, to shed some light on this obscure and fascinating issue.

We shall now relate in succession the oral traditions of the three macrolineages: the descendants of Rahzan (Shinteri), of Khoramer (Punagram and Aspar), and of Ota (Dondidari). These are three separate cycles that, as mentioned above, agree mainly on two points: Damel was inhabited by the ancestors of the Charashdari and by two Kalasha groups; the former were assimilated, the latter were vanquished.

The Rahzan Cycle

Since our hosts were in Shinteri, the Rahzan cycle is the more detailed one. We shall combine here in one single story a number of versions obtained from different informants. One was given by our host Maulana Gul Akbar; a second one by his son Gul Ahmad, who had heard it from his maternal relatives Fakir Said and Mohammad Wali; a third one by Ruzi Mohammad. The narratives coincided in the main points, but each added some specific detail.

Rahzan lived in Dir Kohistan in the area of Tal and Patrak and had four brothers: Shemur, Ramnur, Deimur and Rajnur. In that area, in those times, it was forbidden to eat the meat of cows and bulls. Rahzan and his brothers thought it was a waste to renounce all that food, and tried to convince the people to discard that tadition. Since at first their idea seemed to be approved of, Rahzan killed an ox to feast on its meat. At this point, however, the people changed their mind and sternly condemned Rahzan for his breech of the rule. Thereupon he was forced to leave Dir Kohistan with his brothers and they migrated over the passes to Damel. Interestingly enough, Lincoln Keiser, who has done field work in Dir Kohistan (Keiser 1991) was told in Tal that a section of the tribe had migrated in ancient times to Bashkar, on the Chitral side of the Lowarai pass but, in this case, to avoid conversion to Islam (letter to the authors dated 2.24.1992) (10).

A conflict in the homeland is usually the reason given for their migration by the many refugee groups who in the course of the centuries settled in southern Chitral. Sometimes it was a dispute over land, in other cases it was a homicide, to force a group into exile. Here the conflict is of a religious nature, and as such it is quite intriguing. The prohibition concerning the cow, of course, makes us think of Hinduism; an influence hinted at also by the names of Rahzan's brothers. Such influences were also — although very cautiously — suggested by Morgenstierne (1942: 116). Hindu influences in Dir Kohistan and, consequently, in Damel seem quite likely (Edelberg & Jones 1979: 14-16; Edelberg 1960; Jettmar 1982: 19, 31; Tucci 1977: 69-70); it is however improbable that the religion of these immigrants was a form of Hinduism, rather than a Kafir religion with Hindu influences: similar in this respect to the religion of the Shina, where we find the same attitude towards the cow.

In one version Rahzan leaves 'Tal-Patrak' with one hundred and eighty people, sheperds and blacksmiths and others. The epic tells of their voyage in the course of which they named the places according to events that took place in each: *Kat'ari*, from *katt'ar* (dagger), — for example — was the place where a dagger was lost; *Kučurš'äi* from *K'učur* (dog) (11) was the place where a female dog delivered its puppies, and so forth. To decide the final destination, Rahzan aimed his bow and arrow at a shooting star declaring that they would have settled in the place where its light dissolved. The motive of the arrow occurs in foundation myths of the Kalasha (Lièvre & Loude 1990: 188) as well as in the epic of Choke and Machoke in the Laspur version collected by Inayatullah Faizi (1989: 5). The shooting star dissolved above Kotwal and there they settled.

The ruins of Kotwal can still be seen today, on the narrow crest of a ridge just above Shinteri. We visited the site. Only the foundations of a tower (*koṭ*) and of a few houses are visible today, because many walls have been torn down to re-use the stones for terracing fields. The buildings seemed to have been destroyed by fire, since we found several pieces of burned wood. On this site, we were told by our host

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(10) The location of Bashkar remains rather mysterious. According to Biddulph (1986: 70) 'it is the name given to the community which inhabit the upper part of the Punjkorah valley, whence they have overflowed into the upper part of the Swat valley', but according to Keiser's informants in Tal it is located in Chitral. Keiser also mentions in the above quoted letter a Bashkar valley, located between Shishi Kuh and Panjkora, found by Jones in his research on British secret and political records 1885-1900. According to Barth (1956: 52) the people of Swat Kohistan 'were unfamiliar with this term as applied to themselves, insisting it means "person of Kashkar", i.e. a Chitrali'. According to our informants in Damel, on the contrary, Bashkar includes Swat Kohistan and the valley between Dir Kohistan and Laspur. We are sure this riddle will soon be solved but, considering the above indications, what seems more likely is that the real Bashkar must include the valley that leads from Tal pass to Laspur, on the Chitral side. Another area as yet quite unexplored.

(11) This word is rather interesting because our informant declared that it is old Dameli; in modern Damiabasha the term for dog is *thun'a*.

Gul Ahmad, several burials have been found: the skeletons of two adults laying beside each other head to feet, and the remains of three children buried upright in earthen jars. It is not impossible that these were cinerary jars. Findings of cinerary jars are reported just south of Chitral by Stacul (1969: 93), who has actually seen one of them. It could be that, like in Swat during the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Stacul 1971: 9), the rites of inhumation and cremation coexisted in southern Chitral for some time. But no datings, of course, can be suggested without proper archaeological investigation.

To Rahzan's times are also said to belong two ancient ruined towers called Bitoti and Gogor kot, which were shown to us from the bottom of the Kharagram valley. Below Gogor kot there was a large village; its ruins — we were told by informants — have been found all the way down the slope. Bitoti was only a stronghold.

When the five brothers reached Damel, they saw that there wasn't enough room for all of them, because the valley was too small. To decide who was going to stay they had a race. Rahzan had a bad leg and limped, and so he lagged behind the others. However, he managed to win by throwing his walking stick from afar, to hit the target point of the race. Rahzan then stayed, while Rajnur went on north to Biyori, one of the Palulo valleys. The other three brothers — Shemur, Ramnur, Deimur — returned to Dir Kohistan.

Damel was then inhabited by the ancestors of the Charashdari; and here comes in the story of the massacre and of the couple surviving in a cave, that we have already told when dealing with the Charashdari. These ancient people, we know, were not the only inhabitants of the valley. Two separate Kalasha communities were settled at Malu, above Aspar, and Sali kot, near present-day Dondidari. A daughter of Rahzan's was given in marriage to a leader of the Sali kot group.

At the times of Rahzan's son, Butabal, a conflict arose between the two Kalasha groups. The people of Sali kot let their cattle feed on the pastures of the Malu community, who retaliated by skinning alive the animals in a very cruel fashion. They incised the skin on their chest tying the edges of the incision to two trees; then they whipped the cows so that they would skin themselves. When the story was told, a listener felt the need to explain that they needed the hide for shoes, and, lacking good tools, they found that procedure an expedient way to do the job.

Butabal, in the meantime, had gone to Mastuj where he had served in the court of an unspecified Mehtar. During his absence, according to one version of the story, the Kalasha chief of Malu, called Malua Gambui, attacked and destroyed Kotwal, whose people had sided with their affines of Sali Kot. The only survivor was Butabal's brother in law, who ran to Mastuj to fetch him and met him in Serdur, near Kalkatak, where he gave him the bad news. Thereupon Butabal marched back to Mastuj, got troops in support from the Mehtar, allied with the people of Sali Kot, and wiped out the Kalasha of Malu. According to this last source, there were actually three different ancestors named Butabal, who could bot be placed in coherent genealogies: the one involved in the conflict with the Kalasha is the third.

Both the Malu and the Sali kot Kalasha are said to have left no descendants, but if we consider that the latter sided with the winners, it seems possible that their off-spring may rather have been assimilated. In fact we heard some rumours about the existence of people of Kalasha descent in Dondidari, which is located just below the ancient site of Sali Kot; but the point remained quite obscure and nobody indicated any specific existing group as of Kalasha descent.

Butabal is credited also with the destruction of the Kalasha of Ramram, the Arandu gol. This he did on the orders of the Chitral ruler whom he had served. In Ramram he was friends with two brothers — Shalu and Sama — who were very wealthy. For this very reason they were hated by the envious who plotted to do them harm. The two brothers sensed hostility, and left the valley. But on their way, they were ambushed and killed by their people, armed with wooden knives. Their mother then turned to Butabal for vengeance. Since he had been in the service of the Mehtar — for some a Rais, for others a Katur — he appealed to him for support. The fort of Ramram was besieged. Its position was so impregnable that it fell only through a trick. The mother of the two victims revealed to the attackers the secret of the water supply, that they hadn't been able to locate and cut: an underground pipe of markhor's hornes was connected to a nearby spring. The motive of the impregnable fort conquered through a trick is very frequent in the area and we shall go back to it in Part II of this series.

This episode may be seen in a different light if we consider that in traditional Kalasha culture, the accumulation of wealth was only conceived in view of distribution in the course of customary feasts. The story of Shalu and Sama may be seen as reflecting an attempt to withhold wealth in contrast with traditional rules. Hence the rebellion of the people, who in the version of the final winners become the 'envious'. The rebellion gives the Chitral ruler — Butabal's ally — the opportunity to intervene and supposedly establish his authority in the area.

The tension between an egalitarian social order and emerging individuals who try to acquire a dominant position that leads in the end to the imposition of tribute, seems to be a recurrent theme in the history of southern Chitral. In the Palulo epic mentioned in the Introduction, this tension is much more articulately and fully expressed. But there Choke, the Palulo leader, unlike Butabal in Ramram, sides with the Kalasha population of Ashret against a petty ruler, called Nagar Shah, who exacted tribute (Saeed 1987: 5). In both cases, however, the result is the domination of the newcomers over the local Kalasha population.

In the Dameli version of the same story, the Dameli allied with the Palulo to defeat this 'king'. Sometime after the victory, however, a conflict arose between the two groups. Butabal had died, accidentally struck in the head by a *bari'a* (12) slave who was working with his grandsons on building the irrigation canals. His son

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(12) These *bari'a*, obviously connected with the *b'ari* of Nuristan (Robertson 1974: 99-103; Edelberg & Jones 1979: 102-3) and the *bb'aira* of the Kalasha (Schomberg 1938: 195; Alb. & Aug. Cacopardo 1992: 357-59), were said to have since disappeared, after the flight of Butabal's murderer.

Mohammad Hakim underwent a brotherhood ritual (*dram*; see Kalasha/Kati *d'ari*) with the lord of Rahli kot, in Ashret, mentioned in the Palulo epic as the stronghold of another Kalasha chief defeated by Choke. Our Dameli informants did not mention Choke's name, but in the Palulo tradition it is he who fought the Damelis, after he had gained control over the Kalasha.

After some time Mohammad Hakim's *dram* came for a visit to Damel. At his departure he received a gift of iron arrow-heads and women ornaments (*ţ'iki*). Back in Ashret he claimed to have subjugated the Dameli and showed the gifts as evidence of tribute. Of this his Dameli brother was promptly informed by a man called Mitroi, the son of a Charashdari mother and a Palulo father, who lived in Ashret. Mohammad Hakim decided then to react. He led a group of Dameli to Ashret and participated with them in a feast at Rahli kot that ended in a great dance. While dancing he sang to his followers the song of alert mentioned earlier. At dawn, while everybody was still asleep, the Dameli killed sixty people and beheaded them. Then they returned to their valley. The story is told in similar terms by the Palulo as well, who however add, as we shall see, a further development in their favour.

While in the times of Mohammad Hakim the Dameli, according to their oral tradition, succeeded in asserting their independence, a few generations later we find them burdened with tributes. At the times of Abdul Kadir, the great grandfather of our host Maulana Gul Akbar, the weight of tributes had become unbearable. These were exacted not only by the Mehtar of Chitral, then the Katur ruler Aman-ul-Mulk, but also by the Pathans of Jujuri in Dir, and by the Kafir Kom of Kamdesh. To the Kom the Damelis gave yearly 25 goats, and to the Pathan 25 small goat-skins (*m'ana*) of ghee. The Mehtar received a tribute (*th'angi*) of iron bars: 12 of them twice a year at the wheat and maize harvests.

Three different exactions were too much for the Dameli population who, exasperated, decided to desert the valley. They all dispersed outside the valley, and one Shah Taras Khan went to neighbouring Biyori where he had a *dram*. The Mehtar was soon informed of the event; he summoned Shah Taras Khan to his court and asked him to convince the people to return to Damel. He got a very firm reply: the Dameli would return only if they were freed of all tribute. The Mehtar then gave five bullets to Shah Taras and told him to take them to the Kom as a message: either they gave up their tribute or they would be attacked by the Chitral troops. He instructed Shah Taras to beat on a drum that stood just at the edge of the village of Kamdesh, and the chief of the Kom would have appeared. To him he was to hand the Mehtar's message.

When Shah Taras beat the drum the people gathered in great anger because a foreigner had dared to touch it. When he delivered the five bullets, Torag Merak, a famous warrior, enraged by such a threat, pointed his bow and arrow at him; he was held back by the chief (unnamed) who asked Shah Taras what he wanted. Shah Taras declared that the Mehtar was ready to attack them if they didn't give up their tribute on Damel. To this the chief answered that they would renounce it if the Mehtar renounced his.

At this point, freed from two tributes, the people returned to Damel. The Kom chief told Shah Taras to inform him when the Pathans were about to come to carry off their tribute of ghee. When the time came, Torag Merak was sent with a small group of warriors to ambush the Pathans on their way back to Dir. Twentyfive Dameli were carrying loads of ghee and were thus easily recognizable. The Pathans were all killed on the spot but one, who managed to escape towards the Arandu gol. Torag Merak ran after him and killed him while he was trying to wade the river. The Kom accompanied the Dameli back to their valley and the ghee of the tribute was distributed to the women, who were gathered for the purpose. All three tributes, according to the story, were thus eliminated.

This last narrative, unlike the former ones, seemingly relates fairly recent events. The presence of two historical characters, Aman-ul-Mulk and Torag Merak (Robertson 1974: 5-6 and *passim*) agreeing with the genealogical position of Abdul Kadir, indicates that the narrative reflects events that must have taken place more or less in the time of Robertson, who indeed vaguely refers to a similar episode (Robertson 1974: 564). It seems unlikely, however, that the Dameli stopped paying tribute to the Mehtar altogether.

The story confirms that still at the end of last century the Mehtar's authority was not consolidated in the southernmost end of Chitral. The Khans of Dir exerted their influence there (Lindholm 1986b: 6) and they even still collected tribute from some valleys of Southern Chitral at the arrival of the British, while the Kom in their turn had claims over several areas of Lower Chitral.

The Story of Drun, Father of Khoramer

The genealogy of the descendants of Khoramer who live in Punagram and Aspar covers a span of ten generations. The stories we collected refer only to the higher, mythical, section of our genealogies. The common notion is that the ancestors of the group came from Swat; an idea officially sanctioned by the change of the name of Punagram, which is now called Sawati, as we have seen. But according to our informant Mohammad Ali Jan the apical ancestor of the line was one Utadra from Mandugal (Robertson: Madugal) who was forced into exile because he had converted to Islam. He went to Pakhlei, in Swat Kohistan, between Kalam and Bahrein. There he had two sons, Drun and Jahangir. An unspecified conflict arose between the two brothers, and Drun left for Damel.

Drun first lived in the area of Shinteri, where the descendants of Rahzan hadn't appeared yet. There he found only the ancestors of the Charashdari. In Malu there was a Kalasha community (of the Birir type, our informant specified). Drun had come to Damel with a daughter. With her he went to a feast in the Kalasha fort of Malu, whose ruins can still be seen in a place called Gramtan, which we could not visit. In the course of the merriment, the ceiling of a room fell in, killing his daughter. Drun then appealed for revenge to the ruler of Chitral. Quite surprisingly this time he is neither a Katur nor a Rais, but a Kalasha king called Shah Bumbur. This detail is of some interest because very few names of Kalasha 'kings' are still remembered, and this particular one is not mentioned by any other source, to our knowledge.

Drun spent some time with Shah Bumbur, and departed with a force of sixty horsemen armed with swords and arrows, carrying each an iron bar. They reached Malu at night and surrounded the fort. In the dark a guard urinated from a defense wall sprinkling the shields of the assailants, and was alarmed by the strange sound. Drun then retired into the forest leaving only their horses visible. In the morning, the defenders saw them from afar and, apparently ignoring the existence of such animals, thought they were looking at hornless cows. Despite these unusual events, the people in the fort held a feast that night until they fell in drunken sleep. In the middle of the night, Drun and his men approached the fort. The iron bars were fixed to the outer wall as an improvised ladder and a soldier climbed over it into the fort. He opened the gates from the inside and let in his companions who massacred the defenders to the last man. The soldiers then returned to Chitral, while Drun married a Charashdari woman and lived on in Shinteri.

A quick comparison with the Rahzan cycle can easily show that the structure of the narrative is again the same; only the names change. The future winner seeks here too the Chitral ruler's support; the fort is taken again with a stratagem, and the Kalasha are again completely wiped out while the winner takes a wife from the other indigenous group, the ancestors of the Charashdari.

The Story of Ota

The same rough structure we find also in the oral history of the third macrolineage, the Otadari of Dondidari. The original conflict here is related with some detail. Ota came from Momagrom (Robertson 1974: 200, Muman or Bagalgrom), in Mandugal. He quarrelled with his brother Lantang and killed him. The quarrel was caused by the fact that Lantang, while milking his goats wearing only goatskins as clothes, let his penis dip in the milk. Ota reproached him for that, and Lantang hit him on the head with his axe, as a reply. Ota reacted with his, and killed him with a single blow.

Ota was a Kafir when he left Mandugal, and his father had been killed while fighting the Muslims. In Damel he found only the famous Charashdari couple, who went about naked and were captured, as in the other narratives, while stealing sower milk; they were integrated in the community of the newcomers. As for the Kalasha of Sali kot, in this narrative they are not considered indigenous, but rather an immigrant group who arrived in Damel after Ota. Having suffered a first defeat, they sought refuge in Malu where they were again defeated by Ota with the support of the Chitral ruler who, in this version, was of the Katur family. The details of the attack were not given by our informants.

After some time Ota went back to Momagrom with a sample of water and earth from Damel. He compared their weight with local samples and, having found that they were equally heavy, he was sure that the two places were just as good. Thereupon he returned to Damel and settled there to stay. The episode has the function to indicate that Ota was not chased away from his country, but that he rather left it of his own free will for a place that certainly wasn't any worse, as shown by the weight of water and earth. Relations with Mandugal are actually kept to this day and intermarriage is quite frequent; the Otadari of Damel can usually speak Komviri, although it is no longer their mother tongue, because they often visit the Bashgal valley (13).

About the other ancestors appearing in the genealogy, our informants didn't seem to know any story. Had we continued our investigation in Dondidari, more data would probably have emerged; but the two rather young men we questioned seemed to know nothing more about their ancestors.

These are the oral traditions of the three macrolineages about their own origins and about the early inhabitants of Damel. Officially, we know, there are only four kinship groups in the valley including the Charashdari. There are however some indications of the existence of subordinate groups, which have now been completely integrated into the other ones. This could have happened, as we suggested, with the defeated Kalasha, but not only with them. We were told that subordinate groups of artisans — apart from the *bari'a* mentioned above — existed until recent times and that their low status is concealed since they now freely intermarry with the rest of the population. The relevant point here is simply that if the Dameli are at present distributed in four lines of descent, this doesn't obviously mean that the supposed descent ties always actually exist. Defeated or subordinate groups may very well have been assimilated by expedient genealogical manipulations.

2.4. *Conclusions*

Now that our data have been presented, it is time to sum up our suggestions and draw some tentative conclusions. What kind of historical facts can in the end be discerned by reading between the lines of the oral texts, keeping in mind Morgenstierne's linguistic data?

First of all, it seems a quite likely historical circumstance that an indigenous population did exist in Damel before the arrival of the immigrant groups, and that it was constituted by two separate ethnic groups: the Kalasha and another unknown tribe, the ancestors of the Charashdari.

About this tribe, all we can say with some degree of certainty is that they may very well have been the speakers of the unknown Nuristani language detected by

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(13) An Otadari lineage is included in the list of the 'chief clans of the Kam people' given by Robertson; it is 'the clan which produces the tribal priests' (1974: 85-86).

Morgenstierne as one of the roots of modern Dameli. We would thus postulate the existence, in a remote past, of a fifth Nuristani tribe; which is not so strange if we consider the geographical position of Damel, just at the edge of Nuristan. A possible connection between these people and other known ethnic groups of southern Chitral, we have seen, is hard to establish. But we believe that it is an hypothesis worth exploring that they may have been the same people as the Jashi of Gawardesh. And here we are only following Morgenstierne's (1942: 119) suggestion.

The reported existence of a Kalasha population in Damel is not a surprise, since the oral lore of the unconverted valleys has kept well alive the memory of a time when the Kalasha extended throughout southern Chitral and beyond, and the same is told also by the oral tradition of the Kom (Robertson 1974: 159). Linguistic data give further support to this tradition since, we recall, Morgenstierne was able to establish that Damiabasha has been in the past in direct contact with Kalashamund. The specification given by one informant, finally, that these ancient Kalasha were of the Birir type is also — for what it is worth — not surprising. In our previous research among the converted Kalasha we in fact formulated the hypothesis that the Birir cultural model was actually the more ancient and established one, from which the Rumbur/Bumburet variety branched out (Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 308).

About the various places of origin of the three immigrant groups, it seems quite possible that they are more or less correctly identified in the narratives, although in the case of the Khoramer line the connection with Nuristan may be spurious. As we have seen, migrations caused by conflicts and especially homicides still occur all over the area, involving single families or small groups; it seems therefore quite reasonable to suppose that in the past they were even more frequent and numerous. Furthermore, immigration from Dir and Swat Kohistan may be connected with the turmoil caused by Pathan pressure around the middle of the millennium. However, there is no way of telling when these migrations took place and in which succession: as we have seen, the upper sections of the genealogical charters we collected are largely mythical and the span of time they may cover is absolutely undeterminable. All we can say is that, while each group claims to be the first to have arrived, the Otadari are actually likely to have been the last, since both the other groups agree on this point. The bulk of the Dameli population would thus be formed by the fusion of a Kohistani element with the Charashdari people, while the Nuristani lineage of the Otadari was integrated later, as indicated by the fact that they are the only ones who still maintain substantial ties with their original homeland.

Another point that seems to emerge from the material we collected is that the Dameli — like, as we shall see, the Palulo — refer the beginnings of their history to that same period of conflicts and turmoil that marks the dawn of Kalasha remembered history (Parkes 1991: 77-78; Alb. & Aug. Cacopardo 1992: 355-56) and ends with the establishment of Katur supremacy in southern Chitral. Official Chitral history about the formation of the Mehtar's state is itself unreliable, to the point that it is now being radically questioned (Holzwarth 1991). For the people of Chitral at any rate, whatever the historical truth, the history of the State is divided in three periods beginning with the Kalasha rulers, who were ousted by the Rais dinasty (or king), followed by the Katur family who reigned — through the British period — until the advent of Pakistan. When in Chitral history the sources mention the Rais or the earlier Kalasha rulers, the reference is to the early period of unrest when the muslim rulers of Chitral were gradually expanding their influence to bring under control the areas inhabited by the kafir Kalasha population.

Damel oral history adds some clues to our knowledge of this period. In the first place we have two new Kalasha kings, Shah Bumbur and Nagar Shah, of which the latter seems to play in the southern Kalasha areas a role equal to that of Bulasing or Raja Wai in the north. Furthermore, it confirms that the picture of the period is not one of stability. Local chiefs of different ethnic groups were still trying to emerge and impose themselves over their brethren and over neighbouring populations. Within the Kalasha population itself individual leaders were trying to affirm their authority. But the Kalasha were in time defeated by the newcomers with the help of the Mehtars. This puts in a somewhat new light early Kalasha history, where the princes of Chitral were considered the only agents of their defeat. If this was probably so for the communities on the right bank of the Kunar/Chitral, on the left bank of the river their defeat was not only due to the Chitral rulers but also to the pressure of other groups like the Dameli and the Palulo who had a vested interest in a defeat of the Kalasha that would allow them to freely expand at their expense in what was once their undisputed territory.

The Dameli, we have seen, in spite of their alliance with the muslim rulers, quite likely remained unconverted until fairly recent times, that is, the middle of last century. It would have been of great interest of course to learn something about their pre-Islamic religion. But unfortunately among the questions we posed in our investigation, this is the one that remained completely unanswered. The important indication that emerges from our data is that these immigrants may have been the bearers of a pre-Islamic religion of the Dardo-Nuristani type somewhat more influenced by Hinduistic elements than the ones known at present and may, therefore, have been one vehicle of Hindu influence on both the Kalasha and the Nuristani (14).

One final question that, we believe, deserves an answer is whether the Dameli can be considered a fifth Nuristani tribe. Our Kalasha informants seemed indeed to consider them as such, mainly because of a feature that does distinguish Damel from the rest of Chitral, i.e. the dress of the women which is the same as in Nuristan; but, on the other hand, those are the clothes commonly worn by the women of many tribes in Afghanistan. Too many elements, as we have seen, actually keep the Dameli apart from Nuristan. It is better to consider the Dameli as occupying an intermediate position between Dardic and Nuristani cultures, as their language, on the other hand, indicates. However, as we have seen, the original inhabitants of Damel — i.e. the ancestors of the Charashdari — may have been a fifth Nuristani group (or a sixth one if we include the little known Tregami).

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(14) The question of relations between Hinduism and the Kafir world has been discussed among others by Allen (1991), Fussman (1977), Jettmar (1986: 130-47) and Klimburg (1976). In our opinion the matter is still open for discussion.

Whatever the truth about their distant origins, at any rate, it is important to emphasize that, despite internal conflicts, the Dameli people of today consider themselves a single community, unified by a common language, common customs and common interests which they are ready to defend together. Patrilineal descent from this or that ancestor, in this light, becomes secondary as compared to the feeling of common identity that unites the inhabitants of the whole valley. It is to this feeling of identity, which will hopefully be preserved by the coming generations, that we have tried to pay homage through our work.

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Borobudur: The Top Plan and the Upper Terraces

by JOHN M. LUNDQUIST

Introductory Remarks and Survey of the Literature

There is possibly no more famous or more widely illustrated image from Asian art than the top plan of Borobudur, the 8th-9th century A.D. Buddhist temple on the island of Java. The plan view of Borobudur has become the paradigm of the *maṇḍala*, and is frequently illustrated in books on Eastern religions without any particular reference to Borobudur, but rather simply as cover art. And yet, incredibly, after the hundreds of books and articles that have been published on the temple of Borobudur, there still remains one fundamental error, repeated in virtually every publication which includes illustrations of the building: the top plan is almost universally published in an inaccurate version that originated in the 19th century (Leemans 1873: pls. III-IV). Only recently, in two volumes that contain extensive photographs and plans, both published in 1990, has the top plan been published accurately for the first time in books intended for a wider audience (1).

The misconceptions that have existed concerning the top plan of Borobudur have to do with the three terraces at the top of the temple, those that carry the seventy-two open-work *stūpas*. The erroneous top plans show all three upper terraces as perfectly circular (Fig. 1). And in fact the majority of authors commenting on the temple and its religious significance refer to the 'circular terraces', and work this viewpoint into their interpretations of the ritual processes that might have taken place at Borobudur. As the aerial photographs in the two recently published books clearly show (and as direct overhead aerial photographs have always shown), the first two of the upper three terraces are elliptical, that is slightly squared or rounded off at the corners, while only the third is distinctly circular (Figs. 2-3).

Furthermore, when we incorporate the design motifs of the seventy-two *stūpas*

(*) I wish to thank Michael P. Lyon for a stimulating conversation that gave me the impetus that led to this essay, and Lisabeth Merritt for perceptive comments that improved the focus and style of the essay.

(1) Soekmono, De Casparis & Dumarçay 1990. The oblique aerial view is found on pp. 148-49, in a photograph by George Gerster, while the accurate top plan (by Jacques Dumarçay, first published in 1978) is found on the gatefold following p. 163. Miksic 1990: plan on p. 41. Jacques Dumarçay published the correct top plan in Dumarçay 1983: pl. 10. He also published the same plan in Dumarçay 1978: fig. 4, p. 17.

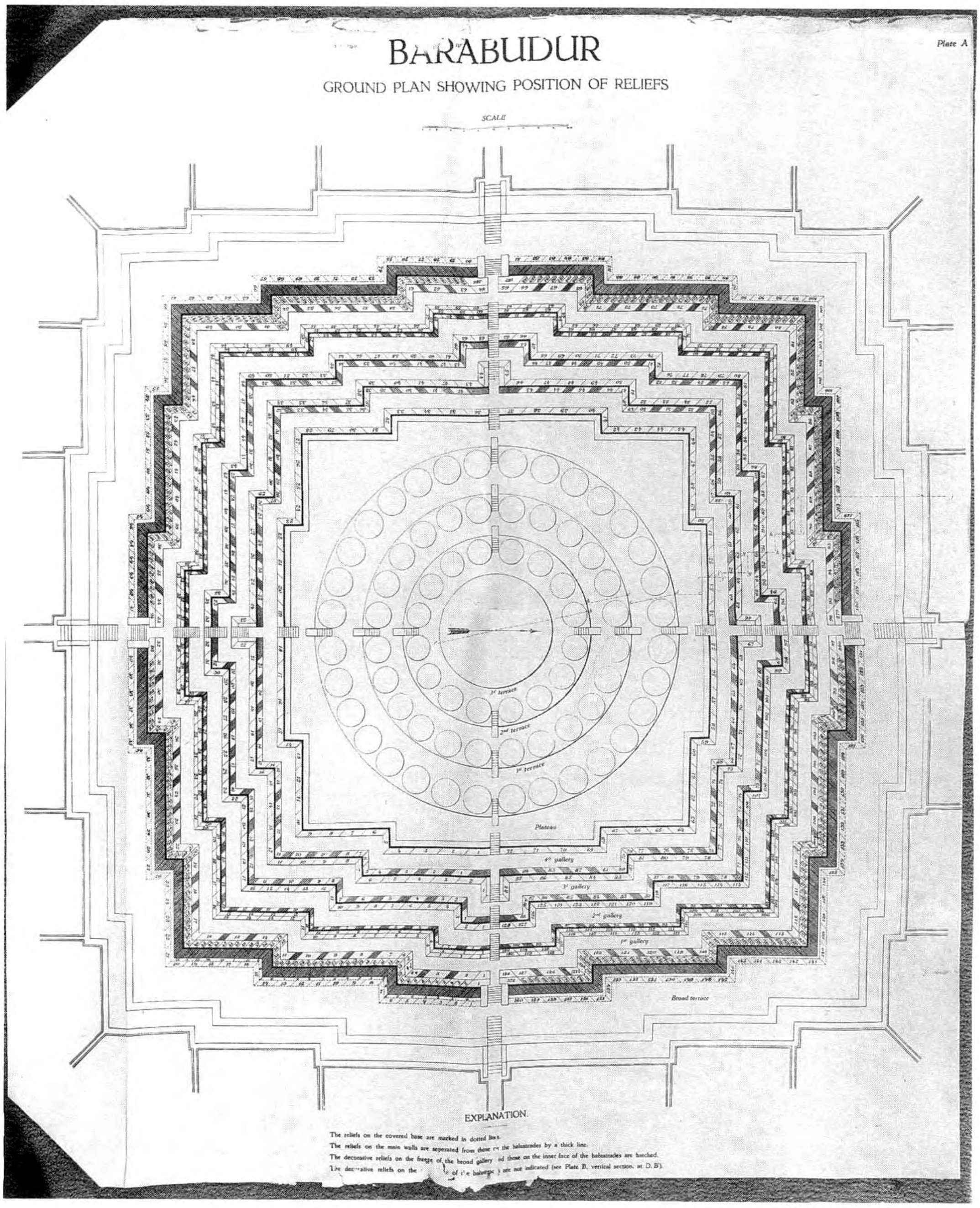
BARABUDUR
GROUND PLAN SHOWING POSITION OF RELIEFS
Plate A
SCALE
3rd terrace
2nd terrace
1st terrace
Plateau
4th gallery
3rd gallery
2nd gallery
1st gallery
Broad terrace
EXPLANATION.
The reliefs on the covered base are marked in dotted lines.
The reliefs on the main walls are seperated from those on the balustrades by a thick line.
The decorative reliefs on the freeze of the broad gallery and those on the inner face of the balustrades are hatched.
The decorative reliefs on the of the balustrades are not indicated (see Plate B, vertical section, at D. B').

Fig. 1 - Top Plan of Borobudur. (After Krom 1986).

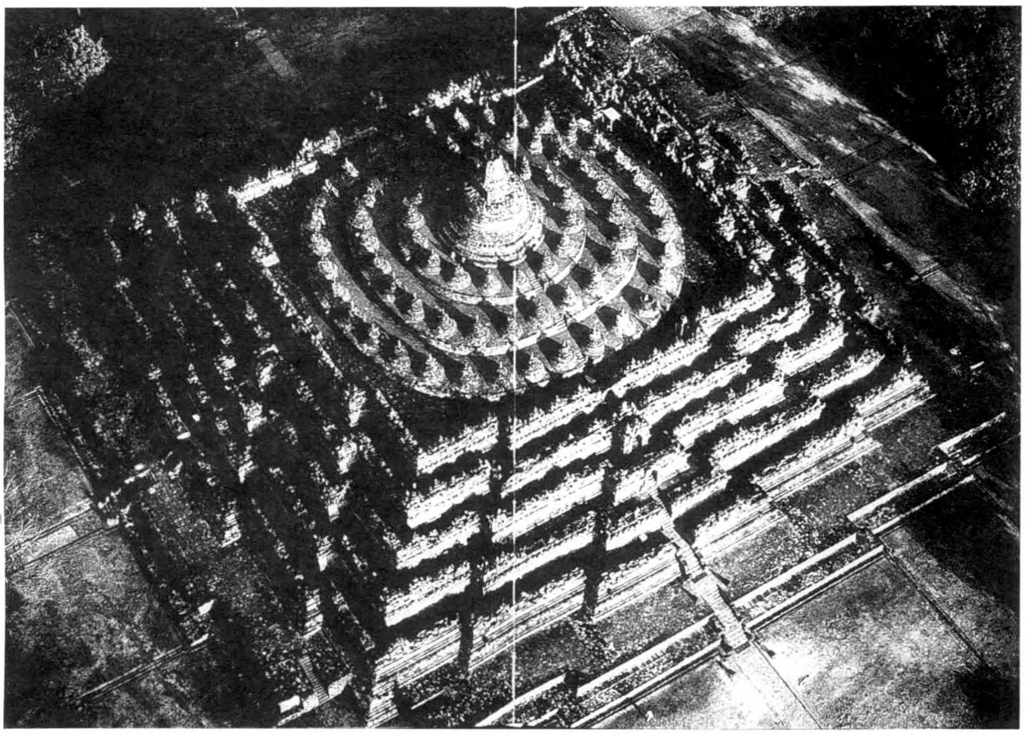

Fig. 2 - Aerial View of Borobudur. (After Soekmono, De Casparis & Dumarçay 1990: 148-49. Photo G. Gerster).

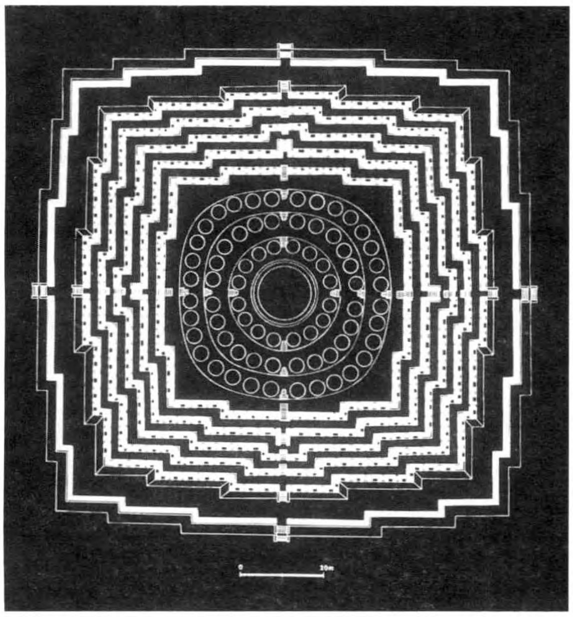

Fig. 3 - Top Plan of Borobudur. (After Soekmono, De Casparis & Dumarçay 1990: 167. Drawing by J. Dumarçay).

into our understanding of the shape of the three upper terraces, as well as the number of *stūpas* on each terrace, we must accept that these factors were all consciously included by the builders, and that our understanding of the ritual processes of the temple is correspondingly both changed and increased. The *stūpas* on the two elliptical terraces have diamond-shaped lattice work, and square *barmikās*, while the *stūpas* on the third, circular terrace have square lattice work and octagonal *barmikās*. As far as I am aware, there is not a single author who has taken all of these factors into account in his interpretation of the temple. In fact, some of the most recent learned studies of the Borobudur have included the erroneous top plan as a reference point for the study, while the authors refer to the 'circular terraces', and give no attention to the differences in design of the *stūpas*, nor attempt to correlate all of this information as part of their interpretation. In one recent study by Adrian Snodgrass, the author includes on the same page two aerial views of the temple, one of them oblique the other directly overhead (this latter clearly shows the elliptical shape of the first two terraces), along with the usual erroneous artist's top plan (Snodgrass 1985: 142) (Fig. 4). In the excellent 1981 study edited by Luis O. Gomez and Hiram W. Woodward, Jr, the authors illustrate the inaccurate top plan on p. xvii. Several essay writers in this volume refer to the 'circular terraces'.

In his fascinating imaginary reconstruction of an ancient ritual journey through the temple's galleries, Alex Wayman brings the initiates up to the level of the 'three circles surrounding the central *stūpa*', where they can see 'seventy-two smaller *stūpas*, all with the sameness of ensouled stars [...]'. As to the question 'why the seventy-two smaller stupas are ranged in three circles, the guide continues: There are three mysteries of the Buddha — Body, Speech, and Mind' (Wayman 1981: 156-57).

In the most recent, exhaustive study of the *Stūpa*, Kottkamp actually refers in several footnotes to the *Borobudur, Prayer in Stone* volume, but reproduces the erroneous, circular top plan of Borobudur. He also refers to 'circular' terraces (2).

While there are no scholars who incorporate the actual shape of the three upper terraces into their interpretations of Borobudur, there are several who note the differing design motifs on the *stūpas* themselves. Thus N.J. Krom (1986, vol. 2: 150), Lokesh Chandra (1980: 311), and John Miksic (3). But none of these develops the full implications of the design differences as part of the ritual program, nor does any of them relate the *stūpa* designs to the shape of the three terraces, or the number of *stūpas* on each terrace. Lokesh Chandra gives a very brief suggestion as to the significance of the designs on the *stūpas* of the 'circular platforms', relating them to the presence of geometric motifs in paintings from Khotan, and to Khotanese Buddhist texts which state that 'transformations of the Buddha exist sometimes in the form of Mount Sumeru,

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(2) Kottkamp 1992: For the top plan, see p. 649. For one of many references to circular terraces, see p. 365.

(3) Miksic 1990: 55. On this same page, Miksic, who reproduced the correct top plan on p. 41 of the same volume, refers to the 'round terraces'.

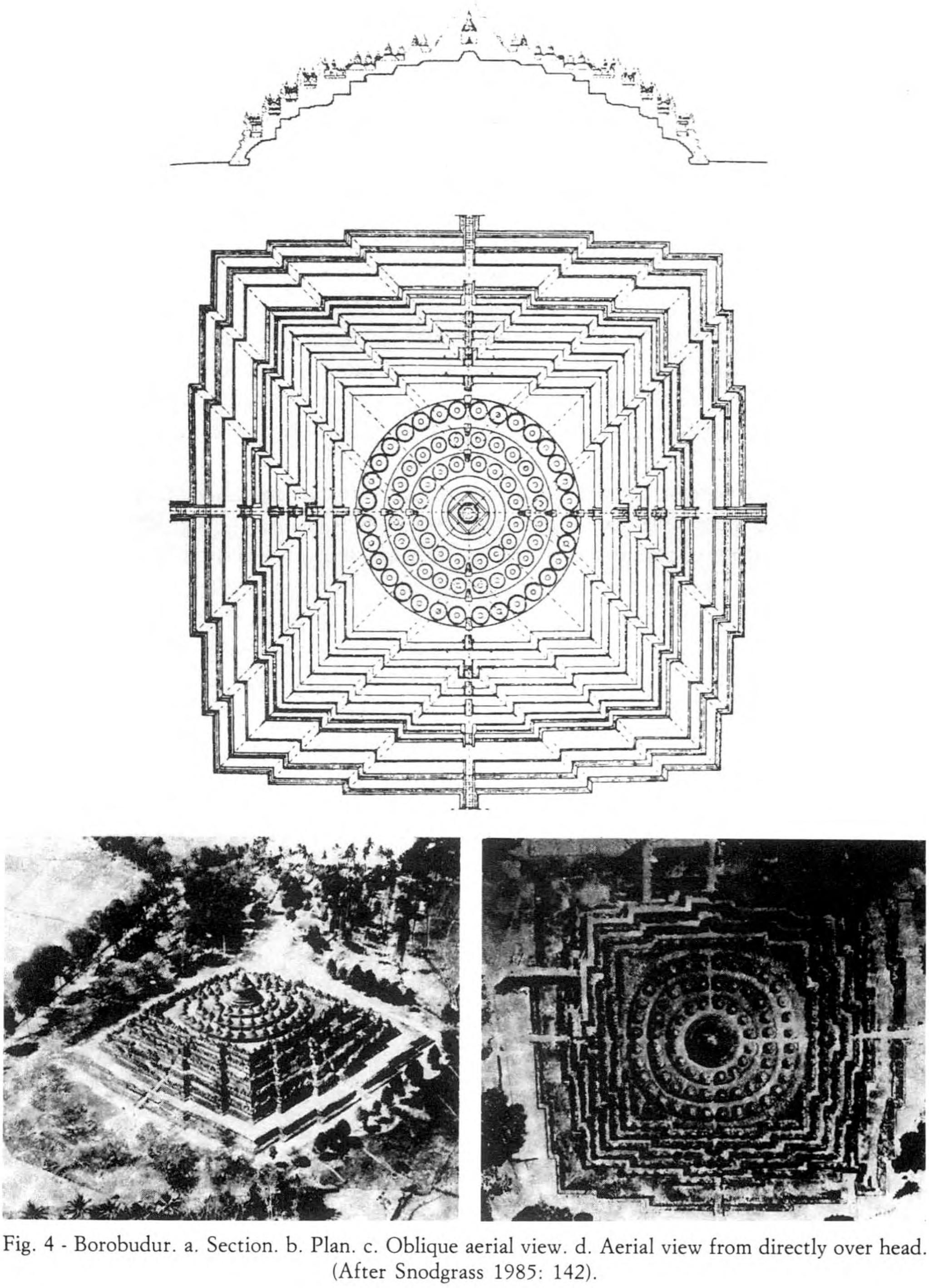

Fig. 4 - Borobudur. a. Section. b. Plan. c. Oblique aerial view. d. Aerial view from directly over head. (After Snodgrass 1985: 142).

[...] of circle-nets, [...] of all square things, [...] and of all sorts of ornamentation [...]'. This highly fruitful line of inquiry, which I will develop further below, was not taken any further by this scholar in his article mentioned here (Chandra 1980: 311-12). Miksic raises the questions concerning the non-circularity of the first two upper terraces, as well as concerning the varying shapes of the *stūpa* perforations and the *harmikās*, but he ends his questions on a negative note, concluding that the *Lotus Sūtra* does not help us answer such queries (Miksic 1990: 41).

Borobudur, Its Ritual, and the Upper Terraces

Borobudur is a magnificent temple of the Tantric (esoteric) Diamond Realm Maṇḍala (*Vajradhātu*) type, and has its closest architectural equivalents in the Tibetan and Nepalese Ādibuddha (*Vajradhāra*) temples, such as Kumbum in Gyantse, Tibet. The temple represents the sacred mountain of the Hindu-Buddhist tradition, Mt Meru, and the ascent of the mountain/temple in a circumambulating fashion (*pradakṣiṇa*), takes the initiate through an elaborate process of learning the sacred doctrines by means of the reliefs carved into the square galleries of the first four levels (Tucci 1989: 169-70). There are four hundred thirty-two Buddhas arranged along the four sides of the lower balustrades, giving the appearance, from a distance, of *Siddhas* meditating deep within caves on the sides of the sacred mountain. As the initiate would reach the platform on which the elliptical and circular levels were raised, he would have reached the summit of Mt Meru, having left the world of appearances of the lower, gallery levels. His ultimate goal was the summit of Meru, represented at Borobudur by the central *stūpa*, the summit of Mt Meru and thus the center of the universe, within which it is thought that a statue of the primordial Ādibuddha was once placed. That level, formlessness and emptiness, must be reached, not all at once or directly by circumambulating three 'circular' galleries, but must consist in a gradual, transitional process of circumambulation and instruction. The gradualness and transitional nature of the ritual is reflected in the gradualness of the architecture: square, with insets and projections (the shape of the lower terraces), elliptical (the first two upper terraces), and circular.

There is throughout a gradual progression, circumambulating, moving to higher levels, moving inward toward the center or heart of the sacred mountain. Nowhere at Borobudur is there in the architecture a sudden or drastic jump from one architectural or sculptural or design program to another. Everything is achieved in subtle, gradual transitions. On conceptual grounds alone it does not make sense to consider the upper terraces as being architecturally homogeneous, or as representing a single, unified ritual process throughout.

It is important to recognize that the actual shape of the upper terraces, and of the design features on the *stūpas* that stand on these terraces, is crucial to a full understanding of the reasons why the temple was built in this way. This understanding also extends our comprehension of the ritual processes that took place there. To ignore the shape of the terraces, the design features of the *stūpas*, and the number of *stūpas* on each terrace, along with other important details, and to fail to integrate the combination of these details into our understanding, is to gloss over with generalities details in the building and in the ritual that must have had exceptional importance to those for whom Borobudur was a living spiritual edifice.

Alex Wayman has established the theoretical basis for understanding the architecture of Borobudur within the Tibetan Tantric scriptural and pictorial tradition. Central to this are various Tantric texts from the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, translated by him in his article 'Symbolism of the Maṇḍala Palace'. The same article contains an illustration of a Mt Meru Temple Banner, which can also be used to further our understanding of Borobudur (Wayman 1973: 82-109). Our understanding of the texts translated by Wayman can be supplemented by materials translated by Lessing and Wayman in *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (1968), and Mt Meru Temple paintings in the Yung-Ho-Kung Tibetan Temple in Beijing, illustrated with commentary by F.D. Lessing (1942, vol. 1: 101-13, pls. XXIII-XXIV).

The Mt Meru Temple Banner (Wayman 1973: 104, pl. 9) (Fig. 5), shows a pyramidal base constructed of five square platforms. This base is meant to represent Mt Meru. At its summit one can see a three-tiered palace in the shape of a Chinese pagoda. The section of the *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* that corresponds to the palace section of the banner, gives instructions for its generation following the generation of Mt Meru: 'Above it, he is to imagine a canopy [appearing] in an instant. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace *stūpas* of the varieties "victorious" and "radiant"'. So here we have the rationale for the building of Borobudur: a pyramidal base representing Mt Meru, with a round, three-tiered *stūpa*-like palace at its summit, resting in the clouds (Chandra 1980: 310-11; Wayman 1973: 175-77). The palace in the painting in the Yung-Ho-Kung is called the 'palace of Indra' (Lessing 1942: 101). Other Tibetan texts stipulate the palace of the primordial Buddha, the Ādibuddha, as sitting atop Mt Meru. Indeed, it was from the top of Mt Meru that the Ādibuddha went to proclaim the Yoga Tantras, before appearing in the world of humankind as the Buddha Śākyamuni. Thus also the Diamond-Realm or *Vajradhātu* Maṇḍalas show the Ādibuddha seated in the midst of the circular palace atop Mt Meru (Lessing 1942: 111-13; Chandra 1980: 310-11). As part of the palace, various kinds of *stūpas* may be constructed. And this brings us to a more detailed discussion of the upper terraces.

Analysis of the Upper Terraces and Their Ritual

By virtue of their shape, the three upper terraces must break down into three groups, the first two, elliptical terraces (which represent two distinct groups within themselves), and the third, circular one. The first elliptical terrace contains thirty-two *stūpas*, the second twenty-four. The Buddhas that can be seen through the lattice work of these *stūpas* all sit in the posture of *dharmacakra* (Fig. 6), the *mudrā* of turning the wheel of the law, or, in the opinion of some scholars, in the *mudrā* of *bodhyaṅgi*, the member of enlightenment. The *aṇḍa* of each *stūpa* on these two levels has diamond-shaped lattice work, with square *harmikās* (Fig. 7). The third terrace, which is perfectly circular, has sixteen *stūpas*, in this case with square lattice work in the *aṇḍa*, and with octagonal *harmikās* (Fig. 8). The Buddhas seated inside these *stūpas* have the same *mudrā*.

The many symbols of Buddhist Tantric teaching involved in these terraces are breath-taking in their quantity, variety, subtlety and sheer teaching power. The first symbolism that strikes one here is the number symbolism of the *stūpas* themselves, namely the series thirty-two, twenty-four, and sixteen, and the total, seventy-two. First of all, with respect to the overall number of *stūpas*, seventy-two. Alex Wayman has convincingly related this number to a doubling of the number of deities in a *Vajradhātu* Maṇḍala, thirty-six, relating this to a verse from a Tantra preserved in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka: 'Like the wheel of the law, it has sixteen spokes along with a nave. It is possessed of a triple series, and the spokes are to be doubled' (Wayman 1973: 93).

Furthermore, Borobudur sits very close to the equator, such that on a clear night 'the zodiacal stars north and south of the ecliptic would be viewed with equal clarity'. As also pointed out by Wayman, within the ancient astrological series of thirty-six decanates, the number seventy-two would refer to the thirty-six star groups north and south of the equator. Thus the upper terraces of Borobudur would have been constructed to represent a cosmological scheme, with the primary ritual occurring under the starry night-time sky, and indeed it is common within Buddhist meditational practices for devotees to remain awake into the night, and for rituals to take place at that time (Wayman 1981: 153-54 and fn. 60, 61).

The seventy-two *stūpas* oriented in this way also further underline the symbolism of Borobudur as a heavenly temple, with the 'palace of Indra' on its top, the upper terraces actually situated within the starry sky, above Mt Meru, as the Mt Meru Temple Banner indicates.

The Tantra quoted above from the Tibetan Tripiṭaka included the phrase 'Like the wheel of the law, it has sixteen spokes along with a nave. It [i.e. the *maṇḍala*] is possessed of a triple series'. The center point of the upper terraces was the innermost one, the only one that is actually circular. And at the center of this terrace stood the innermost *stūpa*, within which would have sat the statue of the Ādibuddha, completely out of sight. The circular terrace is the one that had 'sixteen spokes', that is sixteen *stūpas*. This innermost circle would have brought to the mind of the initiate the Sixteen Aspects of the Four Noble Truths. But it [i.e. the *maṇḍala*] is also a 'triple series', that is, there are three terraces in the *maṇḍala* palace of the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven, the place where 'Gautama was initiated as a Complete Buddha [...]'. Within the Mahāyāna tradition, which Borobudur certainly represents, some initiates, at least, must have come with the idea of being able to reach into the 'pure abodes'

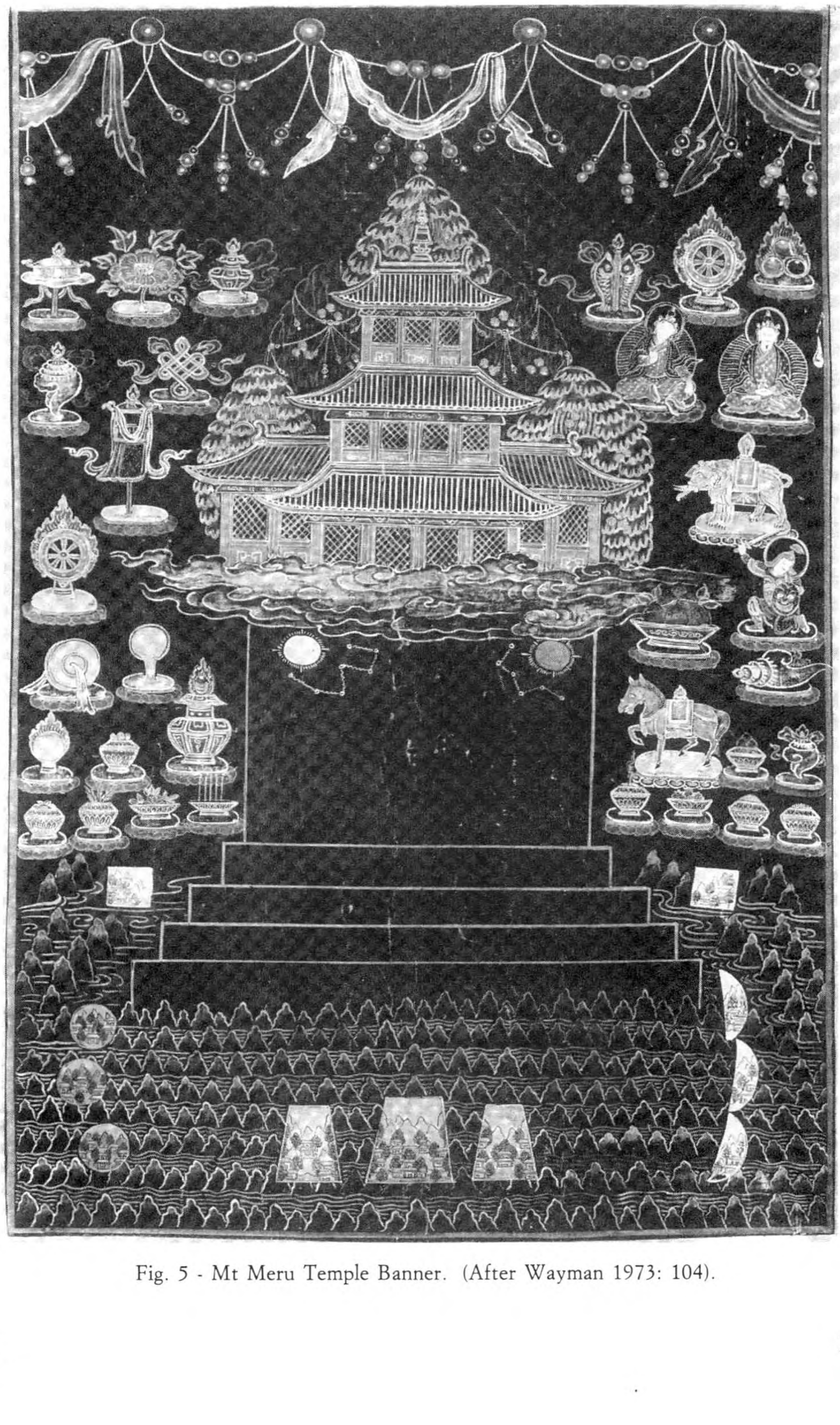

Fig. 5 - Mt Meru Temple Banner. (After Wayman 1973: 104).

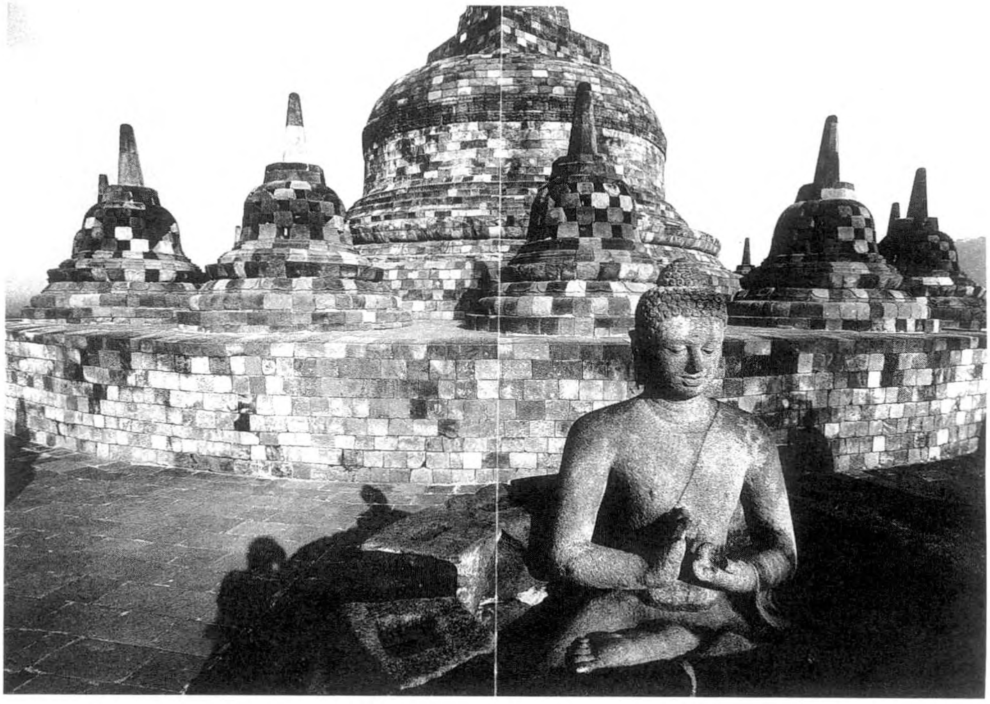

Fig. 6 - The Third Upper Terrace and the Inner Stupa, Borobudur Temple, Java, Indonesia. (After Soekmono, De Casparis & Dumerçay 1990: 104-5. Photo R. Burri).

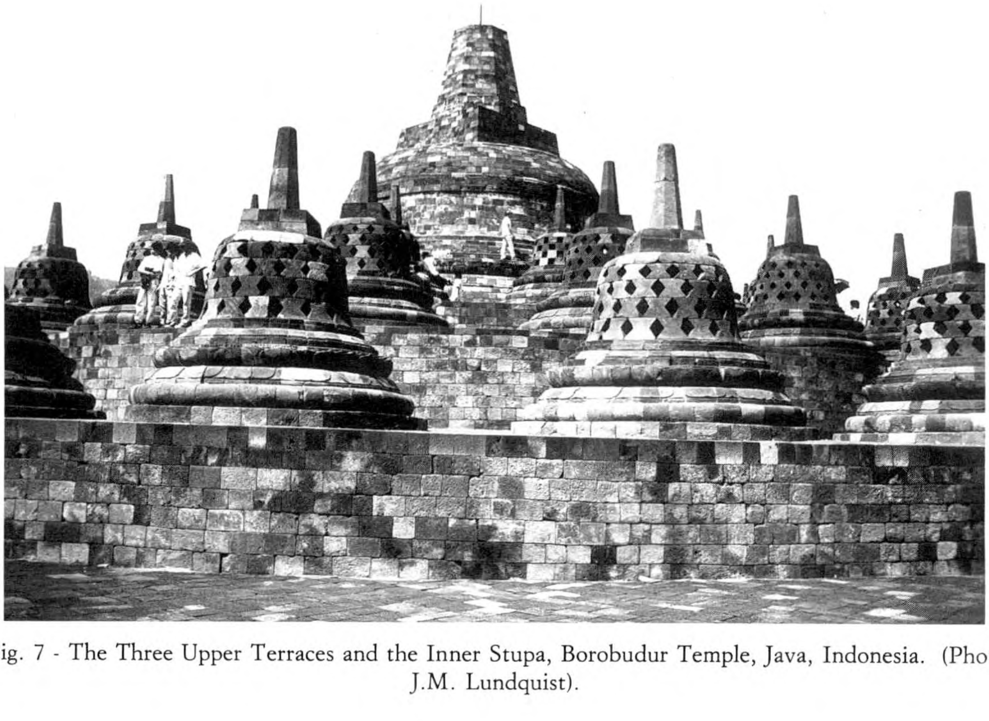

Fig. 7 - The Three Upper Terraces and the Inner Stupa, Borobudur Temple, Java, Indonesia. (Photo J.M. Lundquist).

where the ultimate stage of a Bodhisattva could be attained (Wayman 1973: 91-92). As Wayman stated, 'The "center" is taken as a round palace which is the symbol standing for the *dharmadhātu*' (*ibid.*: 95).

As we move inward from the outer, elliptical terrace, with its thirty-two *stūpas*, we move in a decreasing series of eight, rising in height with each new terrace, to the twenty-four *stūpas* of the middle, elliptical terrace, and to the inner, circular terrace, with its sixteen *stūpas*. Taken together, these three series, moving from the outer to the inner, constitute the Body, Speech and Mind of the Buddha. The progression of the *stūpas* in the series of eight naturally brings to the mind of the initiate many things: the Eight-Fold Noble Path, the Eight Auspicious Symbols, the Eight Liberations.

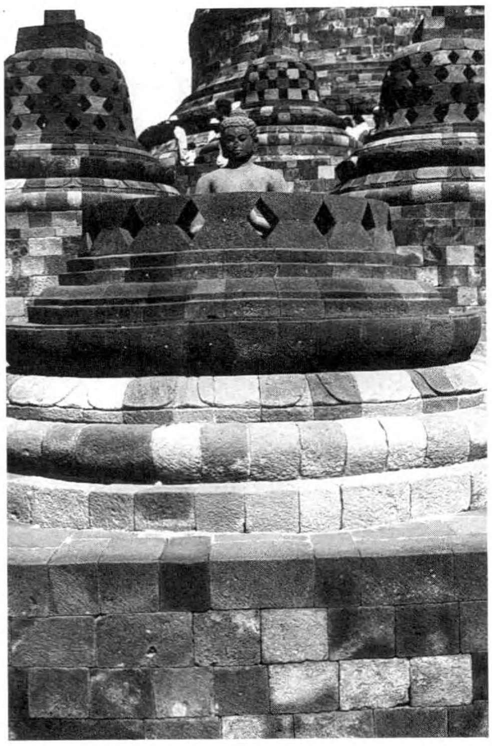
Fig. 8 - The Three Upper Terraces, Borobudur Temple, Java, Indonesia. (Photo J.M. Lundquist).

Another central symbolism of these terraces is the Wheel of the Law, with its twelve interdependent links in the chain of causation. The Wheel of the Law has been set in motion, based on the Buddha's first sermon at Benares. According to the Mahāyāna tradition, the Buddha preached his first sermon on Mt Meru, thus the symbolism of the Borobudur terraces would correlate with such a tradition: the Buddhas sitting in the *stūpas* can all be interpreted to be in the *mudrā Dharmacakra*, turning of the Wheel of the Law, and the *stūpas* were constructed with a symbolism that relied strongly on the first sermon (Miksic 1990: 53). In the commentary of the Tibetan saint, Buddhaguhya, to the Tantra quoted at length by Wayman (1973: 96), he writes:

> The *dharmadhātu* is primordially pure; the nave is a symbol showing that. The spokes are a symbol of the perfection of compassion with skill in the means; and *dharma* is the realm exhibited at the nave.

At Borobudur, the primordial perfection was to be found at the center, in the central *stūpa*, where the statue of the Ādibuddha sat. The Ādibuddha was the primordial Buddha, the primal, non-dual essence, the source of universal mind, from which everything emanated, from which the physical universe originated (Lundquist 1993: 18; Olschak 1987: 188-96). 'The nave is a symbol showing that'.

In the same text (Wayman 1973: 96) Buddhaguhya said:

> In order to take it that way, the garland of jewels which shows knowledge surrounds the circle.

Putting all of this together within the framework of an initiation ritual which has brought the initiate to the three upper terraces, I take it to mean that when the initiate has reached the two elliptical terraces, those which are not perfectly circular and therefore are not yet the primordial purity of *dharmadhātu*, that the initiate is, as it were, circumambulating or reprising the Wheel of the Law. The second terrace actually has twenty-four *stūpas*, the doubling of which from twelve may correspond directly to the twelve interdependent links, perhaps through a kind of reduplication based on emphasis. The rhythmical circumambulation, from thirty-two, to twenty-four, to sixteen *stūpas*, rising in height at each new terrace, may even have built up a tension in the initiate, as the perfection of the center drew ever closer. As he reached the inner, circular terrace, with its sixteen *stūpas*, he had passed beyond the limitations of the Wheel of the Law and, by internalizing the principles of the Eight-Fold Noble Path, represented ritually through the series of eights mentioned above, he reached the circle of the Sixteen Aspects of the Four Noble Truths. Here as well, according to Buddhaguhya, the initiate would call to mind the sixteen *sattvas*, whose perfection of compassion is represented by the sixteen spokes of the wheel.

With the initial promulgation of the Law by the Buddha, the Wheel of the Law was set into motion. When one had overcome the effects of the twelve interdependent links in the chain of causation one had reached the center, where 'the spokes are a symbol of the perfection of compassion with skill in the means and *dharma* is exhibited at the nave' (Wayman 1973: 96). At that point in the ritual where the initiate circumambulated the circular terrace, the initiate achieved the status of one of the *sattvas*.

This leaves one very important aspect of the upper terraces, and their roles in the initiation ritual carried out there. I am referring to the design motifs of the *stūpas* themselves. I have attempted to differentiate the three terraces based on their shape and on the numbers of *stūpas* on each terrace. The *stūpas* on the two elliptical terraces have diamond-shaped lattice work on their *aṇḍas*, and square *harmikās*. The *stūpas* on the circular terrace have square lattice work on the *aṇḍa* and octagonal *harmikās*. Furthermore, the spires on top of each *stūpa* are all, as far as I can determine, octagonal.

It has generally been thought that the *stūpas* of the three terraces are 'unique in Buddhist architecture' (Soekmono, De Casparis & Dumarçay 1990: 155). There certainly is no obvious parallel to them among the huge numbers of *stūpas* that are known from the Buddhist world. But there is a parallel, one that I think goes far towards solving many, but certainly not all, of the unresolved issues in the purpose and function of Borobudur. We have been introduced above (Lessing & Wayman 1968) to the ritual from *Mkhas Grub Rje's* Tantra to the ritual for the generation of the *maṇḍala* palace above Mt Meru, and for the generation of the deities that will reside in it. There we are introduced to the phrase:

> Above it, he is to imagine a canopy [appearing] in an instant. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace *stūpas* of the varieties 'victorious' and 'radiant' (*ibid.*: 175).

Thus there are various types of *stūpas*, two of which are named in this text.

The Auspicious Stūpa *of Many Doors*

According to Tibetan texts relating to the purposes and architecture behind *stūpa* construction, translated by Giuseppe Tucci, there are traditions that there were eight classic *stūpas* built in the earliest period of Buddhism, each one of which was based on one of the great founding events of Buddhism, with corresponding architecture and symbolism. Furthermore, in his great work on the *stūpa*, Tucci gathered together dozens of *tsha-tsha*, mold-made clay plaques or figurines which frequently show images of various types of *stūpas*. These objects, which probably originated at the eight most sacred sites of Buddhism, were then brought to Tibet by pilgrims, where they have been found. Of the many *stūpa* types mentioned in the texts, and pictured on the *tsha-tsha*, one type stands out as representing, in my opinion, the *stūpa* type that was intended for the upper terraces of Borobudur by the builders. This type is the *bkra-sis sgo-man mchod-rten*, the 'auspicious *stūpa* of many doors'. Two of those illustrated by Tucci give an especially clear conception of the appearance of this type of *stūpa* (Tucci 1988: pls. X, XI*a*) (Figs. 9-10).

The Tibetan texts translated by Tucci associate the 'auspicious *stūpa* of many doors' with the third most important event within Buddhism, the first preaching at Benares. One of the texts (Tucci 1988: 127-28; see also p. 126, and pp. 21-24) states:

> The third was erected in Benares by the five Bhadravargiyas and is called 'the auspicious stupa of many doors'. It is known that it was founded at the time of the first sermon: it is square and has 108 doors in relief as maximum number, fifty six as medium number and sixteen as minimum number. Furthermore, if there are four doors for each side, they represent the four truths, if they are eight the eight liberations, if they are twelve the twelve causal links, if sixteen the sixteen gradations of the void.

We thus see that there was a *stūpa* type characterized by 'many doors', that this type represented the first sermon, and that the number of doors carried with it a specific

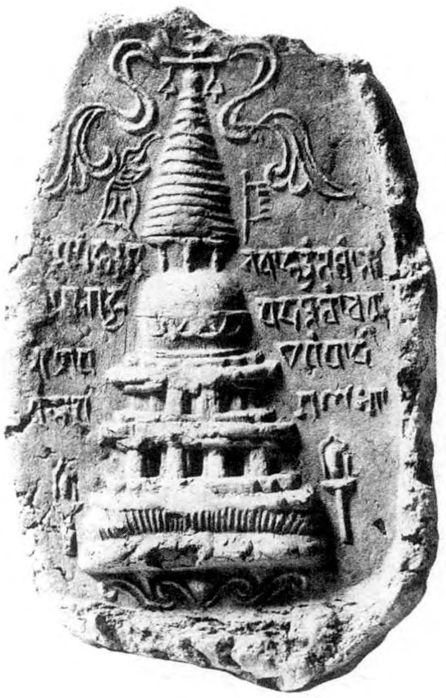

Fig. 9 - *Tsha-Tsha.* (After Tucci 1988: table X).

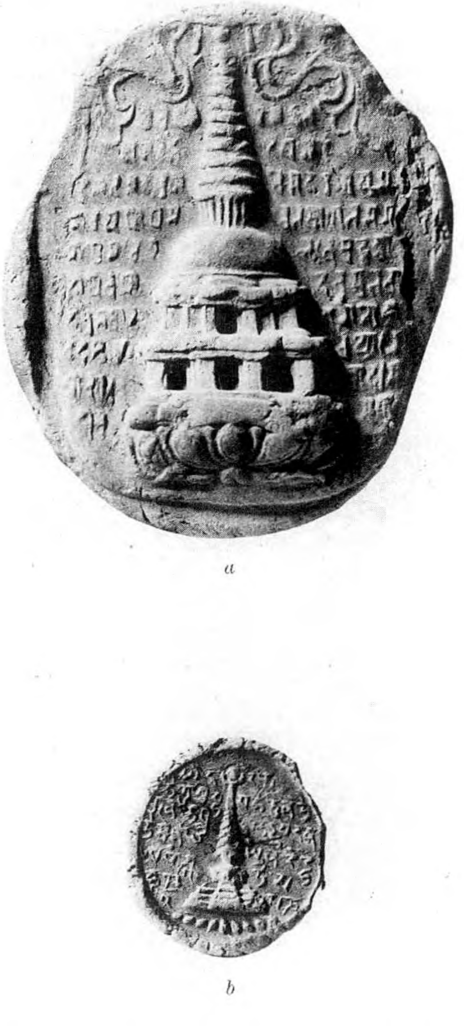

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Fig. 10 - *Tsha-Tsha.* (After Tucci 1988: table XI).

symbolism of the Buddhist doctrine. It seems possible to me that the *stūpas* on the upper terraces at Borobudur were intended to be 'auspicious *stūpas* of many doors'. This means that an understanding of the symbolism of Borobudur and its ritual will be lacking if the exact *stūpa* type of the terraces is not taken into account (insofar as this can be known — I am proposing that this issue is now solved), and also if the number of 'doors' that is, in the case of Borobudur the lattice-work, are not counted. Since the *stūpas* on Borobudur are miniature, of a larger scale to be sure than those on the *tsha-tsha* figurines, but still miniature, there seems to be no objection to seeing the lattice-work in this way. This would also solve the controversy of identifying the *mudrā* of the seated Buddhas: Since the *stūpa* type is that of the first sermon, the *mudrā* has been correctly identified as *Dharmacakra*.

Borobudur has been widely compared to the Tibetan and Nepalese Ādibuddha *stūpas*, which were also constructed on the basis of the Diamond-Realm or *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. What as not been generally understood — in fact Tucci is the only scholar I am aware of who has called attention to this fact — is that the most famous of the Ādibuddha temples, Kumbum in Gyantse, Tibet is a *bkra-sis sgo-man mchod-rted*, 'lucky *stūpa* of many doors' (Tucci 1989: 172; see now Ricca & Lo Bue 1993). The parallels between the architecture, symbolism and ritual of Kumbum and Borobudur have been drawn by Lama Anagarika Govinda (1976: 63-70). The same author also published two photographs of the Kumbum (*ibid*.: frontispiece and facing p. 35) and this allows one to see, particularly from the frontispiece photograph, the 'many doors' of Kumbum. (The photographs reproduced here are my own — Figs. 11-12). Since, at Kumbum, the upper portions of the building are covered with a dome and a campana, the architectural similarities of the two temples are not as obvious. Floor plans of the two reveal the close similarities more directly (4) (Fig. 13 = Kumbum. For Borobudur, see Fig. 3). In fact, based on the floor plan published by Tucci, what comes across most vividly from these comparisons is that the *stūpas* on the upper terraces at Borobudur are miniature 'auspicious *stūpas* of many doors', and that they are in fact typologically miniature versions, albeit with many unique design features which are doubtless rooted in Javanese soil, of the temple-type that we see at Kumbum. Furthermore, based on Tucci's sketch plan, the Dome, that level just below the highest level, called the Campana by Tucci, is not perfectly round, but is rather, oblong. The Campana, where the statue of the supreme deity of the temple, Vajradhāra sits in a darkened cell, is circular (Tucci 1989: 169, fig. A, 297-300; Ricca & Lo Bue 1993: 307, 313). From the point of view of the plans therefore, Borobudur and Kumbum are virtually identical.

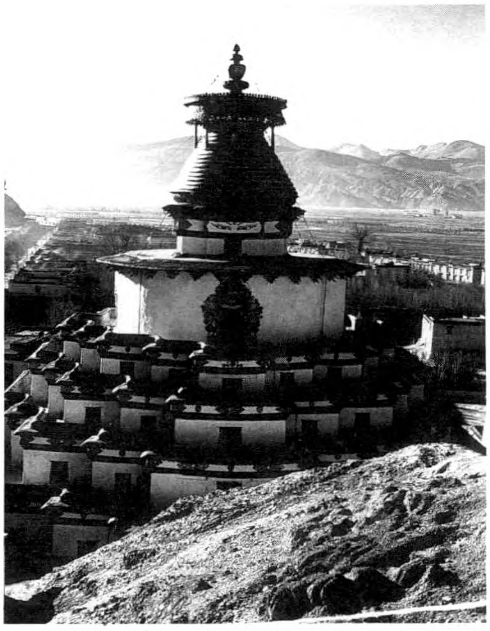
Fig. 11 - Kumbum Temple, Gyantse, Tibet. (Photo J.M. Lundquist).

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(4) A consolidated top plan of the Kumbum can be seen in Tucci 1989: 169. And see Ricca & Lo Bue 1993: 224, 246, 263, 288, 301, 306-7, 313.

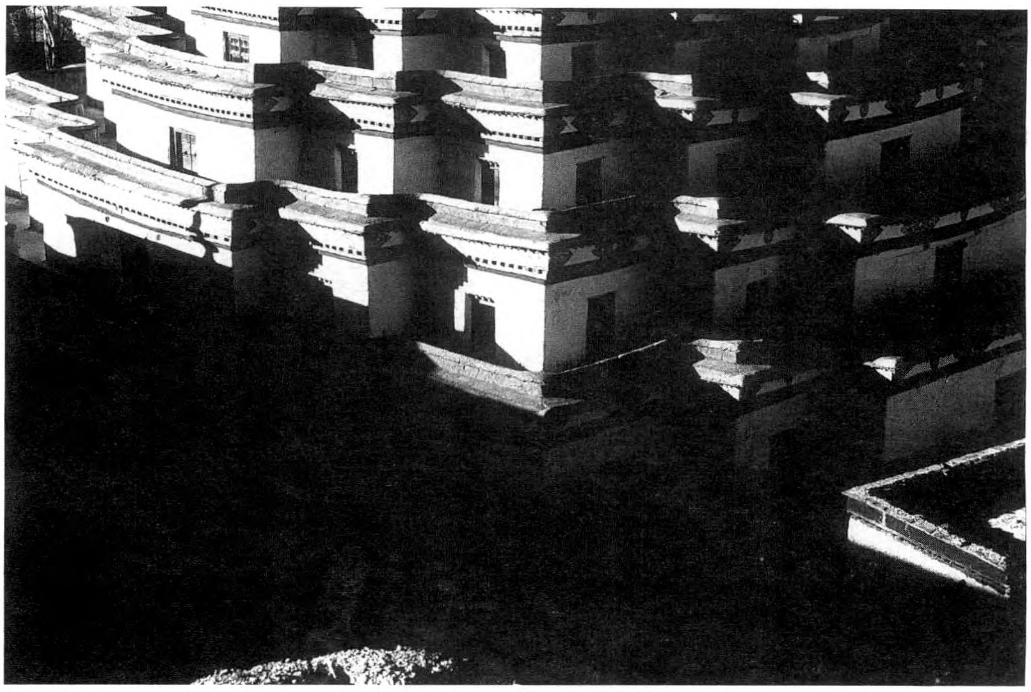

Fig. 12 - Kumbum Temple, Gyantse, Tibet. (Photo J.M. Lundquist).

As nearly as it is possible for me to determine, the numbers of lattice-work diamonds and squares on the *stūpas* of the upper terraces are the following: For all of the *stūpas* on the two elliptical terraces: sixty four diamond-shaped openings each (Fig. 14). For the sixteen *stūpas* on the uppermost, circular level: forty square openings each (5) (see Figs. 6-7). Each *stūpa* rises out of a lotus blossom. In addition, the spires on each of the *stūpas* of the upper terraces have a hollow center, and were constructed in two pieces, with the top half fitting over the bottom half (Soekmono, De Casparis & Dumarçay 1990: 154) (Fig. 15).

The rhythmical diminution in the number of *stūpas*, from thirty-two, to twenty-four, to sixteen, was pointed out above. Here we see the number eight, so central to Buddhist teachings, at work in the diminution series, and in the arithmetic of the series: 4 × 8; 3 × 8; 2 × 8. The octagonal spires similarly emphasize and reinforce the doctrinal value of the number eight. Additionally, the width and height of each terrace, and the height of the *stūpas* illustrate the same rhythmical sequence: the first terrace is 6.40 m wide, the second 5.80 m wide, and the third 5.40 m wide. The first terrace

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(5) For a photograph of the three terraces, and a view of the topmost *stūpa*, Lundquist 1993: 82.

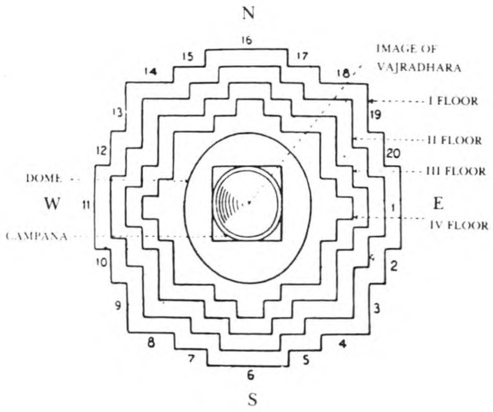
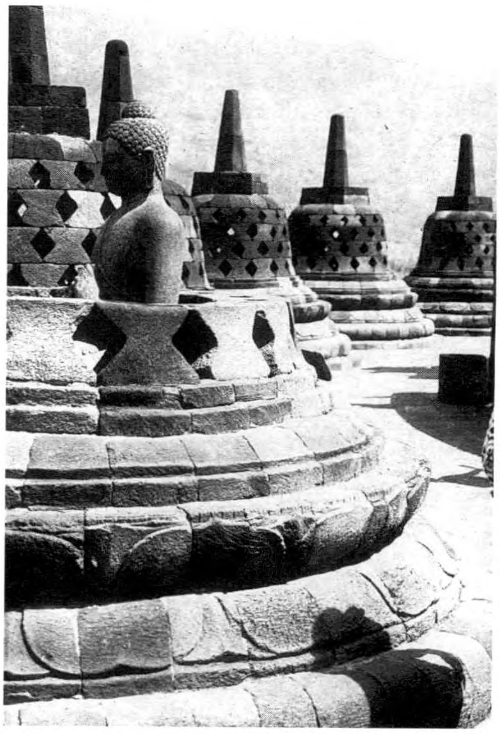


Fig. 13 - Top Plan of the Kumbum Temple, Gyantse, Tibet. (After Tucci 1989: 169).



Figs. 14-15 - Second Upper Terrace, Borobudur Temple, Java, Indonesia. (Photos J.M. Lundquist).

is 1.90 m high, the second 1.80 m high, and the third 1.70 m high. The *stūpas* of the first terrace are 1.90 m high, those of the second 1.80, and those of the third 1.70 m high (Krom & Van Erp 1931: 220-21). Finally, the numbers of lattice-work openings in each *stūpa* — sixty-four in the *stūpas* of the first two terraces, forty in those of the upper terraces — if my estimates are correct — must also be taken into account. These numbers are all divisible by eight.

The Ritual Process at Borobudur — A Summary

It is now possible to attempt to summarize the ritual process that initiates at Borobudur would have experienced on the upper terraces. The initiate would have mounted the stairs from the fourth level on the East side, and would have found himself at the East door of the Maṇḍala Palace of *Vajradhātu*. The guide would have been a guru, an initiated master. In all probability the ritual would have taken place during the night at the Solstice. If the *stūpas* were gilded, as some authors believe was the case, the effect would have been incandescent.

The guide would have led the initiates in circumambulating each terrace, pointing out all of the features that were included in the construction of the temple.

It will be valuable here to quote at greater length some of the relevant Tantric texts translated by Wayman. These texts doubtless give a vivid idea of how the teaching and initiation might actually have proceeded, and what instructions would have been given, although it is obviously not possible to fully know the content of the ritual.

First, a text that gives the underlying rationale for the architecture of the *maṇḍala*, and of the diamond symbolism.

> One should contemplate as below, a spot of earth made of diamond; across, a diamond enclosure; above, a tent; in the middle, a dreadful burning ground. In the midst of that, one sees a palace with a single courtyard and made entirely of jewels — with four corners, four gates, decorated with four arches, having four altars, and radiant with nets and so on, and with nymphs.
>
> [And another text (Wayman 1973: 82-83):] Surrounded by a diamond line, beautified with eight posts, decorated with four gates, arches, altars, banners and half-banners, and so on.

The Tantric texts that deal with the 'Symbolism of the Maṇḍala Palace' (the title of Wayman's article from which I am quoting) enumerate the many themes of the teachings that were represented in the architecture of the temple. Number symbolism in relationship to the architecture plays a major role in these texts (Wayman 1973: 83-84):

> Where the *maṇḍala* is explained is the sublime *maṇḍala*. The palace is knowledge, erection of an edifice of consciousness.
>
> The four outer corners establish equality of measure. The mind of maitri, etc. is explained as the four lines.
>
> The recollection of praxis of *dharma* is explained as the diamond line. The liberation from all views is explained as the knowledge line.
>
> The four liberations are the gates. The four right elimination-exertions are the arches and involve posts.
>
> The four stations of mindfulness are understood as the four courtyards. The four bases of magical power are the four gate projections.
>
> The seven ancillaries of enlightenment are the adornment with garlands and flower bundles. The eightfold Noble Path is explained as the eight posts.

There is a constant, repetitive, alternating symbolism at work in the initiation ritual — the many numerical sequences are reinforced architecturally and are constantly contrasted, alternated, interchanged: 4 × 8; 3 × 8; 2 × 8; the octagonal spires; the diamond (*vajra*)-shaped open-work on the *stūpas* of the first two terraces transformed into the square open-work on the third terrace, while the *barmikās* on the third terrace become octagonal. The spires are octagonal throughout. But everywhere in the open-work series there is the divisibility by eight and four: note particularly the forty square lattice-work openings on each *stūpa* of the third terrace (see the passage quoted from Wayman 1973: 82-83).

The 'Cosmic Vairocana' from Balawaste

There is one additional feature that needs to be discussed, that is probably of great importance in understanding the ritual processes of Borobudur. In his article of 1980, Lokesh Chandra quoted from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, which refers to the earliest tradition of the iconography of the Vairocana Buddha in Central Asian Khotan. It is stated that 'The transformations of the Buddha exist sometimes in the form of Mt Sumeru, of rivers, of whirl-winds, of whirl-pools, of circle-nets, of earth altars, of forests, of towers, of mountain peaks, of all square things, of wombs, of lotuses, of gold, of the bodies of all sentient beings, of clouds, of the thirty-two major and eighty minor signs, of a radiant halo, of pearl nets, of gate panels, and of all sorts of ornamentations'.

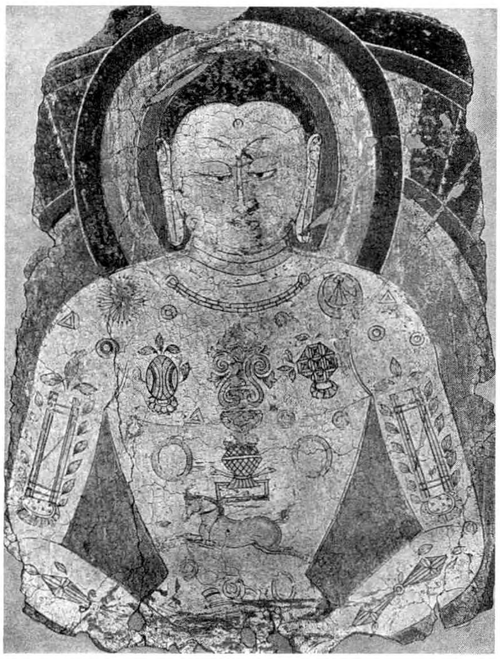
The most famous example of Central Asian painting that illustrates this principle is the 'Cosmic Vairocana', or Meditating Buddha, from Balawaste, near Khotan, with the many Tantric symbols painted onto the entire upper body area of the figure (Bussagli 1963: 55, 58-61; Williams 1973: 117-29. The passage can be consulted in Williams 1973: 120) (Fig. 16).

According to Lokesh Chandra (1980: 312):

> The latticed *stūpas* enshrining the Vairocana Buddhas in the Borobudur represent the architectonic transcreating of the *stūpas* depicted on the body of Vairocana in the *Avataṃsaka* tradition as can be seen from the mural fragments from Khotan.

Thus the *stūpa* can represent the body of the Buddha himself, and the ornamentation incorporated into the architecture of the *stūpa* is analogous to the marks that are to be seen on the body of the Buddha.

> The body becomes a palace, the hallowed basis of all the Buddhas. [And further:] Surrounded by a diamond line, beautified with eight posts, decorated with four gates, arches, altars, banners and half-banners, and so on. How is Vajrasattva understood as the principal meaning there? *Because he has marks born of the sky*, is supreme without beginning or end, the great self-existence of Vajrasattva is said to be the Glorious Supreme Primordial (Wayman 1973: 83. Emphasis added).



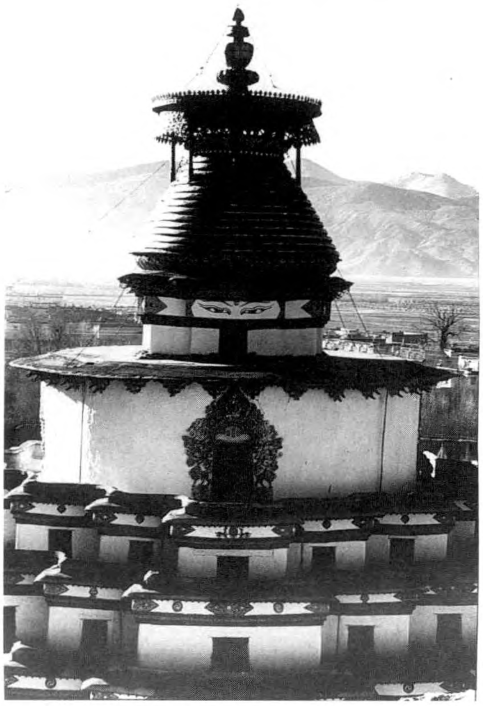


Fig. 16 - Buddha in Meditation. Wall Painting, probably from Balawaste. Mid-6th century A.D. (After Bussagli 1963: 55).

Fig. 17 - Kumbum Temple, Gyantse, Tibet. (Photo J.M. Lundquist).

The *stūpas* on the upper terraces of Borobudur thus bring to mind the Nepalese *stūpas*, which depict a human figure on the outside, with painted eyes on the *harmikā*, as though a Buddha is seated in a pose of meditation within the building. (Fig. 17 — here, the Newari influenced Kumbum). The Buddhas sitting within the Borobudur *stūpas* are analogous to the Cosmic Vairocana of Balawaste: the 'marks' on the exterior of the *stūpa*, the lattice-work, are the marks that are depicted on the bodies of Buddha images, according to the instructions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, quoted above. That these were 'marks born of the sky' (*ibid.*) underlines the cosmic orientation of the temple. As we see from the Mt Meru Temple Banner, the Maṇḍala Palace is to be located in the heavens. Its architectural symbolism therefore would be celestial in its referents, and this in turn would reinforce Wayman's arguments that the primary rituals would have taken place at night, during the Solstice, or perhaps better would have begun during the day, on the lower terraces, and would have progressed up through the temple, to have culminated in the heavenly light of night-time.

Alex Wayman identified two constellations in the star groups represented on the Temple Banner: Ursa Major and the Pleiades. The moon and the sun are represented on the Temple Banner just below the eaved palace. Ursa Major is connected with the sun, the Pleiades with the moon (Wayman 1973: 107-8).

Conclusion

To conclude, Giuseppe Tucci's summary statement of the idea underlying the architecture of Kumbum, in Gyantse, may also be appropriate with respect to Borobudur (1989: 169-70):

> The modest result of that devoted circumambulation of so sacred a monument cannot overshadow the symbolic value of the edifice and the mystic significance attributed to it and that was at the basis of its very construction. The building is the *chos-skuldharma-kaya*, the body of the law made visible: to go through the chapels was almost an identification with the highest spiritual planes. That is why the progressive mounting from floor to floor corresponds also to an ascension towards truths ever more subtle and secret. Ascending one passes from an order of tantric cycles to the higher ones: one starts with the Kriyatantras and reaches on the top of the building to the Anuttaratantras. In this way one traverses through all the mysticism and esoteric liturgy of Mahayana in a short time.

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Brief Notes and Items for Discussion

Avestan *kəmčit̰ paiti čaθrušanąm*

by I.M. STEBLIN-KAMENSKY

Several times in Vidēvdāt occurs the same espression *kəmčit̰ paiti čaθrušanąm* which is most important, to my mind, for understanding the original form of mythical Var, built by Yima to protect Aryan people and property from natural disasters (Vd. 2.20-43). This expression was understood and translated differently in various passages on the assumption that *čaθruša-* means 'Seite eines Vierecks' (Barholomae, s.v.) or even (in plur.) 'four sides (of a four-sided figure)' (Reichelt 1911: 229b). J. Darmesteter translated it 'sur chacun des quatre côtés' (Vd. 2.25), 'des quatre côtés autour' (Vd. 6.31), 'des quatre côtés' (Vd. 7.29), 'carrés' (Vd. 9.2) or in his English rendering of Vendīdad as 'on every side of the square', 'on each of the four sides', 'all around', 'square' (*ibid.*). F. Wolff gives always 'nach jeder der vier Seiten' following Chr. Bartholomae's interpretation. H. Reichelt in *Elementarbuch* (1909) follows Chr. Bartholomae and in *Avesta Reader* (1911) has 'on every one of the four sides' (p. 140) and 'on each of the four sides' (p. 147), H. Lommel translated 'an jeder der vier Seiten' (Lommel 1927: 205).

Let us examine all passages with this expression beginning with the most clear one to establish that in all occasions *kəmčit̰ paiti čaθrušanąm* has one and the same meaning, 'in four directions', 'in all four sides', that is 'all around (something)', 'around the centre', or in Russian 'na vse četyre storony' not 'po vsem četyrem storonam'.

In Vd. 6.30-31 the question is about dead matter found in the water and how much of the water around it is defiled. If dead matter has been found in running water the amount of defiled water depends obviously on the direction of the stream, but what about stagnant water?

> ... čuuat̰ aētanhā̊ apo yat̰ armaēštaiiā̊ aēša druxš yā nasuš axtiča pauuitiča āhitiča frāšnaoiti.
>
> [O Creator of the corporeal world, — asked Zaraθuštra, — righteous!] How much of the stagnant water does the Druxš-ya-Nasu [corpse or dead matter] hit with illness, rottening and pollution?
>
> āat̰ mraot̰ ahurō mazdā̊ xšuuaš gāim kəmčit̰ paiti čaθrušanąm vīspəm ā ahmāt̰ aēša āfš aiiaoždiia ānaiβiš.xᵛarəθa yauuat̰ aēša nasuš nižbarəta...
>
> So said Ahura-Mazda: six steps in four directions all this water is unclean und undrinkable till this corpse is taken out. [Of this corpse from this water they should take out and lay it on the dry ground]...

In Vd. 7.28-35 Zaraθuštra requests instructions for purification of five-wood, corn and grass defiled by dead matter.

> 28. O Creator of the corporeal world, the righteous! How to purify fire-wood, o righteous Ahura-Mazda, where the corpse has been brought of a dog or of a deceased man?

> 29. So uttered Ahura-Mazda: it can be purified, o righteous Zaraϑuštra, but how? If this corpse has not been gnawn by corpse-eating dogs or corpse-eating birds, [the wood] at a span's distance [from the corpse] the dry, at an ell's distance — the wet, they [take away and] lay on the ground and in four directions [i.e. all around, in four sides] once over sprinkle water, — thus to purify.
>
> 30. But if the corpse has been gnawn by the corpse-eating dogs or corpse-eating birds, [the wood] at an ell's distance the dry, at an arm's distance the wet, they [take away and] lay on the ground and in four directions once over sprinkle water, — thus to purify.
>
> 31. So much of dry fire-wood, so much of wet, so much of hard and so much of soft they lay on the ground and in four directions once over sprinkle water, — thus to purify.
>
> 32. O Creator..., the righteous! How to purify corn and grass, o righteous Ahura-Mazda, where the corpse has been brought of a dog or of a deceased man?
>
> 33. So uttered Ahura-Mazda: it can be purified, o righteous Zaraϑuštra, but how? If this corpse has not been gnawn by corpse-eating dogs or corpse-eating birds, [corn and grass] at an ell's distance [from the corpse] the dry, an arm's distance — the wet, they lay on the ground and in four directions once over sprinkle water, — thus to purify.
>
> 34. But if the corpse has been gnawn by corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, [corn and grass] at an arm's distance the dry, at a fathom's (1) distance the wet, they lay on the ground and in four directions once over sprinkle water, — thus to purify.
>
> 35. So much of dry corn [around the dead matter], so much of wet, so much of sown, so much of not sown, so much of reaped, so much of unreaped, so much of threshed, so much of winnowed, so much of unwinnowed, so much of ground, so much of unground, so much of kneaded — they lay on the ground and in four directions once over sprinkle water, — thus to purify...

Finally in Vd. 9.2 follows the description of the place for performing purification rituals over men, the *barašnom-gah* 'ablution-ground':

> [So said Ahura-Mazda:] By [to?] the righteous man, o Spitama Zaraϑuštra, who speaks truth, inquires about the Word, righteous, who understands best the Faith of Mazda-worship regarding the purification, — he on the surface of this ground cuts plants at a distance of nine fathoms in all four directions...

Barašnom-gah must have been not 'nine vībāzus square' or 'de neuf vībāzus carrés' and not of course rectangular as shown on the plans and described for Parsees (Darmesteter 1892-93: vol. 2: 162; Modi 1922: 118-25; Hartman 1980: pls. XIX, XX, XXVIII-XXX). In this case, as in some others, Parsees are misrepresenting the ancient tradition and have corrupted original ritual. *Barašnom-gah* must be not 'nine fathoms square' but 'eighteen fathoms in diameter' and it was circular as described for Persian Zoroastrians by Mary Boyce: '...*barashnom-gah* ... was a flat enclosure which, like *dakhma* (2), was perfectly round, and for the same reason, namely that there should be no corners to hold pollution...' (Boyce 1977: 112-13).

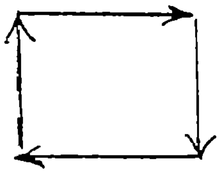
(1) *vībāzu*- 'fathom' = 2 *frabāzu*- 'arm, yard' = 4 *frārāϑni*- 'ell, cubit' = 8 *vītasti*- 'span'; cf. Henning 1942: 236.

(2) It seems significant that the circular platform of *dakhma* is divided into three rows and so consists of three concentric circles (cf. the plans in Modi 1922: 244 ff.) like the Var (see below). Is it a common human practice to build abodes for the passed away similar to these of the living beings or Yima was already beginning to be the King in the Kingdom of Death like Vedic Yama?

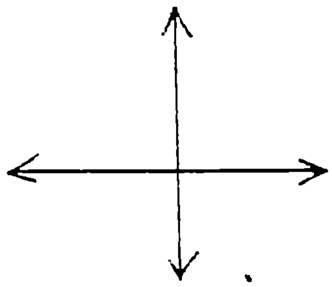
Now we return to the second chapter of Vidēvdāt, where the dimensions of Var are given. Ahura-Mazda orders Yima in Vd. 2.25:

> And you make the Var measuring one racecourse in four directions and bring there the seeds of sheep and cattle, men, dogs, birds and red burning fires. And then make the Var measuring one racecourse in four directions for habitation of men and measuring one racecourse in four directions for housing live-stock...

The principle scheme of Avestan ***kəmčit̰ paiti čaϑrušanąm*** is thus not



this one but:



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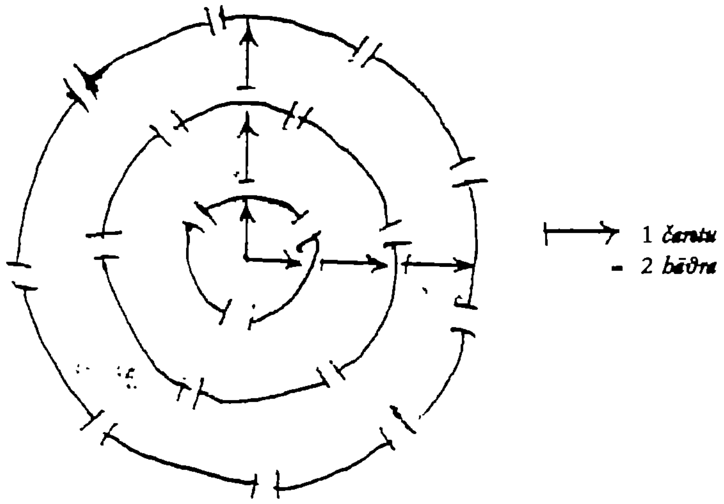
According to the following description the Var of Yima was not square or rectangular but consisted of three concentric circles with nine passages in the external circle, six — in the middle and three — in the internal. It can be thus compared not to the right-angled fortresses of Khorasmia (excavated by S.P. Tolstov), but reminds the dwelling-places and settlements of circular form discovered in Northern Afghanistan (by V.S. Sarianidi, cf. Jettmar 1981: 220-29; Gurevič 1983) and near Southern Ural mountains (excavations of G. Zdanovič at Arkaim, cf. Gurevič 1989; 1990; 1992; Zdanovič 1992).

To the 'circumference of Yima's Var which is 4 čarətu' (= 4 racecourses) refered W.B. Henning (1942: 237). In fact the Var of Yima was supposed to be 6 racecourses in diameter, that is 12 *bāϑra* or about 12 thousands paces in diameter:



Avestan formula *kəmčiṯ paiti čaϑrušanąm* implicates the circle. As to the description of a square or rectangular form it is rendered by the definition čaϑru-gaoša-, applied to the land Varəna- (modern Buner, cf. Henning 1947: 52-53; Gnoli 1980: 49-50), which is rather 'viereckig' than 'vierohrig' (?), cf. Persian *čahār-gōša* 'quadrangular', etc. May be as a reminiscence of the ancient traditions of circular-formed settlements 'in four directions' (*kəmčiṯ paiti čaϑrušanąm*) market-place in the centre of the city (e.g. in Samarkand) can be called *čahār-sū* 'four sides'.

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Concerning the Zoroastrian Metaphor of the Two-Legged Wolves

by GHERARDO GNOLI

Dr C.G. Cereti has kindly drawn my attention to an error contained in a contribution I made to the first volume of a History of Religions recently published (1).

On page 460, in reference to social groups or brotherhoods founded on a warrior ethic, lines 4-6 read: 'About them and their members — called in the Avesta ***mairya*** (young man) and, disparagingly, "two-legged wolves" (***Yasna*** 9, 18; ***Widēwdād*** 5, 35) — much has been said (Wikander, 1938; Widengren, 1938, pp. 336 ff. and 1955, pp. 65 ff., etc.)' (2). There is then a distancing from the 'arische Männerbund' theory and the reader is referred to the recent criticism of it by Prof. Mary Boyce (3).

The error lies in the fact that the expression 'two-legged wolf', ***vəhrka- bizaṇgra-*** (or ***bizəṇgra-***), does not occur in Y. 9, 18 — where we have ***vəhrka- caθuuarə.zaṇgra-***, 'four-legged wolf' (genitive plural), which also occurs in V. 18, 38 (nominative singular) — nor in V. 5, 35, where ***bizaṇgra-*** is used as an epithet for ***mairiia- druuaṇt-***, 'evil, unrighteous' and for ***aṣ̌əmaoγa-*** 'heretic' (genitive plural). In fact however, ***bizaṇgra-*** (4), a compound used to describe Daēvas, as in V. 5, 35, Yt. 5, 89, and Y. 19, 18, can refer metaphorically to ***vəhrka-***, as in a quote from the Avesta in the Pahlavi version of V. 7, 52: ***vəhrkəm yim bizaṇgrəm daēuuaiiasnəm***, 'two-legged, devil-worshipping wolf' — considered by M. Boyce a definition of ***mairiia-*** by metaphoric extension (5).

The error is due to an oversight on my part in correcting the proofs. The original text, which is to be reinstated, read: 'About them and their members — called in the Avesta ***mairya*** "young man" and, disparagingly, "four-legged wolves" (***Yasna*** 9, 18; ***Widēwdād*** 5, 35) and perhaps also "two-legged [wolves]" (***Pahl. Widēwdād*** 7, 52) — much has been said [...]' (6).

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(1) G. Gnoli, 'Le religioni dell'Iran antico e Zoroastro', in G. Filoramo, ed., *Storia delle religioni*, 1: *Le religioni antiche*, Roma-Bari 1994, pp. 455-98.

(2) The references are to S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund*, Lund 1938; G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1938; and Id., *Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leiden 1955.

(3) M. Boyce, 'Priests, Cattle and Men', *BSOAS*, L, 1987, pp. 508-26.

(4) Cf. Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strasburg 1904, col. 966; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Les composés de l'Avesta*, Liège 1936, p. 176, § 215.

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 515.

(6) 'Di esse e dei loro membri, definiti nell'Avesta ***mairya*** "giovane uomo" e spregiativamente "lupi

The superimposition of the two quotes by mistake in the printed text escaped me, but the error was immediately obvious to Dr Cereti, publisher and translator of the Pahlavi text *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* for the Rome Oriental Series (⁷) in which (as also in a passage from Book VIII of the *Dēnkard* [Dk. VIII, 25.1] cited by Prof. Boyce) (⁸) an echo of the Avesta metaphor is retained: <*ud*> *dām gurg ī dō zang ud dēw ī dawāl kustīg*, 'and the two-legged wolf creatures and the *dēws* with the leather girdle' (ZWY 7, 11).

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a quattro zampe" (*Yasna* 9, 18; *Widēwdād* 5, 35) e forse anche "a due zampe" (*Pahl. Widēwdād* 7, 52), molto si è detto [...]',

(⁷) C.G. Cereti, *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn. A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, SOR, LXXV, Roma 1995.

(⁸) *Op. cit.*, p. 515, fn. 49.

Once more Zoroaster's Time

A Manichaean Dating

by GHERARDO GNOLI

Following upon *Zoroaster's time and homeland* (1980) I have once again been looking into the thorny problems surrounding the question of Zoroaster's date. I have mulled over the suggestions offered by various distinguished colleagues who have tackled this complex matter and suggested hypotheses that in fact contrast sharply with the solution presented by W.B. Henning in his Ratanbai Katrak lectures (1). Here I am referring particularly to writings by Mary Boyce (2), H. Humbach (3) and J. Kellens (4), as also to an important article by P. Kingsley (5) on the origin of Zoroaster's date in the 6th century B.C. In an essay entitled *The Idea of Iran* (1989) I modified my previous position, pointing out that 'the traditional chronology of Zarathustra in the form represented by Henning in his famous 1949 Ratanbai Kātrak Lectures, with the consequent possible alternatives 630-553, 628-551, 618-541 B.C., does not clash, in principle, with the present reconstruction' (6). I also raised some doubts about my previously held opinion that dating Zoroaster '258 years before Alexander' was a simple upshot of Sassanian chronological calculation (7). Subsequently, on reviewing Humbach's English edition of the Gathas including the other 'Old Avestan' texts, I acknowledged that I too was now of the opinion that the chronological problem could not

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(*) Text of a lecture delivered on 9th April 1994 at the 'Fourth Seminar on Work in Progress on Iranian Studies' organized by The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge.

(1) *Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-doctor?*, London 1951, pp. 35-43.

(2) *A History of Zoroastrianism*, I, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden-Köln 1975, pp. 190-91; and now: *Zoroastrianism, Its Antiquity and Constant Vigour*, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies, 7, Costa Mesa, California-New York 1992, pp. 28-30.

(3) 'A Western Approach to Zarathushtra', *Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 51, Bombay 1984, pp. 2-15; *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts*, Heidelberg 1991, I, pp. 24-30.

(4) In J. Kellens & E. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, I: *Introduction, texte et traduction*, Wiesbaden 1988, pp. 12-13; and see also: Kellens, 'Quatre siècles obscurs', *Transition Periods in Iranian History*, Actes du Symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22-24 mai 1985), Studia Iranica-Cahier, 5, Paris 1987, pp. 135-39; Id., *Zoroastre et l'Avesta ancien. Quatre leçons au Collège de France*, Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes, 14, Paris 1991, pp. 14-18.

(5) 'The Greek Origin of the Sixth-Century Dating of Zoroaster', *BSOAS*, LIII, 1990, pp. 245-65.

(6) *The Idea of Iran. An Essay on its Origin*, SOR, LXII, Roma 1989, p. 66.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 64, fn. 53.

yet be taken as settled despite my previous attempts to place Zoroaster in the 10th century (8). Having illustrated this new range of problems I subsequently had a number of occasions to focus on various aspects of the matter, including opportunities for discussion with Ilya Gershevitch; indeed, I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for his kind and friendly attention.

Here I intend to submit to the reader's attention a specific aspect of the problem; i.e. the Manichaeans' dating of Zoroaster to the 6th century on evidence which, to my personal knowledge, has never found its way into the dossier on Zoroastrian chronology.

W.B. Henning has offered some conjectures on the Manichaeans' position regarding Zoroaster's dating. As the reader may know, he started from a discovery made by Hildegarde Lewy (9) and perfected by S.H. Taqizadeh (10) to argue against H.S. Nyberg (11), asserting that the date of 258 years before Alexander was known 'as early as the beginning of the Sassanian reign, in the third century' (12). Support for this conjecture seems to have come from a fragment of the Book of the Giants. The fragment is in fact taken as evidence for the date of 618 B.C. as the beginning of Vištāspa's reign (258 + 30 years before Alexander's conquest of Persia, 330 B.C.). This is obtained by filling in a missing figure, 3,28 [?], which Henning sees as possibly indicating the number of years separating the Biblical Enoch and King Vištāspa (3,288) according to the Jewish world-era, or the mundane era of Alexandria (beginning 5,439 B.C.), or by counting backwards from the Deluge. Thus the second page of M. 291ᵃ should read '[...] three thousand two hundred and eighty-[eight] [...] the beginning of King Vištāsp [...]' (13). However, Henning himself recognized how conjectural his proposal was due to the 'gap in the manuscript at the critical point' (14), and W. Sundermann recently pointed out that

> Henning's *wyšt'sp š'ẖ sr* is a strange way of saying 'the beginning of King Vištāsp', which would be odd enough in itself. More natural translations — Sundermann adds — are 'King Wištāsp's head' or 'end'. But it one restores *pd wyšt'sp š'ẖ sr* the sense would be 'together with King Wištāsp', 'in King Wištāsp's company', and in that case the figure would have marked people rather than years, such as those physicians, merchants and farmers mentioned later in the fragment. (15)

Thus Sundermann sees it but, personally, I am not persuaded by the reasons that led him to reject Henning's conjecture: neither that 258 is obtained from 300 (16) nor that the 'real date of reference' for the 258 years before Alexander should have been the Seleucid era, 312 or 311 B.C. (17). However, interpretation of the fragment remains problematic, although it hardly seems very likely that such a precise figure should refer to the sum of various categories of people mentioned at a considerable distance in the text. At any rate, I believe we should give Henning credit for his caution while sharing Sundermann's doubt about the question as a whole: M 291^a cannot in itself serve for reconstruction of a Manichaean tradition — one going back to Mani himself, moreover — regarding Zoroaster's date. Nor, for that matter, does the Manichaean historiography we have access to offer significant data on Zoroaster's absolute chronology, apart from the possible evidence we shall be considering in this article.

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(8) G. Gnoli, *EW*, 42, 1992 (pp. 519-27: review of Humbach, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra..., cit.*), p. 520.

(9) 'The Genesis of the Faulty Persian Chronology', *JAOS*, LXIV, 1944, pp. 197-214.

(10) 'The Era of Zoroaster', *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 33-40.

(11) *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938, pp. 32-35.

(12) *Zoroaster..., cit.*, p. 37.

(13) 'The Book of the Giants', *BSOAS*, XI, 1943 (pp. 52-74), p. 73, fn. 3.

(14) *Zoroaster..., cit.*, p. 37.

(15) 'Manichaean Traditions on the Date of the Historical Buddha', *The Dating of the Historical Buddha / Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*, Part 1 (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, N. 1), ed. by H. Bechert, Göttingen 1991 (pp. 426-38), p. 433.

In fact, the *successio apostolica* of Manichaeism can only help us with a relative chronology, placing Zoroaster before the Buddha. As Sundermann cogently explains, the Buddha-Zoroaster-Jesus sequence obtained from the *Šābuhragān* and the first Coptic Kephalaion, in the Berlin text, was in fact corrected to the Zoroaster-Buddha-Jesus sequence given by the Book of Giants, the Parthian hymn M 42 (18) and a Sogdian homily 'in its present version certainly not older than the 6th century A.D., but possibly going back to the end of the 3rd-century' (19), as well as the Dublin Kephalaia codex dealt with by M. Tardieu (20). Some of the conclusions Tardieu reached in his study were in fact aptly rectified by Sundermann. Mani undoubtedly took up the Zoroaster-Buddha-Jesus chronological sequence in his later works. As Sundermann writes

> the chance is great that the version of the Giants is indeed a later one. As the later version allows a lifetime within the limits of all possible dates of the historical Buddha, one is tempted to assume that somehow Mani got access to more reliable information on the Buddha's life, including his dates. But as hardly any other of Mani's works enjoyed greater popularity among the Manichaeans of Central Asia than the *Šābuhragān*, this revised version of the Buddha's dates never superseded the older *Šābuhragān* date in Eastern Manichaeism (21).

Nevertheless, we know that the Manichaeans took an interest in the chronology of Mani's apostolic forerunners and that they succeeded in determining the times of Jesus with a fair degree of exactitude. This we can state on the evidence of a brilliant conjecture Sundermann came up with in his interpretation of a text published by A. von Le Coq (22) in 1923 and reproduced by H.-J. Klimkeit (23) in 1982, and which appears to date the parinirvāṇa of Jesus to 340 in the Seleucid era (the figure of 322 recurring in the text is accounted for as a corruption of 340 in dictation, the scribe being told to write 300 plus two twenties [*dō wīst*], which would be the usual way of writing 40 in figures. Sundermann points out that writing *dō wīst* in letters would have yielded a very different result, i.e. 22 (24).

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(16) *Ibid.*, and fn. 42, but see also Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran..*, *cit.*, p. 64, fn. 53.

(17) Sundermann, *op. cit.*, p. 433: 'the whole calculation [proposed by Henning] becomes incompatible with a figure 328[8] or anything like that, if one starts from 312/11'.

(18) F.C. Andreas & W.B. Henning, 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III', *SPAW*, 1934 (pp. 848-912), pp. 878-81; M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian. Texts with Notes*, Acta Iranica, 9, Téhéran-Liège 1975, pp. 170-73; H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, San Francisco 1993, pp. 124-25 and 130, fn. 28.

(19) Sundermann, *op. cit.*, p. 431; on this text see Henning, 'The Murder of the Magi', *JRAS*, 1944, pp. 133-44.

(20) 'La diffusion du Bouddhisme dans l'Empire Kouchan, l'Iran et la Chine, d'après un kephalaion manichéen inédit', *StIr*, 17, 1988, pp. 153-82.

(21) *Op. cit.*, pp. 434-35.

The question I believe we should be asking at this point is whether the Manichaean tradition may possibly offer some trace of an absolute chronology for Zoroaster, given that — as we have seen — Mani and the Manichaeans dedicated some attention to the dates of both the Buddha and Christ.

Actually, there is important evidence on this problem which remains, I believe, little known and imperfectly understood even by S.S. Hartman (25), who dealt with it in the context of his *Gayōmart*. This evidence seems to demonstrate that the Manichaeans, exactly like the Zoroastrians, placed Zoroaster in the 6th century. Although it does not prove that they knew the date of 258 years before Alexander it certainly lends new support to a conjecture that was in itself quite plausible. Assuming that the expression *pd wyšt'sp š'h̲ sr* can in fact be taken in the sense ascribed to it by Henning, it could thus confirm the hypothesis that the traditional dating of Zoroaster handed down by both Zoroastrian and Manichaean sources was already known in the 3rd century A.D. Although the evidence we shall be considering here is somewhat later, it may in fact embody a considerably earlier tradition.

This interesting piece of evidence recurs in a Persian work possibly dating back to the first half of the 7th century from the Hegira (cf. Aḥmad Afšâr-e Širâzi, *Motun-e 'arabi va fârsi dar bare-ye Mâni va Mânaviyyat*..., Tehran 1355/1956, pp. 503-4), attributed to Jamâl al-Din Ṣayyed Mortaḍâ b. Dâ'i Ḥasani Râzi or to Jamâl al-Din Abu 'Abdallâh Moḥammad b. al-Ḥosayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Râzi in the opinion of Dr Ḥasan Sâdât-e Nâṣeri and Mr Širvâni, cited by G. Monnot (26) in an article of 1972 republished in *Islam et religions*. This Persian work is entitled *Tabṣirat al-'avâm fi ma'rifat maqâlât al-anâm* and the evidence it offers was cited and commented on by Hartman. The text runs: ***mânaviyya guyand dar zamân-e Dârâ Zardošt arvand ẓâher šod va majus enkâr-e ân konand***, which Hartman translated: 'Les Manichéens disent: "Au temps de Dârâ apparut Sa Majesté Zardošt". Mais les mages nient cela' (27).

Hartman's explanation of this evidence, drawing in part on the well-known passage in the Kephalaia where Zoroaster and Vištāspa are mentioned, is not as obvious as it may seem —

> Cela montre que les manichéens ont identifié Vištāspa de l'Avesta à Hystaspe, le père de Darius.

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(22) *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien. Die manichäischen Miniaturen*, Berlin 1923, pl. 4a and p. 38.

(23) *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*, Iconography of Religions, XX, Leiden 1982, pl. XXVIII 50 and p. 48, on which see Sundermann, *op. cit.*, p. 433, fn. 44.

(24) *Op. cit.*, p. 434.

(25) *Gayōmart. Étude sur le syncrétisme dans l'ancien Iran*, Uppsala 1953, pp. 148-51, XXV-XXVII.

(26) 'Les écrits musulmans sur les religions non-bibliques', *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales*, 11, 1972, pp. 5-48; *Islam et religions*, Paris 1986 (pp. 39-77), p. 72.

(27) *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.

> Cela me semble également remarquable quand le texte dit dans la suite que 'les mages nient cela'. Car ce fait signifie seulement que les mages n'acceptent pas l'idée que Zoroastre ait existé à peu près à la même époque que Darius fils de Hystaspe. — L'opposition qui est attestée indirectement ici entre les idées des manichéens et celles des mages au sujet de Vištāspa et Zarathustra reflète d'une manière frappante l'opposition qu'il y a eu et qu'il y a dans les temps modernes entre les orientalistes: un groupe estime que Vištāspa de l'Avesta a été le même personnage que Hystaspe, le père de Darius; un autre groupe nie cette identité. Notre passage n'est peut-être pas tout à fait sans importance pour la discussion sur ce sujet. (28)

This explanation remains unconvincing. True, the magi asserted — even in the period of our text — that Zoroaster had lived 258 years before Alexander (one or two generations before the first historical Darius, we would put it). However, our text adds a new fact: the Manichaeans took Zoroaster as a contemporary of Dārā. Significantly, it records a difference of opinion between the two sides on this point, and the contrasting views cannot be accounted for with the fact that the magi identified the Avestan Vištāspa with Vištāspa the father of Darius I — as Hartman had it and as Ammianus Marcellinus (29) was persuaded — nor with the fact that they took Zoroaster as contemporary with Darius I, for the simple reason that they had no knowledge of any such Darius (30). For the Zoroastrians the name Dārā could only refer to the later sovereigns of the Achaemenian dynasty. Thus the contrast arose over the incompatibility of two different historiographical traditions, Manichaean and Zoroastrian. Moreover, there are good reasons for supposing that the two traditions may well have differed precisely over the early Achaemenians since the Manichaeans most probably depended on Western historiographical traditions which numbered not just two Iranian sovereigns by the name of Dārā but three or even four.

It is generally recognized that the Arab-Persian literary and historical sources contain hardly any — if any at all — records of the Achaemenian Empire: Ṭabarī, Ḥamza, Tha'ālibī, Mas'ūdī and Ferdowsi certainly offer no help to reconstruct the history of Achaemenian Persia. Only Bīrūnī gives us some support, both in *Al-Āthār al-Bāqia* and in *Al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, but, as this conscientious and highly erudite scholar himself pointed out, he drew on Western sources for his lists of Babylonian and Median sovereigns (12 kings) and Persian sovereigns after the fall of the Median Empire (10 kings for a total of 209 years, from Cyrus to Darius III) — thus in *al-Qānūn* — or Chaldaen sovereigns from Bukhtanassar (Nebuchadnezzar I) to Alexander (31 kings, the twentieth to the thirtieth being Iranian, i.e. from Dāryūs al-Māday al-Awwal to Dāryūs ibn Arsīkh, and the last being Alexander), as also of the Great Kings (*mulūk al-kibār*) from Kay Qubād to Dārā, the last of the Persian kings, as in *al-Āthār al-Bāqia*. These points were examined by E. Yarshater (31), who shows that Bīrūnī followed Graeco-Babylonian traditions transmitted by Syriac writers, and also that a writer of two centuries later, Bar Hebraeus, a Jacobite Christian of Jewish descent, author of a *Chronography* and a *Concise History of the Dynasties*, largely confirms Bīrūnī's reports on the Achaemenian kings. Bar Hebraeus certainly drew on a work by Michael the Elder, *Kethābhā dhē-Makhtebhānūth Zabhnē*, dating to the end of the 12th century, which in turn depended on Babylonian and Syriac traditions.

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(28) *Ibid.*, fn. 6.

(29) XXIII 6 32.

(30) Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari ubersetzt...*, Leyden 1879, p. 3, fn. 1; E. Yarshater, 'Were the Sasanians Heirs to the Achaemenids?', *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma 1971 (pp. 517-31), p. 518.

(31) *Op. cit.*, pp. 520-21; Id., 'Lists of the Achaemenid Kings in Biruni and Bar Hebraeus', *Biruni Symposium*, Persian Studies Series, 7, Iran Center-Columbia University, New York 1976, pp. 49-65.

What most closely concerns us here is that these Western historiographical traditions numbered no fewer than four sovereigns by the name of Darius: Darius the Mede, the sovereign in the Biblical Book of Daniel (5, 31; 6, 1-29; 9, 1; 11, 1) — Darius son of Ahasuerus — the first Iranian king cited by the Western sources, placed — as Yarshater clearly points out — before Cyrus and the Achaemenians; Darius I; Darius II; Darius III, whom Bar Ḥebraeus identifies with Dārā ibn Dārā. If we — quite reasonably — suppose that the Manichaeans followed a Western historiographical tradition, we may satisfactorily account for the contrast they showed with the magi over Zoroaster's date. In fact, they too placed Zoroaster in the 6th century, making him a contemporary of Dārā (Darius the Mede or Darius I?), but the magi must have rejected the idea that their prophet was contemporary with a sovereign by this name. They surely held that a sovereign named Dārā must necessarily have been identified with one of the only two Dārās they knew of, i.e. either Dārā I Čihrazādān or Dārā ī Dārāyān. This would clash with the date traditionally ascribed to their prophet, 258 years before Alexander, since these two sovereigns reigned in the last 26 years before the end of the dynasty (32).

Thus the contrast between magi and Manichaeans does not concern Zoroaster's dating in the 6th century (nor have we any evidence to state that it concerned the figure of Vištāspa): indeed, the former probably defended this very dating against the idea that Zoroaster was contemporary with either of the two Dārās that had reigned in the last three decades preceding Alexander, while the latter, too, implicitly lent support to much the same chronology, taking Dārā either as a 'Median' sovereign or as Darius I. The Manichaeans were probably no less aware than the magi that Zoroaster had lived 258 years before Alexander (or, at any rate, had lived in the 6th century) but, drawing on a historiographical traditions that differed from those of the Zoroastrians, asserted that the prophet was contemporary with a sovereign unknown to the tradition of the magi. Hartman missed the point when he endeavoured to account for this contrast: the two sides were not divided on the period of the prophet but, rather, were divided by two quite distinct historiographical traditions.

It is in fact highly likely that the Manichaeans looked to a Western historiographical tradition which may be defined as either Graeco-Babylonian or, perhaps more rightly, Judaeo-Hellenistic. Among other things, it is confirmed by the *successio apostolica* itself which, for example, mentions Sethel, Enoš, Enoch and Sem before the Buddha, Zoroaster and Christ in the first Kephalaion. Moreover, suffice it to recall the other prophet figures, such as Seth and Noah, appearing in the various formulations of the sequence of prophets (33).

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(32) Cf. Yarshater, 'Iranian National History', *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3: *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, ed. by. E. Yarshater, Cambridge 1983, Part 1 (pp. 359-477), p. 386.

(33) Cf. Sundermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-31. See C. Colpe, *Der Manichäismus in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Diss. Göttingen 1954, pp. 81-82; and now see also E.B. Smagina, 'Die Reihe der

Thus the evidence Hartman drew attention to in 1953 finds its rightful place in the 'dossier' on Zoroaster's date. It probably reflects a Manichaean historiographical tradition that did not clash with that of the Zoroastrians on the absolute chronology. Although we cannot be sure that Mani had knowledge of the date of 258 before Alexander, interpretation of M 219^{a} being problematic, we may at any rate suppose that the Manichaeans placed Zoroaster in roughly the same period ascribed to him by the magi. Unfortunately we do not know whether the name Dārā was used in reference to the enigmatic Darius the Mede or Darius I: it is an extremely complex problem since the figure of a 'Median' sovereign by this name (or throne-name?) is the object of a debate that remains far from any satisfactory conclusion (34).

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(34) See, among others: H.H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, Cardiff 1935; C.C. Torrey, 'Medes and Persians', *JAOS*, 66, 1946, pp. 1-15; J.C. Whitcomb, *Darius the Mede*, Grand Rapids 1959; D.J. Wiseman, 'Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel', in D.J. Wiseman et al., *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, London 1965, pp. 12-16; W.H. Shea, 'An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period', *Andrews University Seminar Studies*, 9, 1971, pp. 51-67, 99-128; 10, 1972, pp. 88-117, 148-78; J.M. Bulman, 'The Identification of Darius the Mede', *Westminster Theological Journal*, 35, 1973, pp. 247-67; Yarshater, 'Lists of the Achaemenid Kings...', *cit.*, pp. 54-58; Shea, 'Darius the Mede: an Update', *Andrews University Seminar Studies*, 20, 1982, pp. 229-47; K. Koch, 'Dareios der Meder', *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth. Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*, ed. by C. Myers & M. O'Connor, Winona Lake (IN) 1983, pp. 281-99; M. Mo'in, 'Šâhân-e kâyâni va haxâmaneši dar *Āṯār al-bāqia*', in M. Mo'īn, ed., *Majmu'e-ye maqâlât-e Doktor Moḥammad Mo'īn*, II, Tehran 1367/1988, pp. 51-87; L.L. Grabbe, 'Another Look at the *Gestalt* of "Darius the Mede"', *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 50, 1988, pp. 198-213; H.L. Ginsberg, 'The Book of Daniel', *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, II: *The Hellenistic Age*, ed. by W.D. Davies & L. Finkelstein, Cambridge 1989 (pp. 504-23), pp. 509-11; E.M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible*, Grand Rapids 1990, pp. 58-59; R.N. Frye, 'Darius the Mede', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by E. Yarshater, VII/1, Costa Mesa, California 1994, pp. 40-41.

Padīriftan ī dēn and the Turn of the Millennium

by CARLO G. CERETI

The famous passage in the thirty sixth chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn* relating the succession of kings from Wištāsp to Alexander begins with a sentence which presents some problems of interpretation (*Bd* 36.7-9, TD$_1$ 102v.10-14, DH 230r.4-7, TD$_2$ 239.13-240.2, K$_{20}$ 129r.16-17):

TD$_1$ ky wšt'sp OD mtn' Y dyn' Y 30 ŠNT ml 1-1000 ŠNT AHL hc'lk — hwt'yyh OL
DH ky wšt'sp OD mtn' Y dyn' — 30 ŠNT' ml 1-1000 ŠNT AHL hc'lk Y hwt'yyh OL
TD$_2$ ky wšt'sp OD mtn' — dyn' — 30 ŠNT' ml 1-1000 ŠNT' AHL hc'lk' Y hwt'yyh OL
K$_{20}$ ky wšt'sp OD mtn' — dyn' — 30 ŠNT --

TD$_1$ whyk mt — zltwhšt Y spyt'm'n' PWN pgt'mblyh Y MN d't'l — 'whrmz̲d̲ OL
DH whyk mt' — zltwhšt' — spyt'm'n PWN pgt'mblyh Y MN d't'l — 'whrmz̲d̲ OL
TD$_2$ whyk mt W zltwhšt' Y spyt'm'n' PWN pgt'mblyh Y MN d't'l Y 'whrmz̲d̲ OL
K$_{20}$ --

TD$_1$ wšt'sp MLKA YATWNyt wšt'sp šh AHL MKB̲LWNtn' Y dyn 90 ŠNT -------------
DH wšt'sp MLKA YATWNt wšt'sp šh AHL MKB̲LWNtn' Y dyn 90 ŠNT --------------
TD$_2$ wšt'sp šh YATWNt' wšt'sp šh AHL MKB̲LW̄Ntn' Y dyn 90 ŠNT -------------------
K$_{20}$ --- 'knyn' 100 +20 ŠNT

Thus, taking into account both the Iranian and the Indian versions of the *Bundahišn* we should read:

> *kay wištāsp tā madan ī dēn sīh sal; mar ēk hazār sāl. pas hazārag xwadāyīh ō wahīg mad; zarduxšt ī spitāmān pad paygāmbarīh ī az dādār ohrmazd ō wištāsp šāh āmad; wištāsp šāh pas <az> padīriftan ī dēn nawad sāl; āgenēn sad ud wīst sāl.*

At first sight this passage seems to imply that Wištāsp reigned ninety years after having accepted the religion, but, if we trust the information which, as we have seen, is found only

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(*) This short note is meant to clarify which event of Zoroaster's life must be regarded as the starting point for the two hundred and fifty eight years before Alexander. As stated by Henning (1951: 41) the three possibilities are: 1) Zoroaster's acceptance of the religion at the age of thirty; 2) The prophet's conversion of Mēdyōmāh, at the age of forty; 3) Zoroaster's conversion of king Wištāsp, at the age of forty two.

in the *Indian Bundahišn* that king Wištāsp has reigned for a total of one hundred and twenty years, and we have no reason to reject it, we are faced by a puzzling problem. King Wištāsp, according to the *Iranian Bundahišn* had reigned thirty years before the coming of the religion (*tā madan ī dēn*) and ninety years after the acceptance of the religion (*pas az padīriftan ī dēn*), therefore if his total reign was of one hundred and twenty years, the two events must coincide. However, if we assume that by the coming of the religion the Conference of Zoroaster with Ohrmazd, which took place when the prophet was thirty years old, is meant and that, as the text seems to indicate (¹), the acceptance of the religion refers to Wištāsp's acceptance of the religion preached by Zoroaster we cannot account for the twelve years which, according to most sources, passed between the Conference (*hampursagīh*) and Wištāsp's conversion. Therefore another answer must be found.

The verb *padīriftan, padīr-*, as is well known, is often used in connection with the acceptance of the religion (²), and the formula (*pas az*) *padīriftan ī dēn*, and the similar, is used regularly of king Wištāsp:

> *Dk* 7.1.47 (*DkM* 600.8-10, *B* 356.17-19) ***u-š ān ī az hampursagīh frāz tā +wābarīgānīh ī-š abar waxšwarīh andar gēhān <ud> padīriftan <ī> borzāwand kay wištāsp dēn.***
>
> That which <has happened> from his Conference until <the revelation of> his trustworthiness as a prophet in the world and the acceptance of the religion by the lofty Kay Wištāsp.

> *Dk* 7.4.1 (*DkM* 626.1-5, *B* missing passages 28.10-29.1) ***abar abdīh ī paydāgīhist az hampursagīh <ī> fradom frāz tā haftom hampursagīh sar ī būd andar drahnāy ī dah sāl. wābarīgānīh ī-š pad waxšwarīh andar gēhān <ud> padīriftan ī borzāwand kay wištāsp dēn čiyōn pas az dah sāl ī andar hampursagīh.***
>
> On the wonders which are manifest between the first Conference and the end of the seventh Conference which <all> took place in a period of ten years. His trustworthiness as a prophet in the world, the acceptance of the religion by the lofty Kay Wištāsp after the ten years <elapsed> in Conference.

> *Dk* 7.4.73-74 (*DkM* 639.10-20, *B* missing passages 54.13-55.10) ***ēk ēd ī abāg abdīh ī az zardušt paydāgīhist pad pahikār ī abar-dēn abāg kišwar-nāmīg frazānagān kē-š andar pad frazānagīh <ī> gēhān-ašnāg sraw, bābēlāyīgān; andar awēšān ī škaft-pahikārtar ān duwāzdah-star-gōwišn {kē-šān nām az duwāzdah star}. dēn bōxtan u-š rāstīh dānišnīg paydāgēnīdan ud wištāsp šāh <ud> hamist awēšān frazānagān pad rāstīh ī dēn abēgumānēnīdan, frēstīd cand dādār ohrmazd wahman ud ašwahišt ud ātaxš ī abzōnīg pad +astīh ud ō wištāsp abar rāst-waxšwarīh ī zardušt. kāmag ī ohrmazd pad padīriftan ī wištāsp dēn mazdēsn ud rawāgēnīdan ī andar gēhān.***
>
> One is this, together with the wonders revealed by Zardušt in the dispute on the religion with sages famous throughout the regions, among whom in wisdom of world-known words

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(¹) Cf. the translation found in Anklesaria 1956: 307 and my own previous translation (Cereti 1995: 180-81).

(²) E.g. *Dk* 5.1.7-9, 5.2.8; 7.4.63, 7.4.87; *PR* 47.1, 47.2, 47.3, 46.16, 46.18, 46.20, 47.11, 47.13, 47.14, 47.18, 47.19; *WD* 17, 18; *WZad* 8.17, 22.14, 23.2, 34.47, 35.8-9.

> were the Babylonians, among those toughest disputers were those speaking of the twelve stars {whose name <comes> from the twelve stars}. To save the religion, to reveal wisely the truth to him and to free from doubt about the religion King Wištāsp and all those sages, the Creator Ohrmazd sent to Wištāsp, in the material existence, Wahman, Ašwahišt and the bountiful Fire <to witness> on the true prophethood of Zarduxšt. The will of Ohrmazd being the acceptance of the Mazdean religion by Wištāsp and <its> propagation in the world.
>
> *Dk* 7.5.1 (*DkM* 644.1-5, *B* 334.1-4) ***abar abdīh ī paydāgīhist az padīriftan frāz ī wištāsp dēn tā wihēz <ī> yašt-frawahr zarduxšt ō ān <ī> pahlom axwān {ka uzīd *ēstēd}; +az zāyišnīh frāz *haftād ud haft sāl ud az hampursagīh frāz čehel ud haft <sāl ud> az padīriftan ī wištāsp dēn frāz sīh ud panj sāl.***
>
> On the wonders which are manifest between the acceptance of the religion by Wištāsp and the crossing of Zarduxšt of the worshipped soul to the best existence {when he passed away}. Forth from the birth seventy seven years, from the Conference forty seven <years>, from the acceptance of the religion by Wištāsp thirty five years.
>
> *Dk* 7.5.6 (*DkM* 645.2-7, *B* 334.21-333.3) ***ēk ān ī pas [pas] az pēš-kēdīgīh ī [ud] zarduxšt abar gōwišnīh ī dēn ō wištāsp ud kišwarīgān paydāgīhist čiyōn padīriftan ī wištāsp dēn {ān ī zarduxšt}: pad bun-rasišn awiš guft az dahibed dēn paydāgīh kū: tō ēn xēm, ēn dēn kē xrōsag ast xwāstag, ān nūn ō ham kunēh kay wištāsp {kū be padīrēh}.***
>
> One what is revealed about the sermon on the religion to Wištāsp and his countrymen after Zarduxšt's prediction. As the acceptance of the religion {that of Zarduxšt} by Wištāsp: upon first arriving he said to him about the revelation of the religion to the ruler: 'Gather {accept} now this nature, this religion which is persecuted and oppressed, Kay Wištāsp'.
>
> *WZad* 24.6 ***gōkān andar dēn tā padīriftan ī wištāsp dēn az zarduxšt pas az abāz-nimūdārīh ī dādestānōmandīhā ud was gōnag +waxšwarīh ud mēnōg-gōhrīh ī abar wēnīhist pad gugāyīh ī sē abar-gōwišnān amahraspandān ī gētīg-paydāgīhā be ō wištāsp ud hanjamanīgān <ud> darīgān paydāg būd hēnd ī ast wahman ardwahišt ādur ī burzēnmihr.***
>
> The details <are found> in the religion: the acceptance by Wištāsp of the religion from Zarduxšt after the new revelation possessing justice and the various kinds of prophecies and spiritual pearls which have been observed by the testimony of the three Amahraspands of lofty words who appeared materially to Wištāsp and to the members of the community and courtesans <and> who are Wahman, Ardwahišt <and> Ādur Burzēnmihr.

These passages show clearly that when the acceptance of the religion is referred to Kay Wištāsp this is always specified by the formula *padīriftan* (...) *ī* (...) *wištāsp dēn*.

In the following two passages the formula *padīriftan ī dēn*, though connected by context to Wištāsp, is not directly referred to him:

> *Dk* 7.5.12 (*DkM* 646.8-14, *B* 332.1-7) ***ēk madan ī ō wištāsp ēd-iz ī amahraspandān pad +pādāšn ī dēn padīriftan niwēyēnīd. čiyōn pišōtan dādan ī frāx dahibed ōy amarg ud azarmān ud aniyāz-xwarišn, wuzurg-tan ud hōwandag-nērōg ud purr-xwarrah, amāwand ud pērōzgar ud yazadān hamtāg pus. ēwarz ī pišōtan ō kangdiz, xwadāyīh ī ānōh čiyōn dādār ohrmazd awiš hext. paydāgīhist ī pad-iz ān wuzurg abdīh ō wasān.***
>
> One the receiving by Wištāsp of what was announced by the Amahraspands as reward for

> accepting the religion. Such as the sight by the prosperous ruler of <his> son, Pišōtan, immortal, unaging, not in need of food, <endowed> with great body, perfect strength and fullness of xwarrah, powerful, victorious and equal to the gods. The going of Pišōtan to Kangdiz, <his> rule there as allotted to him by the Creator Ohrmazd. The great wonder about it was revealed to many.

> PR 47.17 ***ka-š xward būd pad gyāg stard būd u-šān ruwān be ō garōdman nīd, u-šān arzōmandīh ī dēn padīriftan*** (3) ***be nimūd.***
>
> Once he had drunk he fell unconscious on the spot and they led <his> soul to heaven and showed it the value of accepting the religion.

In at least two occurrences the phrase ***padīriftan ī dēn*** refers to Zoroaster:

> *Dk* 7.6.12 (*DkM* 648.15-21, *B* 330.1-4) ***ēk ēd ī paydāg pad panjāh ud haft sāl ī az padīriftan ī zarduxšt dēn frāz be rasišnīh ī dēn pad haft kišwar paydāg andar zīndagīh ī wištāsp. ēdōn-iš paydāgīhist pad madan ī az kišwar pad dēn-xwāhišnīh ō frašōstar ī hwōwān. čiyōn dēn gōwēd kū dō kē ēdōn nām hawēnd spitōyiš <ud> arzarāsp kē tazīd hēnd pad xrad-xwāhišnīh ī abar ō frašōstar ī hwōwān.***
>
> One this which is revealed in the fifty seven years which are manifest between the acceptance of the religion by Zarduxšt (4) and the arrival of the religion in the seven climates during the lifetime of Wištāsp. Thus it is revealed about the coming from the <other> continents to Frašōstar Hwōwā to acquire the religion. As the religion says: there are two <persons>, named *Spītō and Arzarāsp, who came forth to Frašōstar Hwōwā to acquire the religion.

> *Dk* 5.2.6 (*DkM* 435.3-10, *B* 493.17-492.1) ***mad ō pad hampursagīh <ī> ohrmazd <ud> padīriftan*** (5) ***ī dēn, ahriman <ud> was dēwān <ud> druzān pad bīm-nimāyišnīh niwēyišnīh ud pahikārišn <ud> xwāhišn <ud> niyāzišn awiš āmad hēnd ud hamāg apadīrišnīhā ud zadagīhā <ud> stōwīhā aziš wašt hēnd pad ān ī ōy ī abēzag frāz-gōwišnīh ī abestāg-ēwāzīg, ohrmazd kām pahlomīh <ud> wirāst-+zīwišn ud paydāg-mizdīh ud +nērōg-xwadāyīh ud ēbgat-zyān rāh +nimāyišn ud frazām yazadān pērōzīh ud čē-š ham-rāyēnišn.***
>
> He came to receive the religion in the Conference with Ohrmazd, Ahriman and many dēws and demons have come to him to herald the show of fear, defeat, desire, need and all have turned away from him without acceptance, beaten and in distress, on account of the recitation in Avestan words by the pure one showing the perfection of Ohrmazd's will, the restoration of life, the revelation of the reward, the powerful rule, the way to defeat the Adversary, the final victory of the gods and the similar.

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(3) Thus following the reading in MS MR$_1$.

(4) This is the only possible interpretation not only for linguistic reasons but also because the text is describing the events which took place in the lifetime of Zoroaster who died forty seven years after the acceptance of the religion by Wištāsp. Moreover in ***WZad*** 25.6 it is clearly stated that Frašōštar died in the sixty third year of the Conference, that is in the fifty first year of Wištāsp's conversion, see ***infra***.

(5) Written *MKBLWNty*.

In the *Wizīdāgīhā ī Zādspram* several passages point toward the fact that the beginning of the tenth millennium coincides with Zoroaster's Conference with Ohrmazd.

> *WZad 5 abar paydāg +būdan ī zarduxštān xwarrah pēš-iz az zāyišn. ōwōn paydāg kū pēš az čehel ud panj sāl ka zarduxšt be ō hampursīh mad, ka frēnī zarduxšt mād ī-šān duγdō xwānd zād pad ātaxš ēwēnag az ān ī asar rōšnīh frōd āmad be ō ān ātaxš gumēxt ī-š pēš būd, az ātaxš andar ō mādar ī zarduxšt gumēxt. sē šab pad hamāg widārān <ud> kustag ī xānag pad ātaxš ēwēnag paydāg būd. rāh-widerān wazurg rōšnīhā hamē dīd. ka-z pānzdah-sālag būd ān xwarrah ī-š padiš rāy ast ī pad rāh hamē raft ēg-iš payrōg azīš hamē ōbast.*
>
> On the appearance of the xwarrah of Zarduxšt even before the birth. So it is revealed that forty five years before Zarduxšt's coming to the Conference, when Frēnī gave birth to the mother of Zarduxšt who is called Duγdō, it came down from Infinite Light in the form of fire and merged in the fire that was in front of her, from the fire it entered into Zarduxšt's mother. For three nights it was visible on all entrances and sides of the house in the form of fire. The passers-by saw continuously great lights. When she was fifteen years old, on account of the xwarrah that was in her, each time that she went on the road the light radiated from her.

Comparing this narration with what is known about the birth of the three future saviours, we can easily notice that Ušēdar, Ušēdarmāh and Sōšāns were all born thirty years before the end of their predecessor's millennium, when their respective mother was fifteen years old. Since the lives of the future saviours are modelled on that of their ancient father, we may conclude that also Zoroaster was born thirty years before the end of the millennium and that his mother, if she was fifteen at the age of his birth, must have been born forty five years before the end of the millennium.

Chapter twenty five of the *Wizīdāgīhā ī Zādspram* reports a number of events which took place within three hundred years from the revelation:

> *WZad 25 abar az ān ī pēš az nēkīh ī zarduxšt wēnīhist <ud> čiyōnīh pad nimūdārīh az ohrmazd ō gēhānīgān nimūd. kū pad dah sālag mēdyōmāh hāxtēd pad nayestān <ud> wēšag kē xūg ī warāz gāh. ud pad wīst sālag hāxtēd *kawīg ī *kundā pus. pad sīh sālag rasēnd +hyōn ō ērān dehān wardag kunēnd ān ī +xūb-tōhmagtar az kanīgān. pad čehel sālag zād +wohunem ī ōrōštarān. pad čehel ud haft sālag widerēd zarduxšt kē bawēd haftād ud haft sāl <ud> čehel rōz ardwahišt māh xwar rōz pad hašt māh +wihēzag ō day māh ud xwar rōz hanīhist čiyōn yazišnīg ham ardwahišt māh. pad šast ud sē sālag frašōštar be widerēd. pad šast ud čahār <sālag> jāmāsp čiyōn pas az zarduxšt mowbedān mowbed būd. pad haftād ud sē sālag hangōruš ī jāmāsp pus. pad haštād sālag asmō-xwand. pad haštād sālag kawī waēpē ī axt-iz ī jādūg xwānīhist ōzanīhist <ud> šaš az dēmwarān ī meh ī ast dō +duxt ī zarduxšt kē-šān nām frēn ud srīd ud ablaw-stūd ī mēdyōmāh ud any sē kē-šān nāmčišt az dēn. pad ēk sad sālag az wohunem kē pad čehel sālag ī dēn zād +sēn zāyēd ud pad dō sad sālag be widerēd pad sad-hāwištīh. pad sē sad sālag andar rōz šabīh bawēd pas dēn āšōbīhēd ud xwadāyīh čandīhēd.*
>
> On what was seen before the goodness of Zarduxšt and how, through the revelation by Ohrmazd, it was shown to the worldly beings. That in the tenth year Mēdyōmāh is converted in the reed-bed and wood which <is> the place of boars. In the twentieth year *Kawīg son of Kundā is converted. In the thirtieth year the Hyōns arrive to the Ērānian countries and take prisoner the best born among maids. In the fortieth year +Wohunem son of Ōrōštar is born. In the forty seventh year dies Zarduxšt who is seventy seven years and forty days

> old, <on> month Ardwahišt day Xwar. On account of the progression of eight months it has been moved to month Day, day Xwar that, for sacrifice, is the same as month Ardwahišt. In the sixty third year Frašōštar dies. In the sixty fourth <year dies> Jāmāsp as he was the Mowbedān Mowbed after Zarduxšt. In the seventy third year <dies> Hangōruš son of Jāmāsp. In the eightieth year <dies> Asmō-xwand. In the eightieth year Kawī Waēpē [Tafazzoli 1995] also called the sorcerer Axt, is killed and <also> six of the best believers, namely: two daughters of Zarduxšt whose names are Frēn and Srīd, Ahlaw-stūd son of Mēdyōmāh and three others whose name is famous in the Religion. In the hundredth year Sēn is born from Wohunem who was born in the fortieth year of the religion, and <he, Sēn> dies in the two hundredth year having one hundred disciples. In the three hundredth year it is night during the day, thereafter religion will be disturbed and royalty will be shaken.

This list does not mention the date of the conversion of Wištāsp, but it can be evinced, among others, from the passage in the seventh book of the *Dēnkard* (*Dk* 7.5.1) which we have translated above.

Finally another passage in the seventh book of the *Dēnkard*, already noticed by West (1897: xxx and 105), clearly states that the millennium begins with Zoroaster's Conference with Ohrmazd:

> *Dk* 7.8.51 (*DkM* 666.14-18, *B* 314.6-10) ***ud abar brīnag ī dah sadōzem ī andar ēk hazangrōzem ī zarduxštān ud āgāhīh ī ušēdar ī zarduxšt pus ēn-iz gōwēd kū: ka ān sadōzem be sazēd ī fradom pad dēn ī māzdēsnān az zarduxšt ō hampursagīh mad frāz čē fradom sadōzem brīn ast?***
>
> And on the divisions of the ten centuries which are in the one millennium of Zarduxšt, and on the knowledge of Ušēdar son of Zarduxšt this is also said: When the first century will pass on the Mazdean religion since Zarduxšt came to the Conference, which will be the limit of the century?

Given all this we can now interpret correctly the *Bundahišn* passage:

> Kay Wištāsp <reigned> thirty years until the coming of the religion; the reckoning is one thousand years. Thereafter the rule of the millennium came to Capricorn; Zarduxšt the Spitāma came in prophethood from the Creator Ohrmazd to king Wištāsp; king Wištāsp, after the acceptance of the religion <by Zarduxšt, reigned> ninety years; altogether one hundred and twenty years.

Thus the two hundred and fifty eight years before Alexander must be counted from the Conference of Zarduxšt with Ohrmazd which took place in the thirtieth year of the prophet's life, and it coincides with the beginning of the millennium and of the 'years of the religion' as shown, among others, by *WZad* 25.10.

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Dk - *Dēnkard*: cf. Molé 1967.

DkM - D.M. Madan, *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, 2 vols., Bombay 1911.

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TD$_1$ - *The Bondahesh. Being a Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript TD1*, Iranian Culture Foundation, 88, Teheran 1970.

TD$_2$ - *The Bûndahishn. Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2 Brought from Persia by Dastur Tîrandâz and Now Preserved in the Late Ervad Tahmuras' Library*, ed. T.D. Anklesaria, Bombay 1908.

WD - *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg*: cf. Molé 1967.

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WZad - *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*: cf. Gignoux & Tafazzoli 1993.

Skanda-Ṣaṣṭhī in Gandharan Reliefs — A Review

by R.C. AGRAWALA

The cult of Skanda was quite popular in the Gandhāra region during the early centuries of the Christian era. This is very well attested to by the discovery of a number of independent schist reliefs of this *Śaiva* divinity of the Brahmanic pantheon.

A Brāhmī inscription of the 3rd century A.D. from Abbottabad (Dist. Hazara, Pakistan) and now preserved in the Lahore Museum refers to the 'Temple of Skanda' (*Kumāra-sthāna*) having been constructed by a foreigner (1). In the early sculptural art of Gandhāra, Skanda is usually shown with a lance in one hand and a cock in the other. He is assigned the status of a true warrior draped as he is in foreign dress including the coat of mail. The Indian Art Museum in Berlin preserves an interesting stone relief (no. I. 5811; height 20 cm) (2) in which we also notice the additional carving of a peacock on the pedestal of Skanda-Kumāra. It was a portable cult object meant for private worship.

Of unusual interest is a tiny Gandharan schist relief in the Cleveland Museum of Art (no. 73.76; height 14.6 cm) (3) in the form of a portable diptych and datable to the 2nd-3rd century A.D. (Fig. 1). The importance of this unique specimen was recently highlighted for the first time in my paper published in *East and West* (4). The upper portion of the sculpture presents a female and a male seated side by side, inside an arched niche, in a small space, only 2 inches in height. The first figure is that of a female divinity seated in European fashion; she carries a lotus flower in her right hand and a purse in her left; she wears a long tunic which hangs down and a scarf covers her outstretched knees. Although she looks like Hāritī this is misleading. Her identification is made possible by the five small human heads carved around her main central human head, thus suggesting her identification with the goddess

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(1) D.C. Sircar, 'Abbotabad, Inscription of the Time of Kadambeśvara, Dāsa Year 25', *Epigraphia Indica*, 30, 1953-54, pp. 59-62.

(2) R.C. Agrawala, 'Skanda with Cock and Peacock: A Rare Device in Gandhāra Art', *Eastern Approaches*, ed. T.S. Maxwell, Delhi 1992, pp. 130-32, pls. 43-45; Id., 'Skanda Kārttikeya in Gandhāran Art', *Roopa Lekhā*, 62-63, 1993, pp. 48-53 and plates.

(3) S. Czuma, *Kuṣāṇa Sculptures — Images from Early India*, Cleveland 1985, pp. 162-63, pl. 80 on p. 162.

(4) R.C. Agrawala, 'Ṣaṣṭhī in Gandharan Art', *EW*, 43, 1993, pp. 271-75, with bibliography for Ṣaṣṭhī and plates. The association of a purse with Ṣaṣṭhī here is interesting. In this paper I had missed a reference to the peacock in both the panels of the Cleveland diptych under scrutiny; both the panels thus depict Skanda clearly.

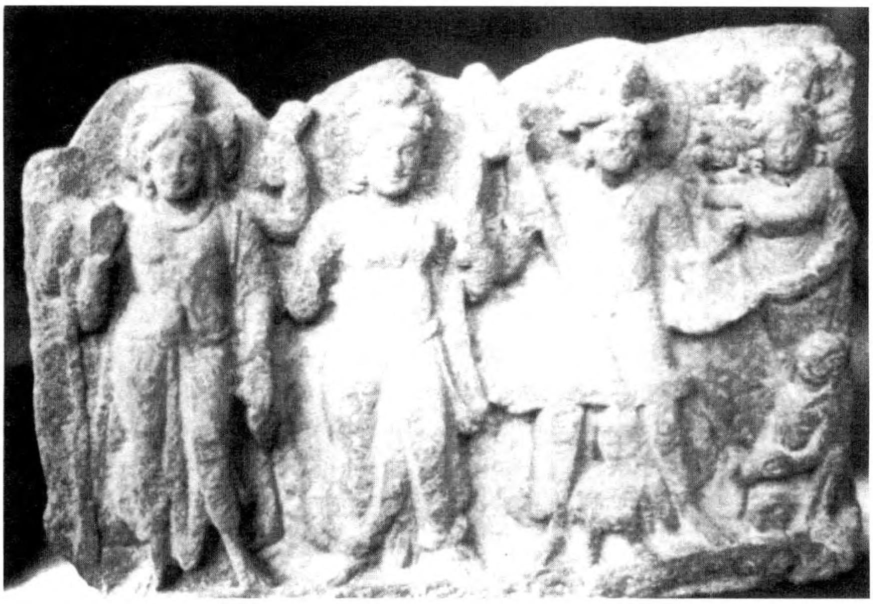


Fig. 1 - The Śaiva couples. Sherrier Collection. (After Sherrier 1993).

Ṣaṣṭhī — the consort of Skanda. Interestingly enough, her male counterpart is shown seated on her left side, carrying a full-size lance (*śakti*) in his right hand and a cock (*kukkuṭa*) in the left. There is thus no difficulty in recognizing their proper identification. The goddess occupies a prominent place here, as she is carved as the first figure. She may even represent Ṣaṣṭhī, the Protector of the child Skanda-Kumāra. The flower and purse in her hands would seem to suggest that she was symbolic of prosperity as well. By contrast, the lower panel of this very Gandharan diptych (in the Cleveland Museum) presents the male and female figures standing; their order is of course reversed; the male deity, shown standing first, is carrying a bird (cock) in his left hand and a flower with a long stalk in the right. He dons the sacred thread across one shoulder, and wears a *dhoṭī*. The *tri-śikha* hair and matted (*jaṭā*) lock of hair above his head are elegantly carved, suggesting his identification with Skanda shown without his *śakti*, a problem which, of course, needs special attention. The female, who appears to his left as his spouse (*vāmāṅgī*), has got a horn (*nidhi-śriṅga*) mark on her head above; she carries a flower in her right hand and may be identified as the single-headed Devasenā-Lakṣmī.

It is equally interesting to notice the carving of a peacock between the legs of Ṣaṣṭhī and Skanda in the upper arched half of the Cleveland diptych under examination; the sacred bird has raised its neck up towards the right knee of the master Skanda-Kumāra. This further supports the exact identification of the two deities in the upper half. There seem to be some vestiges of the raised up neck of the peacock just below the cock in the lower panel, which thus depicts Skanda with cock and peacock, but without his *śakti*, in the lower half.

Mr Julian Sherrier, an art lover and collector from London, has also been able to acquire quite a rare Gandhāran schist relief (height 18 cm; width 25 cm) (⁵) depicting two *Śaiva* couples standing side by side (Fig. 2). Beginning from the left, the first figure is that of four-armed and three-headed Śiva in the traditional *ūrdhvaretas* pose; the side heads are those of a deer and a human one. Next to him appears a standing female clad in typical Indian dress; she holds a long-handled mirror (*darpaṇa*) in her left hand as usual, but her right one is damaged; she should represent Pārvatī — the consort of Śiva. The third and fourth figures are of course quite interesting from an iconographic point of view. The third figure is that of two-armed Skanda standing in typical Gandharan fashion, with a long spear in his right hand while the left probably held the cock as usual. Between his stretched legs may be seen his mount, a peacock facing front; the male deity is therefore no other than Skanda-Kārttikeya wearing a turban on his head and a coat of mail on his chest; he is clad in a *dhoṭī* and stands bare-footed. The last figure, appearing next to Skanda, is that of a goddess who carries a flower in her right hand while her left hand, now damaged, was stretched towards the cock. Around her central head may be seen five additional human heads, as also noticed in the Cleveland diptych cited above. The goddess here too (in the Sherrier relief) is none else but Ṣaṣṭhī in the company of her husband, Skanda, who precedes her in order; she appears to the left of Skanda. This grouping of two couples together, i.e., Śiva-Pārvatī and Skanda-Ṣaṣṭhī, on a single relief is of great iconographic interest, and removes any doubt about the *Śaiva* association of Skanda and the six-headed goddess Ṣaṣṭhī: it has nothing to do with the Buddhist pantheon. Mr Julian Sherrier (⁶) has identified the last figure, the six-headed goddess, with that of Kṛittikās but that is no longer tenable in the light of the Cleveland

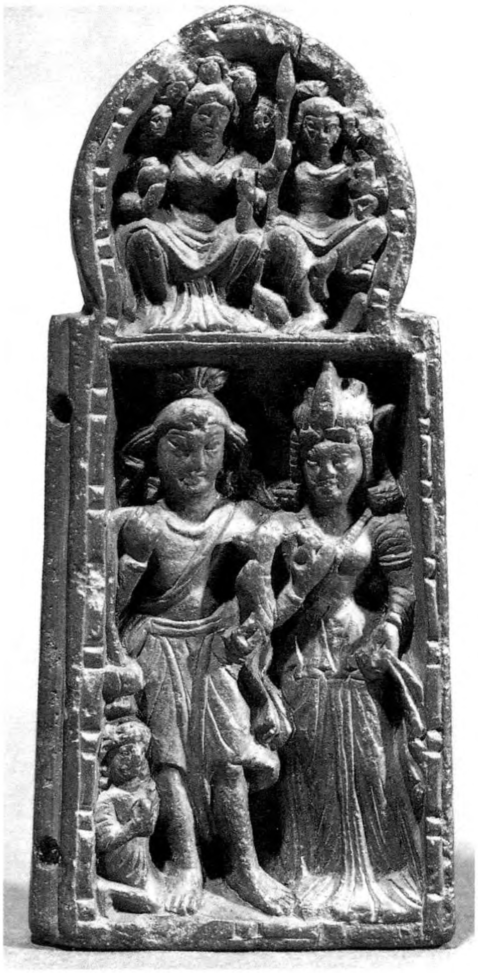


Fig. 2 - The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 73.76.

(⁵) J. Sherrier, 'Śiva in Gandhāra', *South Asian Archaeology 1991*, ed. A.J. Gail and G.J.R. Mevissen, Berlin 1993, pp. 617-24, pl. 48.1.

(⁶) *Ibid.*, pp. 618-21.

Museum diptych and the enlightening details of her male counterpart, Skanda-Kārttikeya. Another such stone relief depicting the family of Śiva and Skanda together on one panel (Śiva Parivāra) has not been reported from the Gandhāra region as yet. Viewed in this light, the priceless Gandharan specimen in the collection of Mr Sherrier adds a new chapter to the *Śaiva* iconography in general and that of Ṣaṣṭhī in Gandharan art in particular; it was a portable panel meant for private worship by some *Śaiva* devotee of the Gandhāra region.

It may also be remembered that in all the Gandharan Skanda statues or panels, discovered so far, he is invariably shown with a single head while his consort is endowed with six heads, as discussed above.

The association of a peacock with Skanda in the above Gandharan reliefs is equally interesting, though he is shown riding the peacock astride which is a later device in the Gandharan art, as depicted in the specimens preserved in the State Museum at Lucknow and the British Museum. The Cleveland Museum diptych assumes greater importance because it depicts Skanda without a lance in the lower half, while a peacock appears from behind.

The Recent Discovery of Cave Paintings in Swat
A Preliminary Note

by A. NAZIR KHAN, ABDUL NISAR, LUCA M. OLIVIERI
and MATTEO VITALI

Introduction

In 1990 the existence of a cave with vestiges of paintings was reported in the Kafir-kot area, in a locality its explorer called 'Nokkono Ghwand' situated in the southern left side of the Swat Valley near the village of Thana. I followed up this information which was found to be correct during a survey made by P. Brocato and myself that same year in August.

Mr A. Nazir Khan, former Director of the Swat Archaeological Museum, has the merit of discovering the cave with the paintings. He appointed N. Olivieri, the draughtsman of the IsMEO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, to make the first tracing of the paintings in the spring of 1990 (Faccenna et al. 1993: 121, fn. 4). This material was subsequently published in 1994 (Nazir Khan 1994).

The discovery of the existence of these cave paintings has been of particular value to the Italian Archaeological Mission's research on the rock carvings in Swat. D. Faccenna, then Director of the Mission, appointed A. Filigenzi, assisted by L.M. Olivieri for the documentary part, to do the work (Callieri 1990; Olivieri in C. Faccenna et al. 1993; Olivieri 1994).

In the summer of 1993, at the invitation of the new Director of the Swat Archaeological Museum, M. Ashraf Khan, the IsMEO Mission undertook to survey the area with A. Nisar, Assistant Curator of the Museum, who knew of another rock shelter in the same area also with traces of paintings. On this occasion a second survey was made of Kafir-kot and a complete set of tracings of the paintings made for the documentary record. Next, the site of Hinduano-batai was visited and tracings of the surviving paintings made (Fig. 2). Successive reconnaissance by the IsMEO Mission, with the help of Mr Fazal Wahid, brought to light new rock paintings at the Shamo site (which may correspond to the Sofar-ghat site mentioned by Nazir Khan 1994: 215), of which tracings were duly made. In addition, the paintings at Marano-tangai (Fig. 3), which had already been reported by A. Nazir Khan in 1994 (Nazir Khan 1994: 215, fig. 5), were traced. Tiny samples of pigment were taken from all four sites in order to analyse the composition.

The Kafir-kot shelter, situated on the crest of Mt Morah-sar which separates the Kotah Valley from the Thana Valley, is near the rocky peak which dominates the two vallies (GSP 43 B/2; lat. 34° 35′ N, long. 72° 07′ E) (Fig. 1a). The site is referred to here by the topographical name of 'Kafir-kot' because it is more precise than that of 'Nokkono Ghwand' chosen by its discoverer, which, rather than a topographical indication is more a physical one, since *nokkono-ghwanḍ* in Pashto means 'top of the hill'.

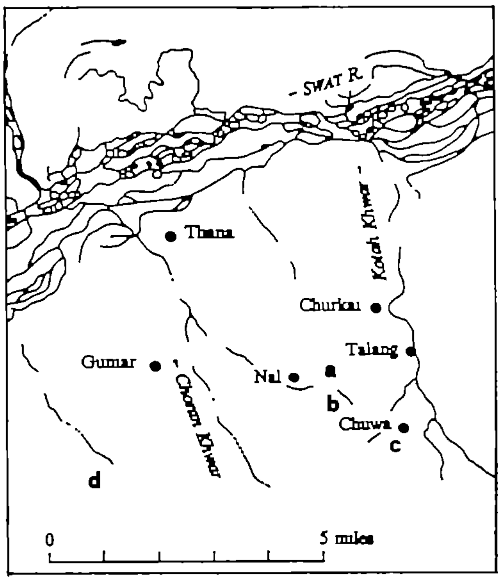


Fig. 1 - Sketch map of the area (after Nazir Khan 1994: Map 1): a, Kafir-kot; b, Shamo; c, Marano-tangai; d, Hinduano-hatai.

A second shelter with vestiges of painting, has been found to the SSW and a little lower down than the first one, in the Shamo locality (GSP 43 B/2; lat. 34° 54′ N, long. 72° 09′ E) (Fig. 1b). The two shelters are in the immediate vicinity of sacred Buddhistic areas, namely: Giroban and Kafir-kot (Stein 1930: 5-6, fig. 6) (Fig. 4).

Crossing the peak of Mt Morah-sar by the Saffar Pass (near which some interesting remains such as steps and passages cut in the rock have been noted; Figs. 5-6), and so entering the Kotah Valley, a third shelter with traces of paintings has been found. This is not far from the hamlet of Chuwa (with a ruined *stūpa*), in the vicinity of the sacred area of Top-dara (*ibid.*: 6-7) (Fig. 7). More precisely the rock shelter is situated in the Marano-tangai locality (GSP 43 B/2; lat. 34° 54′ N, long. 72° 07′ E) (Fig. 1c).

A fourth shelter, also with traces of painting, has been discovered in the Allahdandherai Valley, a little further to the southwest, close to the village of Binjanr, in the Hinduano-hatai locality (GSP 38 N/14; lat. 34° 35′ N, long. 72° 00′ E (Fig. 1d). In the zone where the shelter has been found there are many ruins (amongst which some towers with semicircular bastions stand out and probably date from the Hindushahi period) (Fig. 8). It is not far from the sacred area of Loriyan-tangai (Foucher 1905: 25, figs. 3-5).

From a topographical point of view, the four shelters are situated near important passes which connect the Swat Valley with the Mardan Plain. The first three are near the Morah Pass (Fig. 9) and the fourth is near the Shahkot Pass (Foucher 1905; Stein 1921).

(L.M.O.)

Kafir-kot

The paintings at Kafir-kot (Fig. 10) are on the rear wall of the cave, which is formed of massive gneiss granitic rocks resting on each other (Figs. 11-12). The cave is a shallow semi-circular cavity about 1.50 m in depth by the same height. There are no signs of artificial intervention and it is open on the NNW side. The images are painted with a red pigment and, to facilitate description, may be divided into three groups, although they make up a unified composition. On the right, at the point where the ceiling begins to slope down, there are

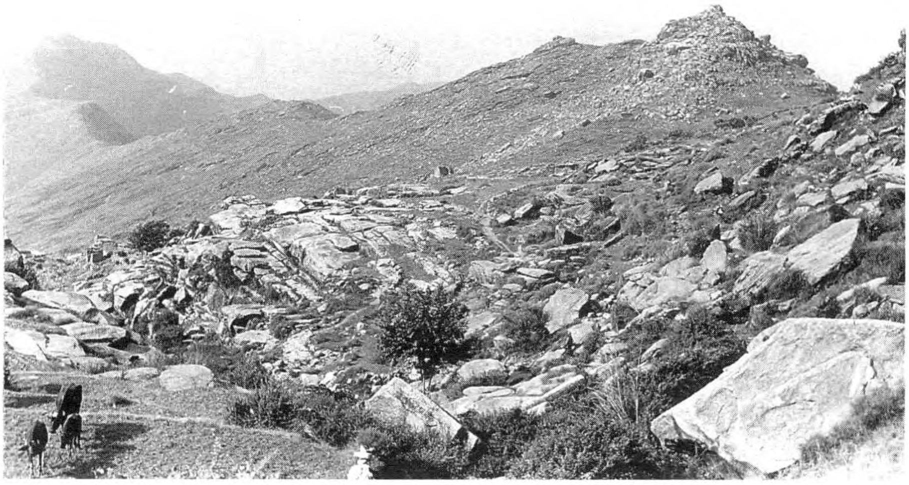


Fig. 2 - The pinnacle of Kafir-kot seen from the ruins of the sacred Buddhistic area of the same name. In the background, on the left, is the peak of Morah-sar. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17471/35).

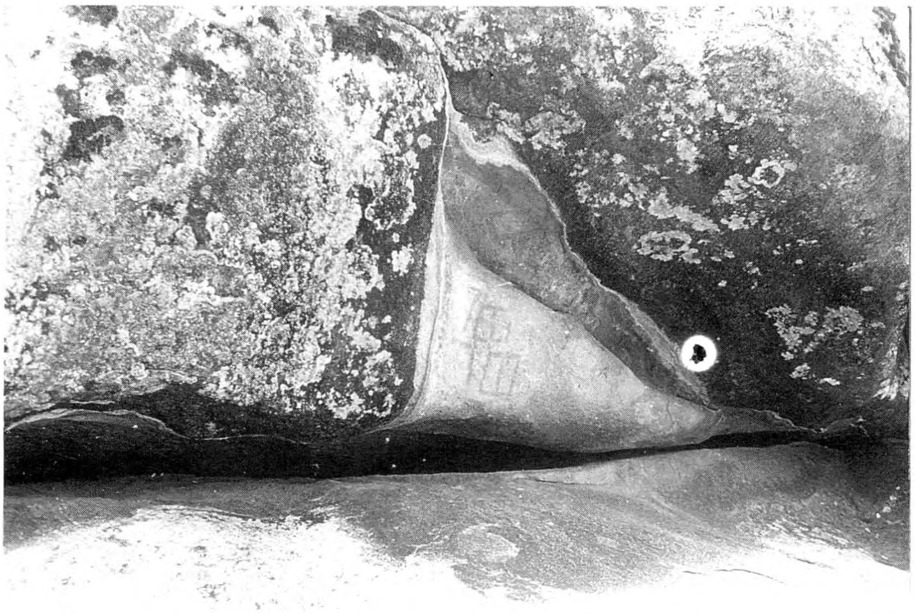


Fig. 3 - The paintings at Marano-tangai. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17916/31).

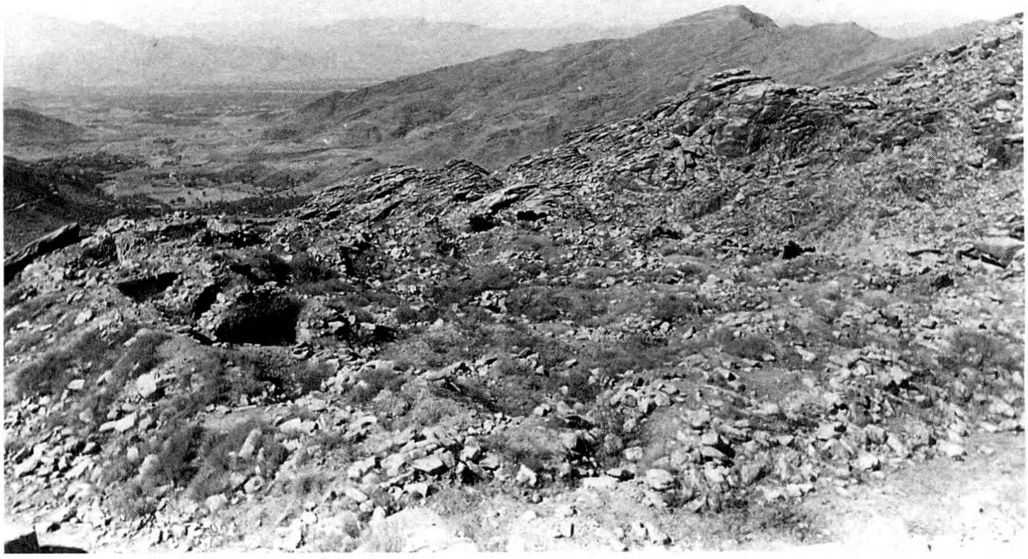


Fig. 4 - A present-day view of the remains of the sacred area of Kafir-kot despoiled by clandestine excavations. The Shamo shelter is a little below the ruins. In the background is the Thana Valley and the course of the Swat River. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17915/4).

nine figures; at the bottom there are three *stūpas*. Of these, the central one has garlands hanging down from the *chattrāvalī*, while the access stairway on the third *stūpa* is depicted schematically. In the space between the first two *stūpas* the figure of a horseman armed with a bow is shown in the act of shooting an arrow to the rear. Above, one can make out an animal shape but no more (cf. Bemmann & König 1994: T. 29, 24: 17, interpret it as a *tamgha*). Higher up, where the wall begins to curve, on the right, there is the figure of an archer (note how the head terminates in a point, as though wearing a helmet); next to that there is a *stūpa*, then a complex elongated form with hornlike protuberances, and last there is an incomplete *stūpa*. The central group is made up of a grand *stūpa* flanked by ten lesser *stūpas*. There are also three human figures and a disc marked with a cross surmounted by a crescent with two divergent lines at the base. The central *stūpa* is depicted with vertical lines decorating the lower part which most probably represent pilasters; the second storey and the *aṇḍa* have been coloured in, while on the top some elements of the *chattrāvalī* are recognisable such as the *harmikā* and the spacers of the umbrellas; swaying festoons are also shown as well as garlands hanging at the sides of the *stūpa*. (P. Callieri has suggested that it might be a schematic rendering of the *pradakṣiṇa-patha*). In addition, the base has a faint indication of a flight of stairs. The stairs are more clearly visible on one of the lesser *stūpas*, on the right at the bottom. Standing at the side of this *stūpa* there is human figure (with folded arms?); above it is another human figure in a similar attitude. There is an archer at the bottom — with a well defined penis (not uncommon in the representation of warriors in the graffiti of the Upper Indus) — whose head terminates in a point (as though wearing a helmet?). On the left, at the place where the ceiling of the shelter slopes down again, one can see pictured two *stūpas* and an archer.

A certain amount of deterioration accounts for the apparent differences between the partial graphic documentation I published (Nazir Khan 1994) and that presented in the Note. In particular, in the first group, one can see that the *stūpa* on the right still clearly showed traces of the steps at the time I made the initial record, which have since disappeared (*ibid.*: fig. 4); again, looking at the first group today, very scanty traces remain of the pendant garlands which once hung from the *chattrāvalī* of the *stūpa* with the mounted archer beside it (*ibid.*: fig. 3). In the central group, the stairway of the *stūpa* can hardly be seen today, which was previously complete (*ibid.*: fig. 10); lastly, the line of three horsemen has totally disappeared (*ibid.*: figs. 7-9), as well as the figure of the archer (*ibid.*: fig. 15) which, already at the time of the original documentation was in a very poor state of repair.

(A.N.K.)

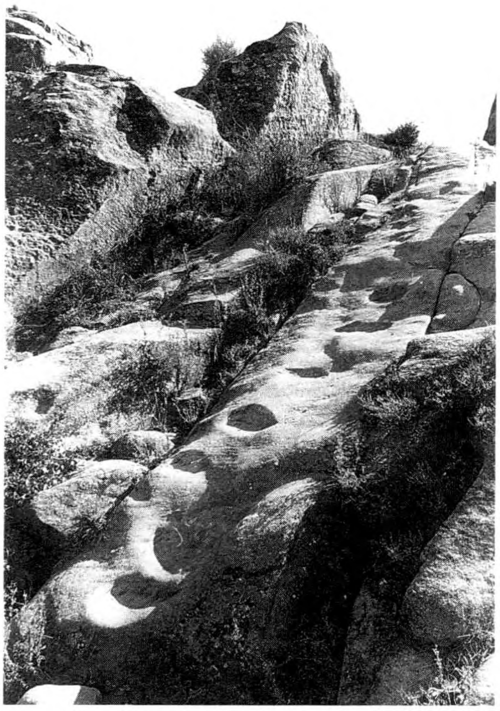


Fig. 5 - View of the path from Kafir-kot to Marano-tangai showing the Saffar Pass with the steps cut in the rock. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17916/24).

Shamo

The paintings at Shamo (Fig. 13) are also inside a natural shelter, open on the north side, and of similar dimensions and depth to the preceding one (Fig. 4). There are no traces of artificial interference. However, the shelter's greater exposure to the elements has meant that the weather is responsible for obliterating many of the paintings. These were painted with red pigment. Today, three sections of the original composition can still be made out: one section (Fig. 13.*1*) on the wall at the back, a second (Fig. 13.*2*) on the left-hand side of the vault, and a third on the centre of the vault (Fig. 13.*3*). In the first section there is a group of warriors represented by two archers in the act of drawing their bows and facing to the right, a horseman also facing right, and a considerably larger figure wearing a wide-brimmed helmet, possibly armed with a sword and holding a shield in the left hand (?). There is only a quadruped in the second section, most likely a horse. In the third, there is a *stūpa* of

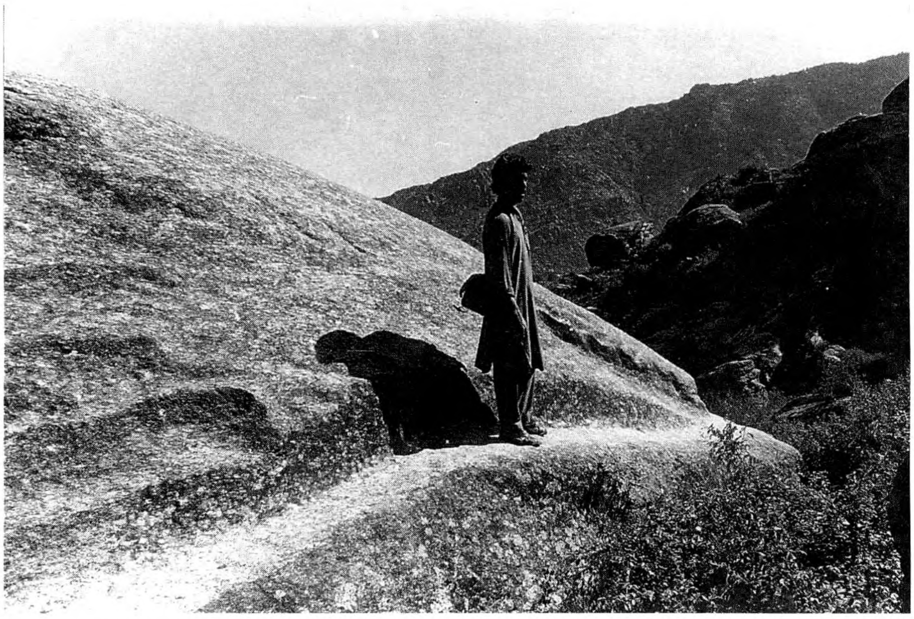


Fig. 6 - On the Saffar Pass: the passage cut out of the rock. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17916/26).

which the recognisable elements are the pilaster strips which divide the panels of the base with its stairway, the upper storey surmounted by the *aṇḍa* fully blocked in with colour; above it one can discern the details of the *chattrāvalī* and the garlands hanging down at the sides of the *stūpa*.

(L.M.O.)

Marano-tangai

The paintings at Marano-tangai (Fig. 14) are completely different in character and subject matter from those at the other sites. These decorate a small cave, open on the NNE side, formed by a huge, partially inclined block of granitic gneiss; here too there are no signs of artificial intervention. A red pigment was used for the paintings. The subject they illustrate is particularly enigmatic as they consist of a series of squares, some have a dot in the centre, others a vertical median line intersected at the centre by a shorter horizontal one, yet others have slightly differing distinguishing marks. The composition looks like a 'planimetric' design of a series of buildings or monuments (Nazir Khan 1994: 215), although a pictographic or symbolic reading is not to be excluded. So far I have been unable to find other comparable material either to prove this hypothesis or to formulate others. It should be noted that the paintings at Marano-tangai are close to a sacred area, almost within it, and only a few

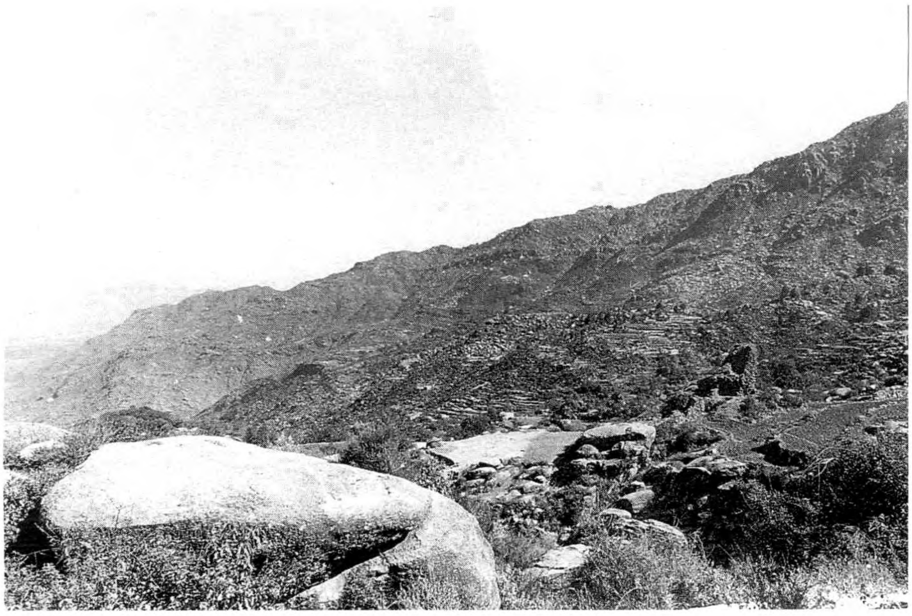


Fig. 7 - The ruined *stūpa* at Chuwa. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17916/27).

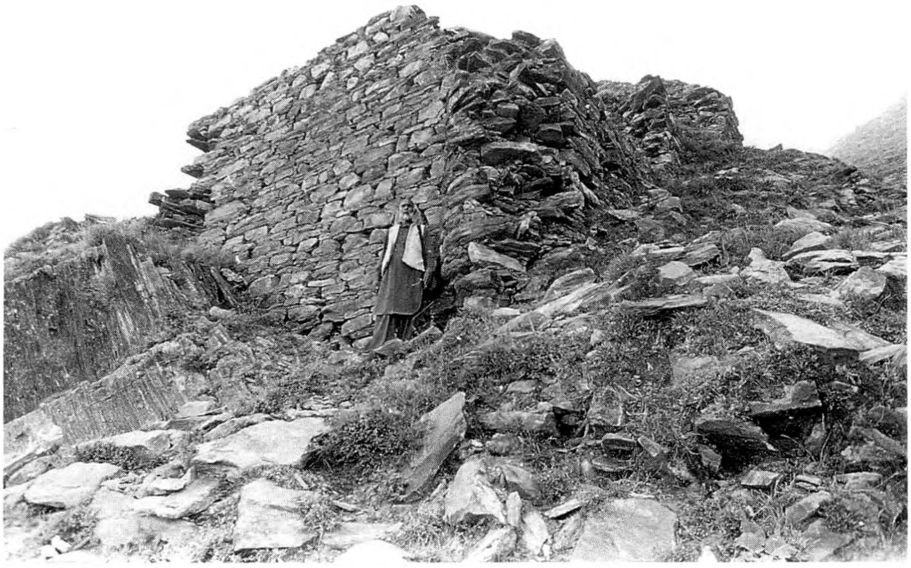


Fig. 8 - Ruins of Hindushahi towers near Hinduano-hatai. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17916/15).

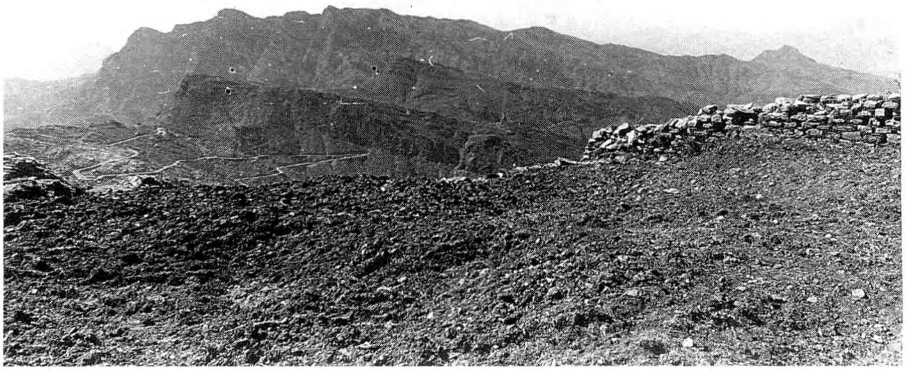


Fig. 9 - The Morah Pass seen from Kafir-kot. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17916/34).

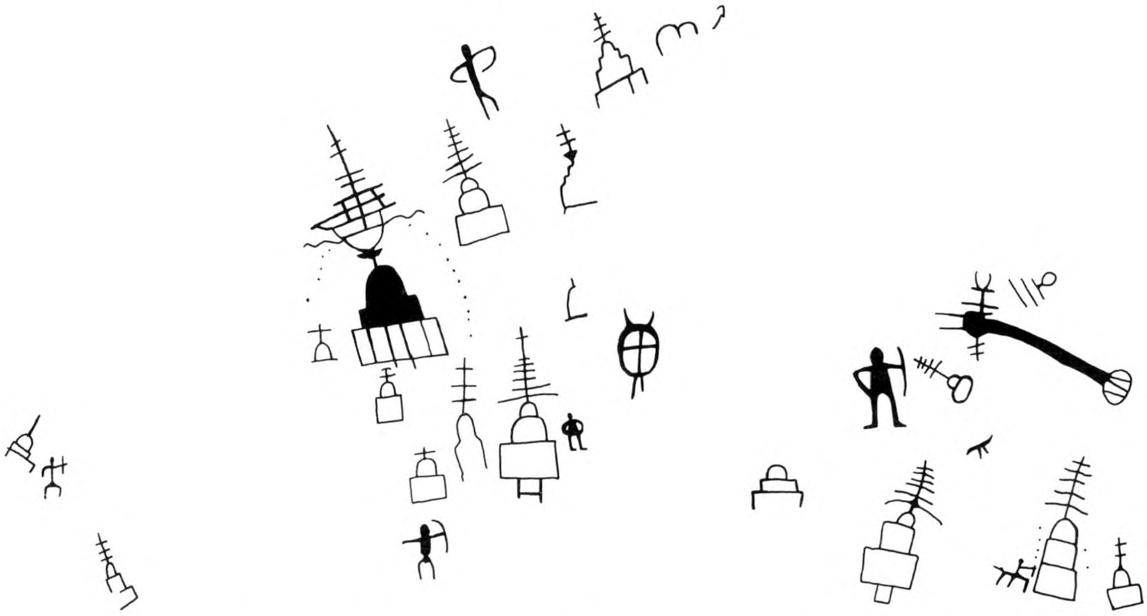


Fig. 10 - The paintings at Kafir-kot. (Drawing by L.M.O.; scale 1:15).

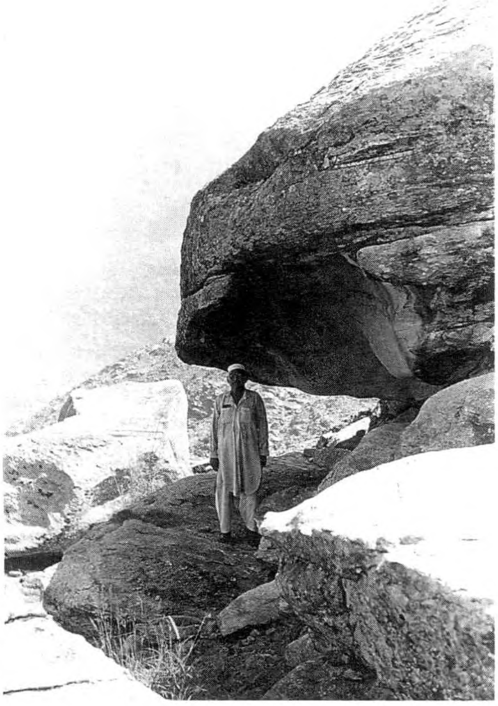


Fig. 11 - The Kafir-kot shelter with a view of the Kotah Valley in the background. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17471/25).

Fig. 12 - A glimpse of the interior of the Kafir-kot shelter. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17903/28).

metres from some basins hewn out of the gneiss plates (measurements 130 x 127 x 20 max.; 180 x 127 x 38 max.; 160 x 154) (Fig. 15); the presence of postholes close to the long sides of the basins is of special interest. The discovery of these tanks, possibly used to prepare working materials such as plaster, clay, etc., can certainly be compared to analogous discoveries, for example near the Amlukdarra sacred area in the Karakar Valley, also in Swat (Di Florio et al. 1993).

(L.M.O.)

Hinduano-hatai

The paintings at Hinduano-hatai (Fig. 16) are also in a natural shelter, open on the SE side, in a calcareous cliff which dominates the village of Binjanr (Fig. 3). They certainly must have appealed to the fancy of the Pathans as they gave this grotto — as L.M. Olivieri remarked to me — the curious toponym of *hinduano-hatai* (meaning 'the workshop of the Hindus' in Pashto). Inside the shelter a number of figures have been individuated. For the

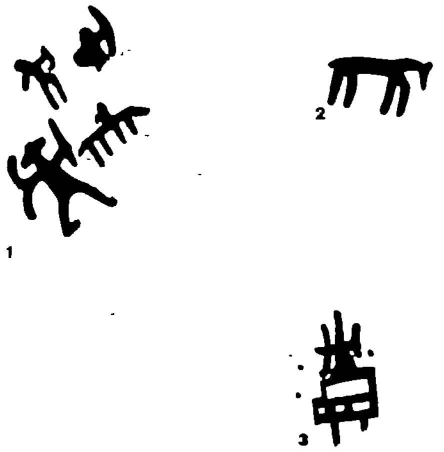


Fig. 13 - The paintings at Shamo: 1, first section; 2, second section; 3, third section. (Drawing by L.M.O.; scale 1:10).

sake of convenience we have grouped them into four sections: the first, corresponds to the paintings on the right-hand wall on entering (Fig. 16.*1*), the second, to those painted on the left wall (Fig. 16.*2*), the third, somewhat hidden, to those on the far wall (Fig. 16.*3*). The fourth section is situated in an inner cavity linked to the front one by a narrow passageway (Fig. 16.*4*).

Here, in contrast to the other sets of paintings, two pigments were utilised, and both are different from those employed in the other sites, one is a reddish-orange tone and the other is yellow. Nevertheless, the figures retain a monochromatic quality, even though the reddish-orange colour on the *stūpas* in the second section appears to have been applied over the yellow and vice versa in the designs of the third group, where the yellow appears to have been laid over the reddish-orange, as we shall see later. There are three *stūpas* in the first section: of one of them it is possible to make out the base, the second storey, the *aṇḍa* filled-in with yellow paint and the components of the *chattrāvalī*; of the second *stūpa* only part of the *chattrāvalī* is recognisable, while the third, smaller in size, retains part of the base, the *aṇḍa* and the *chattrāvalī*. The second section represents a distinct *stūpa* with the base decorated with pilaster strips, supporting the *aṇḍa* capped by the *chattrāvalī*. On the right, vestiges of two *chattrāvalī* indicate that there were once two more *stūpas*. These images appear to have been painted by putting the reddish-orange colour over a layer of yellow paint. Above and below the *stūpas* there are two, not easily recognisable figures, both painted yellow. The figure at the bottom could either be an upright human figure or a horseman (cf. Bemmann & König 1994: T. 29, 25:20). At the top there is a simple circle surmounted by a faint suggestion of a crescent. The third section is of special interest from the point of view of technique. This actually concerns the marks resulting from the cleaning off the some excess pigment from the tips of the fingers once the painting was finished. This proves that at least the paintings at Hinduano-hatai were worked with the fingers. In fact, the thickness of the marks left by the fingers is the same as that of the pictures conserved in the shelter. Moreover, some of the finger marks are yellow while others are reddish-orange,

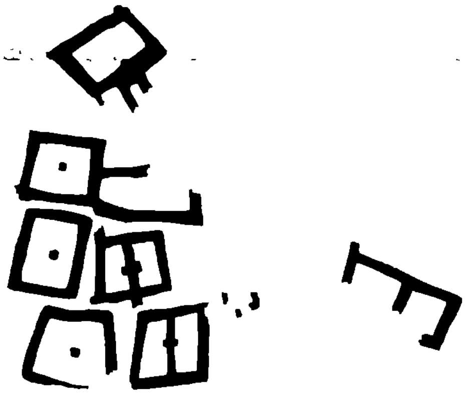


Fig. 14 - The paintings at Marano-tangai. (Drawing by L.M.O.; scale 1:10).

but in certain examples the yellow has been laid over the reddish-orange which goes to prove that the colours were applied at the same time in the paintings of the second group. In the fourth section there is a *stūpa* with stairs, its two storeys are coloured in whereas the *aṇḍa* with the *chattrāvalī* is shown in contour; the other figure is difficult to interpret but it may be a human figure.

(A.N.)

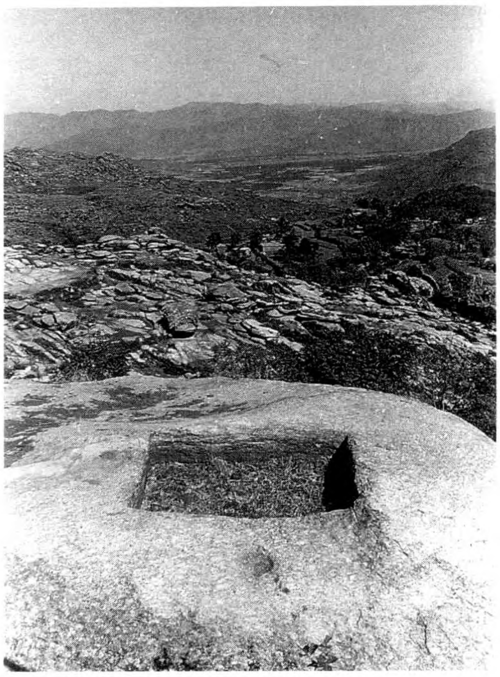


Fig. 15 - Marano-tangai, one of the basins cut out of the rock near the shelter. The Kotah Valley and the course of the Swat are seen in the background. (Photo by L.M.O.; IsMEO Dep. 17916/30).

Chemical Analysis of the Pigments

The substances used as colouring matter in the rock paintings under study are obviously to be sought among those naturally present in the locality, easily obtainable, and extractable by simple means. A preliminary distinction should be made between organic substances, for example the pigments extracted from vegetable matter (flowers or plants) or animals (insects, molluscs, etc.), and inorganic substances (minerals), prevalently oxides, hydroxides or salts from pigmentary minerals that can impart a colour.

The analytical procedures necessary to identify the chemical structure of organic substances are very complex and must in any case take into account the state and the amount of the material to be analysed. The samples of the pictorial material under examination are from three of the sites only, because the samples taken from the Shamo shelter could not be used for our purpose. The other four test samples from Kafir-kot, Marano-tangai, Hinduano-hatai reddish-orange and Hinduano-hatai yellow, available in tiny quantities (a few milligrammes), showed a high content of siliceous particles from the rock surface of the particular shelters which house the paintings, and from which they could not be physically separated. In addition, they appeared to be faded and in part oxidised. Therefore it was not possible to test them by conventional analytical methods for identifying the organic substances eventually present in the matter.

For this reason the analyses have been focused on the second category, the minerals — in this case the state and the amount of the samples do not present insurmountable difficulties for the determination of small amounts of the metals contained in the materials. In fact,

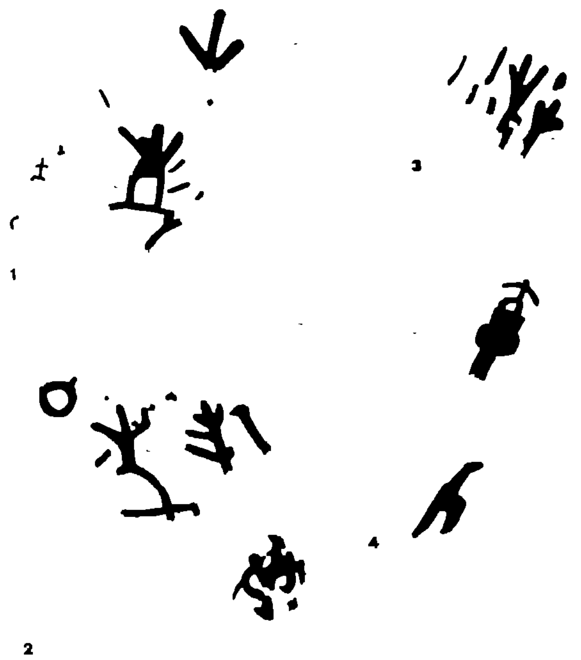


Fig. 16 - The paintings at Hinduano-hatai: 1, first section; 2, second section; 3, third section; 4, fourth section. (Drawing by L.M.O.; scale 1:10).

the atomic absorption spectrometry method for determining metals has, among others, the characteristics of a high sensitivity (very little material is needed), a high specificness (that makes it virtually impossible to confuse one metal with another), and the possibility to effectuate quantitative determinations: that is, to establish for each metal identified the per cent found in the material analysed. Such a possibility is of fundamental importance to us; in fact a simple identification would have given us a list of all, or nearly all, the metals on the earth's crust, even though present in infinitesimal quantities. On the other hand, only a quantitative analysis can guarantee the significance of the presence of a given metal in the matter being analysed, allowing us to consider it only if present at a concentration high enough to determine (either in the form of a substance or salt) the colour of the material under examination.

The main difficulty in carrying out an analysis by atomic absorption spectrometry is the preliminary treatment of the material containing the metals. In fact, if these are present in the original local samples (soils, mud/clays, rocks, etc.), they will result included in the organic fraction as cations or complexes, or as insoluble salts. For the purpose of analysis, metals have to be solubilised in a water-based solution. The sample must therefore be treated in such a way as to obtain the total disgregation of the organic fraction (oxidation), and contemporaneously the full solubilisation of the inorganic residue containing the metals. The common tests used and described in manuals and literature (Angino & Billings 1967; Christian & Feldmann 1970; Coleman et al. 1992; Dabeka & McKenzie 1992) refer to soil samples, food stuffs, biological tissues and employ concentrated acid solutions (nitric, sulphuric, fluoridic acids) and high temperatures. The material analysed, being of a prevalently siliceous-inorganic matrix, has required a process of the type described but considerably more drastic, necessary to obtain the full solubilisation.

The most common metals forming inorganic coloured compounds have been identified in the following: chrome (Cr), lead (Pb), copper (Cu), iron (Fe), cobalt (Co), manganese (Mn), nickel (Ni) (Weast 1968), and the analysis by atomic absorption spectrometry has therefore been directed at determining these elements.

Samples	Chromium %	Lead %	Copper %	Iron %	Cobalt %	Manganese %	Nickel %
Kafir-kot	0,0013	0,0004	0,0008	0,73	0,0021	0,078	< 0,001
Marano-tangai	0,0063	0,0010	0,0023	1,10	0,0014	0,005	0,003
Hinduano-hatai (red-orange)	0,0065	11,86	0,0063	0,04	0,0025	0,010	0,004
Hinduano-hatai (yellow)	0,0032	0,0028	0,0110	2,20	0,0004	0,107	0,009

Fig. 17 - Table giving summary of the analytical data obtained from the samples of pigment expressed in percentage w/w. (Drawing by M.V.).

The table in Fig. 17 gives the results obtained, expressed by weight/weight percentage of each metal in the relative material. The data pertaining to the sample from Kafir-kot must be considered as net, because it was possible to analyse separately part of the rock wall which was free of any traces of pigment in a blank test and the results obtained were then subtracted from those relative to the actual sample (pigment plus wall). The results of the other samples were obtained instead by a single analysis of the material, because it was not possible to separate them physically from each other.

Based on the percentage of the metals registered in Fig. 17, it is possible to draw the following conclusions.

In general, the following are considered to be pigmentary: the oxides, hydroxides or oxidised salts of the Fe oxidation state III (Fe^{3+}) for the red colour and of the Fe oxidation state II (Fe^{2+}) for the yellow-orange colour, and the Pb oxides for the colour yellow-orange. Mn (a black-violet colour or a dark yellow according to the composition) can influence, but not determine, the different shades of colour. Cr, Cu, Co and Ni, in the recorded percentages cannot determine any coloration of the material.

In particular, as far as the samples from Kafir-kot and Marano-tangai are concerned, both in red pigment, they can certainly be considered as pigmentary of the Fe^{3+} category, very probably as ochreous hematite (Fe_2O_3). In the reddish-orange sample from Hinduano-hatai Pb is without doubt the pigmentary agent ($\sim 12\%$ in the sample), almost certainly like minium (Pb_3O_4), that shows a reddish-orange colour. Minium is often present, through natural oxidation, in surfacial deposits of Pb carbonates or sulphides. The yellow sample from Hinduano-hatai owes its colouring component to composites of Fe^{2+} and probably more particularly to the hydroxide $Fe(OH)_2$ or limonite, typically yellow in colour.

Lastly, the addition of a binding agent of an organic nature, serving as an adhesive, has been hypothesised in the composition of the pigments because it has been noticed in other similar examples which have been recovered in an excellent state of conservation.

(M.V.)

Conclusions

As shown above, it is clear that the expression of the pictorial representations at the sites of Kafir-kot, Shamo and Hinduano-hatai is comparable both in style and subject matter. In making even a preliminary attempt to probe their meaning here, it would be best to take the most complete and largest of the three compositions first, i.e., Kafir-kot, for the time being leaving aside the enigmatic abstractions at Marano-tangai.

Although, to simplify the description, the paintings at Kafir-kot have been divided into three groups, we are in fact before a unified composition that was almost certainly executed at the same time and by the same hand. On considering the composition as a whole it becomes apparent that it is rather a faithful reproduction of a Buddhistic sacred area, showing the central *stūpa* and the minor monuments around it.

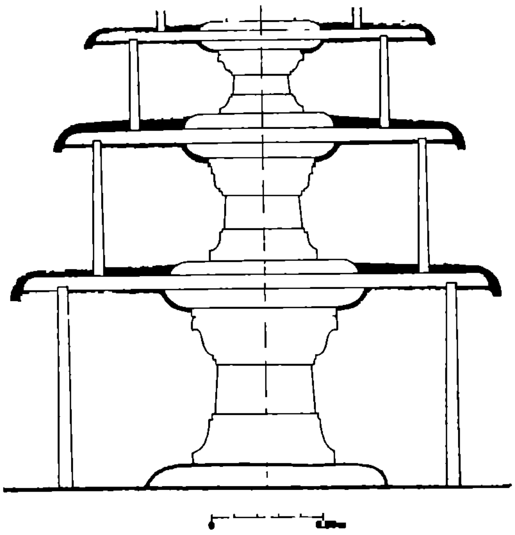


Fig. 18 - Reconstruction of a *chattrāvalī*. (After Faccenna et al. 1993: fig. 114).

As already noted, this fidelity is attested to by certain architectural details characteristic of *stūpas*, such as the stairs leading up to the top of the first storey, the decorative motive with pilaster, the ***barmikā***, the components of the ***chattrāvalī*** like the spacers of the umbrellas and, lastly the festoons and garlands. All these elements, which recur in the three cycles of paintings mentioned above, have real counterparts in architecture. For example, as regards the spacers of the umbrellas, an important model is provided by the sacred area of Panr I (Faccenna et al. 1993: 285 ff., 321-22, figs. 113-14) (Fig. 18). The *stūpas* of the type represented at Kafir-kot, Shamo (the *stūpa* in the third section) and at Hinduano-hatai (the *stūpas* in the first, second and fourth sections), and especially those with pilaster on the base, sometimes with a flight of steps, a second storey and an ***aṇḍa***, have secure chronological comparisons in the Swat Valley with the 'type I' at Panr (First Period, second half 1st-2nd centuries A.D.; Faccenna et al. 1993: pl. VIII) and with the 'late type 1,2' at Butkara I (Period 4/1,2, 3rd-mid 4th century A.D.; Faccenna 1980-81: pl. X).

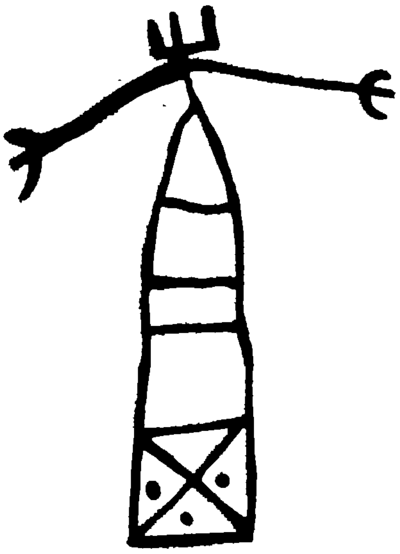
Regarding analogous architectural representations, some rock engravings in the upper reaches of the Indus are of particular interest: among these those at Chilas I and Thalpan Bridge stand out (Jettmar 1982: figs. 4, 9.2, 11.*1*; Thewalt 1985: figs. 7-14), those at Hunza (Dani 1985: fig. 39), and at Baltistan (Jettmar 1990: fig. 6). With reference to such architectural details as the base with decorative pilaster strips, the representation of the ***barmikā***, the steps, the ornamental festoons and garlands, these can be compared with the graffiti found in the upper reaches of the Indus (Jettmar 1982; 1987; 1989; Dani 1983a; 1983b; 1985; 1987;

Thewalt 1985), at Chitral (Stein 1921: figs. 4-5) and with those in Ladakh photographed by G. Tucci in 1935 (Orofino 1990).

On the contrary, for the complex shape representing an elongated form with hornlike extremities, recorded at Kafir-kot, only a tentative identification can be made. The most meaningful element is the presence of a base decorated with pilasters: this is indicated by an oval, similar to the representation of the storeys of some *stūpas* situated in practically inaccessible parts of the shelter, as in this case. The storey above the base is an elongated block filled-in with colour as though to emphasise its importance (like the central *stūpa* at Kafir-kot). The cylindrical trunk branches out at the end, almost like horizontal and vertical antennae. This image, in my opinion, has a marked affinity with the so-called '*stūpa* derivates' (Jettmar 1980: 151-99; 1985: 767, fig. 13) (Fig. 19), which A.H. Dani interprets as 'temples' (Dani 1983: 192-94, 220-29). These seem to be analogous to certain 'stepped *stūpas*' culminating in a *triśula*, depicted in the graffiti at Baltistan (Jettmar 1987: 808, fig. 9), at Oshibat (Chilas) (Bemmann & König 1994: T.26, 18:220, 223, 225-27) and to similar *mchod-rten* in the engravings in Ladakh (Orofino 1990: figs. 13, 15). In our case the image resembles a votive column more than one of these '*stūpa* derivates': for example refer to the representation of a column near the *stūpa* at Chilas II (Thewalt 1985: fig. 6; also see Faccenna 1986) (Fig. 20).

Another extremely interesting but hermetic design represents a 'disc with a cross surmounted by a crescent'. There are very many examples of this emblem, interpreted as 'shields', among the graffiti to be found in the upper Indus (Jettmar 1982: pls. 7, 12-14; 1989: pl. XXVIIIb). However, the crescent placed above the disc and the two divergent, oblique lines placed beneath it bring this image closer to a different subject. In fact, if we look attentively at the 'circle surmounted by a faint suggestion of a crescent' in the second section of the paintings at Hinduano-hatai, we will see a slight but not improbable resemblance to the 'disc with a cross' at Kafir-kot. The likeness becomes more evident on comparison with other examples. Among the engravings at the Hathano-kandao site, a little South of Kafir-kot, for which possibly too early a date has been ascribed, there is a representation of a disc placed on an upside-down 'T' (Nazir Khan 1983: fig. 8). Some similar figures which are not easy to decipher have also been found scratched on rocks at Oshibat (Bemmann & König 1994: T.22, 18:129; 31, 43:1, 50:4, 61:8). At Hunza, on the so-called 'Sacred Rock' an analogous representation has been discovered, but with the upper termination ending in a moon-shaped sickle; which has been identified as the so-called *tamgha* of the Indo-Parthian King Gondophares (Dani 1985: fig. 16; also see Jettmar 1992: 25-26, fig. 4): which leaves room for the hypothesis that it could be a tribal *signum* (¹).

(¹) For the semantic value of the *signum*, see Bussagli 1985. This symbol is also represented in the rock reliefs of Ardashir I at Firuzabad, in Iran. In this relief the caparison of the horse and the quiver of Prince Shapur, portrayed fighting, are decorated with a *nišan* similar to that of Gondophares, where different but analogous heraldic emblems are part of the decoration on the caparison of the horses and on the quivers of two other dignitaries: the so-called 'Sasanid page' and Ardashir himself (Ghirshman 1962: figs. 163, 165-166; for this refer also to von Gall 1990: 24). Another comparison can be made with the anthropomorphic drawings interpreted as masks (such as the graffiti at Ziarat and Chilas — in the Upper Indus Valley —, at Tuva — in Southern Siberia —, at Helamshan — in Ninxia —, depicting masks; these latter dating to the Bronze Age (Francfort 1991: figs. 9, 10, 13, 23) (Fig. 21).



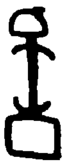


Fig. 19 - *Stūpa* derivate. (After Jettmar 1985: fig. 13).

Fig. 20 - Column near a *stūpa*. (After Thewalt 1985: fig. 6).

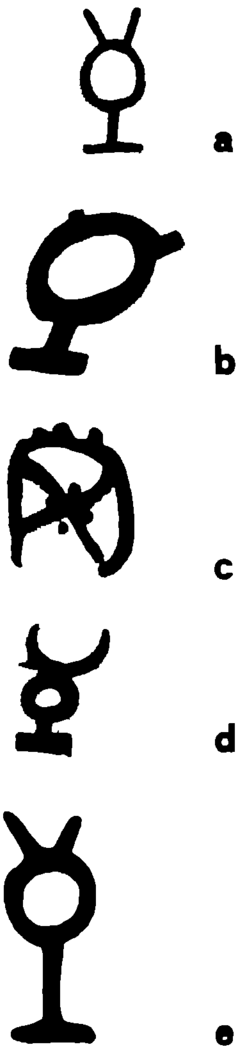


Fig. 21 - a, so-called *tamgha* of Gondophares (after Dani 1985: fig. 16); b, disc from Hatiano-kandao (after Nazir Khan 1983: fig. 8c); c, mask from Chilās (after Francfort 1991: fig. 10); d, *nišan* on the caparison of Shapur's steed in the relief depicting the 'Victory of Ardashir' at Firuzabad (after Ghirshman 1962: fig. 166); e, *tamgha* of Gondophares on the reverse of a coin (after Bussagli 1985: 113, fig. 3).

The last subject concerns the human figure. As we have seen, at Kafir-kot, there are two types of human figure: the more numerous category, found at Shamo and at Hinduano-hatai, depicts warriors armed with a bow in a warlike stance, at times equipped with a conical helmet; archers on horseback, in one case shown in the act of shooting an arrow to the rear, according to the Scythian and Parthian practice; in a single example, at Shamo, there is an image of a warrior with a brimmed helmet, sword and shield. The second category is represented by two figures only, in the Kafir-kot cycle, both probably with folded arms. At Oshibat, near Chilas, an engraving has been discovered depicting four figures in this attitude (Bemmann & König 1994: T.34, 25:A) which has been interpreted as a dance scene (*ibid.*: 90); the scene is completed with hunting motifs. The position with folded arms, as noted in Buddhist sculpture

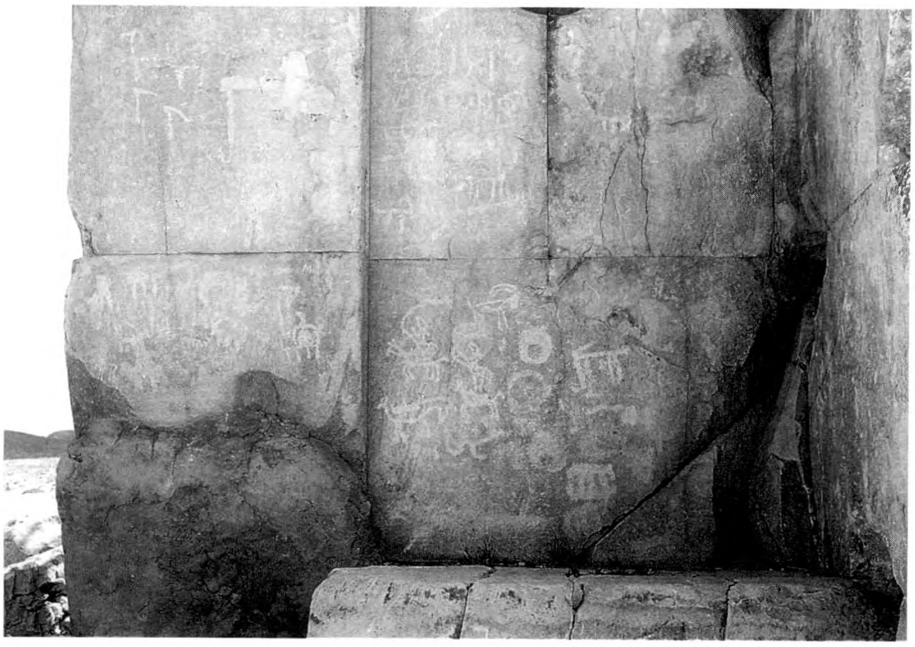


Fig. 22 - Graffiti on the Zendan at Pasargadae. (By courtesy of Mr G. Mancini who took the photograph).

in Sri Lanka (but also in India and in Gandhāra; Devendra 1956: 136) represents a sort of 'attitude of respectful attention as if waiting for some sign from the chief' (Devendra 1956: 135). These figures, by comparison with the others of the same cycle, are placed within the sacred area and perhaps, at Kafir-kot at least, portray the monks of the sacred area. In general, in all three of these cycles being studied, there is an obvious connection between the figures of the warriors and the monuments of the Buddhistic cult. At Kafir-kot this connection is characterised by what might almost be called a syntactical quality if not actually a narrative one. In fact, in the vast repertory of the rock drawings found in the upper Indus, warriors and *stūpas* are often represented, but generally, even though placed near each other, they remain distinct and separate. They may occasionally be superimposed, but it would seem without any syntactical association between them, except for when the human figures — also of warriors — are represented in worship or in the act of making an offering. The narrative characteristics noticed at Kafir-kot lend themselves instead to a different interpretation. Nor are these characteristics absent from the other two cycles, at Shamo and Hinduano-hatai, where the images that have survived must surely be interpreted as the remnants of much larger compositions which are no longer complete. In my opinion, even though this is true only for Kafir-kot, the three series of paintings may well represent 'historic' episodes commemorating either the conquest or defence of Buddhistic sacred areas by bands of armed men belonging to one of the nomadic populations, a people of archers and horsemen (Saka, Parthians, Central-Asiatic tribesmen?) although they could also testify to the devotion of those warriors (cf. Jettmar 1993: 112, for some petroglyphs at Hodar, near Chilas).

Of especial interest is the presence of the tribal *signum*. At Kafir-kot this emblem actually dominates the centre of the composition. Could the paintings have been the work of one of the protagonists of those events? It is not an easy question to answer: if one seeks to answer it in the affirmative, one might imagine the people who executed the paintings at Kafir-kot and at Shamo, (always supposing they are, as seems likely, individual works), to be the two considerably larger figures (in which case the compositions would have a dedicatory nature).

From the point of view of the chronology of the paintings described so far (but excluding those at Marano-tangai), and given the series of elements examined, they may be dated to between the 1st and 4th century A.D. (see also the date proposed for the two reliefs from Kafir-kot, now in the British Museum, which have been ascribed an approximate date between the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.; Marshall 1960, cit. in Nazir Khan 1994: 214-15).

Stylistically our paintings are clearly linked to those of the Upper Indus, and more especially to those engravings in the primitive 'anhistorical' style characteristic of so many of the graffiti even of the late historical period (2).

The results of the analyses carried out on the sample of the pigment used in these sites (excluding Shamo) would appear to be of particular interest. As shown above, this pigment shows an advanced state of oxidisation which goes to prove without a shadow of doubt the antiquity of the paintings. The pigment, which was probably originally immersed in a binding organic type of emulsion that has long since disappeared, had a metalic base and, in fact, a similar composition has been registered in the sample taken from Kafir-kot and Marano-tangai. The results obtained from the data relative to the samples taken from Hinduano-hatai were different. Such differences (as well as similarities) however should be seen in the perspective of the possibility that the compounding of such pigments was linked both to the availability of the necessary metals as well as to their casual production on demand. In this context it is still significant that the paintings at Hinduano-hatai (which, it will be remembered, were found in another valley) were executed with a lead-based pigment that gave it a chromatic component tending more to orange (in the red) besides making the production of a yellow pigment possible. Such a datum should be borne in mind when doing further research which may provide an explanation, from the geological viewpoint, of the reasons for this differentiation.

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(2) These pictorial representations show a very close stylistic relationship with the nearby graffiti at Hathiano-kandao (Nazir Khan 1983), whose attribution to a proto-historic date should perhaps be reviewed at this point. Besides these there is a whole series of rock engravings in the middle stretch of the Indus which, from a stylistic aspect, exhibit a close affinity with our paintings. For example the graffiti at Attock (King 1940; Foucher 1947: 387-90, pl. XXXIXc; Gordon 1958: 111-12, pl. XXIII) were dated to the beginning of our era on the basis of certain epigraphical characteristics connected with the *kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions; the engravings at Tor-derai — which broadly speaking may be included in this area (Said Qamar 1986) — the chronology of these should also be reviewed, as in my opinion they are too early when compared with others and with the annexed *kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions; the rock engravings at Kashmir-Smast, near Sanghao (Mizuno et al. 1962: 12, pl. XXX *3*; Tusa 1986: 486, fig. 8); the rock paintings at Seri Mergul and Salabat caves (Siran Valley, Hazara Division), recently discovered by Mr Gerhard Payr (Siran Forest Development Project, GTZ); and lastly the rock paintings in red pigment and white at Pishora (Dani 1983a: 22 ff.; 1983b: 6). A little further away from this zone, but still in the area adjacent to our paintings, are the graffiti at Chitral (Stein 1921: figs. 5-6); and although they are definitely different in character and style one can include the pictograms at Chargul (Foucher 1947: 389-90, fig. 39; Gordon 1958). One can try to assemble all the examples quoted into a culture of rock art which, as formerly suggested by D.H. Gordon, can be loosely denominated as 'the rock art of the middle Indus'.

This type of rock art, which has distinctive characteristics, presents a variety of symbols in common, and is very widespread in Central Asia, deserves to be reconsidered in its entirety. Engravings (and, to a lesser extent, paintings) showing a stylistic affinity are in fact to be found in Ladakh, in the upper reaches of the Indus, in Baluchistan, Ghur and Samangan. Even farther afield there are some examples which could be included in this catalogue, such as the graffiti engraved on the prospect of the Zendan at Pasargadae, in Fars. On the external façade on the right of the monumental entrance to the building (6th century B.C.) a series of graffiti can be observed which are very similar to those of the Upper Indus, both from the point of view of style and inspiration: ibexes, moon-shaped shields, battle axes, horsemen and archers (Fig. 22). These particular graffiti have been almost totally overlooked in even the most recent studies which have dealt with this monument (cf. Stronach 1978: pl. 100b).

Up to now, the problem posed by the 'enigmatic abstractions' at Marano-tangai has been evaded. Actually, to date none of the data in our possession, whether derived from possible comparisons or close observation of the paintings, is able to throw any light on these inscrutable images.

All the same, two factors may provide a clue: the proximity to the sacred area and, more especially, the type of pigment used. As stated above, since the metallic ingredients in the samples taken were probably extracted from the lithic material available, the components present a qualitative affinity with those of the sample from Kafir-kot, but in the absence of a stylistic link this does not constitute a proof. The first factor, rather than elucidating appears to distinguish them, since the paintings at Marano-tangai, as mentioned above, are the only ones to be situated practically within the sacred area (to which hypothetically they can be chronologically related). To conclude none of the features in these paintings shows any similarity or possible connection with the other three. This being so, it is almost impossible not to formulate the hypothesis that the paintings at Marano-tangai have some kind of magic or ritual value. However, despite this we are not able to decipher its character, origin, motive or meaning.

In concluding this Preliminary Note one further observation should be made concerning these paintings which represent, even today, an *unicum* in the artistic production, including rock art, of Buddhist Swat: namely, that it has been noted at Kafir-kot, only four years after the first documentary record was made, that even the person who executed the complete set of tracings was not in a position to understand some of the figures or part of them, previously noticed, due to their radical deterioration. Evidently the paintings have undergone and continue to undergo a rapid and destructive process of oxidisation that could, in only a matter of years, cause their total disappearance. It is hoped therefore that, apart from scholars, this brief Note may be taken as a serious appeal for a constructive conservation project to protect these paintings, otherwise destined to fade away together with the secret of their conception and of their meaning, to which no more than a tentative key is provided here.

(L.M.O.)

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New Fragments of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* from Eastern Turkestan

by G.M. BONGARD-LEVIN
and TAKAYASU KIMURA

Among the Buddhist Sanskrit texts from Eastern Turkestan which are kept in the Central Asian Fund, St. Petersburg Branch, Institute of Oriental Studies (1), there are many fragments of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature (2). They were mainly collected by N.F. Petrovskij, Russian consul in Kashgar.

During G.M. Bongard-Levin's stay in Japan (March, 1991), on the basis of his transliterations Dr Takayasu Kimura and Shōgō Watanabe managed to identify several fragments as belonging to the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. This attribution is very important for the study of this *sūtra* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature in general.

The Sanskrit text of this *sūtra* has been preserved in late manuscripts (revised version) (3), although several Central Asian fragments are also known (4).

The *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* was translated in Tibetan (5) and Chinese (6). The publication of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* fragments from St. Petersburg

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(1) See G.M. Bongard-Levin & M.I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya, *Indian Texts from Central Asia (Leningrad Manuscript Collection)*, Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, *Series Minor*, V, Tokyo 1986.

(2) See G.M. Bongard-Levin & M.I. Vorobeva-Desjatovskaja, *Pamjatniki Indijskoj Pismennosti iz Central'noj Azii* (Texts in Indian Writings from Central Asia), vol. II, Bibliotheca Buddhica, 34, Moskva-Leningrad 1990.

(3) See E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 2nd ed., Tokyo 1978, pp. 34-35.

(4) Several fragments were identified by Kaikyoku Watanabe from the Hoernle-Stein collection (K. Watanabe, 'Fragments of the Larger Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra from Khotan', *Shūkyo-kai*, Vol. 8, pt. 6, June 1912. This article was republished — see K. Watanabe, *Kogetsu Zenshū*, vol. I, Tokyo 1933, pp. 539-49 (in Japanese). Mr Shin'ichiro Hori is now working on the Khotan Sanskrit fragments of this *sūtra* from the O.T. Crosby Collection. The Collection was recovered by O.T. Crosby in Khotan in 1903 and deposited in the Library of Congress, Washington.

(5) Peking ed., vols. 18-19, no. 731, 76 ch.; vols. 88-90, no. 5188, 8 ch., Transl. Shi-ba bzań-po, Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, sDe-dge ed., vols. 26-28, no. 9, 76 ch.; vols. 184-186, no. 3790, 8 ch.

(6) Taisho VII, no. 220, 85 ch. Transl. Hsüan-tsang; Taisho VIII, no. 221, 90 ch., Transl. Mokṣala; no. 222, 27 ch. Incomplete, Transl. Dharmalakṣa; no. 223, 90 ch., Transl. Kumārajīva.

Central Asian Collection should help in restoring the original version of this *sūtra*, and identifying late alterations and transformation (7).

Two fragments are published here.

(I) One was entered under no. SI P/147a fr. 1-1 (Recto), fr. 1-2 (Verso), 1 folio, 11 lines on each side, 40 ~ 46 *akṣaras* to each line in general; the text is preserved fairly well but unfortunately many *akṣaras* are not clear, the right side of Recto and left side of Verso being damaged; Upright Brāhmī. The fragment was identified by Takayasu Kimura as belonging to ch. V of the *PV* (8). It corresponds to Taisho nos. 220, 221, 223 (9) and Tibetan (10). In comparison with fragm. SI P/147a, the Ms.is different but this fragment finds its place exactly before the fragment SI P/147a.

(II) The other one is number SI P/147a, 1 folio, Recto and Verso, 11 lines on each side, 50 ~ 56 *akṣaras* to each line; the text is preserved fairly well, the right side of Recto and the left side of Verso being damaged; Upright Brāhmī; the text is written in Indian ink on light brown paper. There is a hole for binding and the round circle on Verso is painted with ink. On the left part of Recto the number of folio is written — 402; at the beginning of Verso the part of the colophon and the number of the chapter (67) are preserved. The fragment was also identified by T. Kimura as belonging to chap. V of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (11). It corresponds to Taisho Nos. 220, 221, 223 (12) and Tibetan (13).

TRANSLITERATION (I)

Recto

1. ... vānto vyavac[chi] ... paścimā koṭir eṣā prajñaptā. āha: sva ...
2. ... Bhagavān āha: evam etat Subhūte tathā yathā vadasi svalakṣaṇa-śū
3. ... sthānaṃ vidyate. api tu Subhūte yā [vadasi] sarvvāṇi svalakṣaṇa-śūnyatān saṃ
4. ...nyeṣu sarvvadharmeṣu pūrvva-paścimā koṭiḥ prajñāya[te]. evaṃ ca punaḥ Subhūte bodhisa
5. ... nyeṣu ca sarvvadharmeṣu caramāṇo bodhisatvo mahāsatvo na kvacid dharme bhinive
6. ...teṣu vā śrāvakadharmeṣu vā pratyekabuddhadharmeṣu vā tathāgatadharmeṣu vā. eva
7. ... vann ucyate, kena kāraṇena prajñāpāramitety ucyate. Bhagavān āha: parama

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(7) See N.R. Lethoe, 'Some Notes on the Relationship between the Abhisamayālaṅkāra, the Revised Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, and the Chinese Translations of the Unrevised Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā', *JAOS*, 96, 4, 1976, pp. 499-511.

(8) Tokyo University Library Manuscript of the *PV*, no. 234 — II, 381b^{9}-382b^{7}; no. 235 — II, 422b^{1}-423b^{1}. Cambridge University Library Manuscript of the *PV*, Add. 1628, 477b^{2}-478b^{5}; Add. 1629, 315b^{7}-316a^{10}.

(9) Taisho VII, no. 220, 338a^{20}-339a^{2}; VIII, no. 221, 114b^{15}-114c^{18}; no. 223, 376a^{14}-376c^{1}.

(10) Peking edition, vol. 89, Ca 171b^{3}-173a^{4}.

(11) Tokyo University Library Manuscript of the *PV*, no. 234 — II, 382b^{7}-383b^{7}; no. 235 — II, 423b^{1}-424b^{1}. Cambridge University Library Manuscript of the *PV*, Add. 1628, 478b^{5}-479b^{9}; Add. 1629, 316a^{10}-317a^{3}.

(12) Taisho VII, no. 220, 339a^{2}-339c^{25}; VIII, no. 221, 114c^{18}-115a^{23}; no. 223, 376c^{1}-377a^{20}.

(13) Peking edition, vol. 89, Ca 173a^{4}-175a^{6}.

8. ... prajñāpāramitety ucyate. api tu Subhūte etayā prajñāpāramitayā sarvva-śrāvaka-pratyekabuddhā
9. ... [sa]rvadharmāṇāṃ pāraṃgatāḥ yathā saṃkhyaṃ tena kāraṇena prajñāpāramitety ucyate. api tu Subhūte para
10. ...pāro nopalabhyate. tena kāraṇena prajñāpāramitety ucyate. api tu Subhūte imā prajñāpāramitāyāṃ
11. ... [te]na kā[ra]ṇena prajñāpāramitety ucyate. api tu Subhūte neyaṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ kenacid dharmeṇa saṃyuktā na visaṃ

Verso

1. ... ā tena kāraṇena prajñāpāramitety ucyate. tat kasya hetos tathā hi Subhūte neyaṃ prajñāpāramitā arūpiny anidarśanā
2. ... prajñāpāra[mi]tā sa ... ā ... nu āṇāṃ cārikā ... sarvvapratibhānānāṃ sarvasukhānāṃ trailokyasya cajati
3. ... kābhir vvā devatābhiḥ sarvvāśrāvaka-pratyekabuddhayānikebir vvā pudgalebhiḥ ye cânye keci
4. ... kasmād hetos tathā hi Subhūte ... sarvvadharmāny atra prajñāpāramitāyān nopalabhyante.
5. ... cartavyam. punar aparaṃ Subhūte bodhisatvena mahāsatvenâsyāṃ khalu gaṃbhīrāyāṃ
6. ... [vyaṃ] duḥkha-samudaya-nirodha-mārga-jñānârthe cartavyaṃ evaṃ duḥkha-samuda
7. ... v[ī]kṣayajñānânutpādajñānârthāya yathārū[pa](*)jñānârthāya cartavyaṃ ma
8. ... tir Bhagavantam etad avocat: yadi Bhagavan ...syāḥ prajñāpāramitā ...
9. ... āha: iha Subhūte bodhisatvena mahāsatveneha gaṃ[bhīre]...
10. ... vya samādhir me narthas tatra mayā na carta[vyaṃ] ...
11. ... cârthaṃ vānarthaṃ va

1.4 prajñāya[te]. See Tokyo Univ. Library Ms. 382a^{1}, -pūrvā koṭir na prajñāyate.
1.5 dharme bhinive. See Tokyo Univ. Library Ms. 382a^{2}, -na kvacid abhiniviśate.
1.6 cartavyaṃ. See Tokyo Univ. Library Ms. 382b^{3}, -caritavyaṃ duṇkha°.
(*) pa is omitted.

TRANSLITERATION (II)

Recto

1. [vijñānaṃ] me [cârthaṃ vā]narthaṃ vā na cartavyaṃ, evaṃ dānapāramitā yāvat prajñāpāramitā me ... yāvat sarvvākārajñatā me cârth[aṃ vā]narthaṃ vā na cartavyaṃ ....
2. ....[anuttarāṃ] samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbuddhā na kaścid dharmaṃ parimṛśyamānopalabdho yo rthaṃ vā kuryād api nu Subhūter upt[ā]dād vā tathāgatānām anutpād[ād vā] ....
3. .. sthitaiva dharmaṇān dharmatā sā ca na kasyacid arthaṃ vānarthaṃ vā karoti. evaṃ ca Subhūte bodhisatvena mahāsatvenârth[â]nartho parivarjya satataṃ prajñā[pāramitāyāṃ caritavyaṃ] ....

4. evam uktāyuṣmāṃ Subhūtir Bhagavantam etad avocat: kena kāraṇena bhadanta Bhagavan prajñāpāramitā na kasyacid dharmasyârthakartrī. Bhagavān ā[ha:] ....

5. hy asaṃskṛtadharmâvatāraṇāṃ tena kāraṇena na kasyacid dharmasyârthakartrī nâpy anarthakartrī. āha: nanu bhadanta Bhagavann asaṃskṛtaparamârthaṃ sa....

6. tat Subhūte tathā yathā vadasi asaṃskṛtaṃ paramārthaṃ sarvvāryāṇān na ca punar apakārârthena vā upakārârthena vā. tad yathā[pi nāma] ....

7. syacid dharmasyâpakārârthena vopakārârthena vā pratyupasthitā. evam eva Subhūte prajñāpāramitā bodhisatvānāṃ mahāsatvānām[ ] ....

8. upakārârthāya vā pratyupasthitā. āha: [....] bhadanta Bhagavan bodhisatvo mahāsatvo hy atrâsaṃskṛtāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ śikṣitvā sarvvākārajñātām anuprāpnoti. Bhagav[ān āha:] ....

9. evam etat Subhūte tathā yathā vadasi, iha khalu gaṃbhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ hy asaṃskṛtāyāṃ śikṣitvā [bo]dhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ sarvvākārajñatām anuprāpnoti na ....

10. [a]dvayayogenāha: kiṃ punar bhadanta Bhagavan advayau dharmau dvayadharmam anuprāpnoti. Bhagavān āha: no Subhūter. āha: na kiṃ punar bhadanta Bhagavan dvayo dharmo hy advayaṃ dharmam

11. nuprāpnoti. Bhagavān āha: no Subhūter. āha: ka idānīṃ prāpnoti. yadi dvayo nâdvay[o] dharmam anuprāpnoti. Bhagavān āha: anupalaṃbho dharmo hy anupalaṃbhaṃ dharmaṃ prāpnoti. ....

Verso

1. ... upāyakauśalyaparivarta nāmnā saptaṣaṣṭimaḥ samāptaḥ 67 athāyuṣmān Subhūtir Bhagavantam etad avocat: gaṃbhīreyaṃ bhadanta Bhagavan prajñāpāramitā paramadṣka

2. [rakā]rakāś ca bodhisatvā mahāsatvā yasmād dhi na kiṃcit satvam upalabhante nâpi satvaprajñāptim, satvānāṃ cârthayânuttarāṃ saṃmyaksaṃbodhau saṃprasthitās tad yathā ..

3. [bha]danta Bhagavan na kaścit puruṣo hy ākāśe nidarśane apratiye anālaye hy apratiṣṭhāne vṛkṣam āropayitavyaṃ manyeta. evam eva bhadanta bhagavan bodhi[satvā]

4. mahāsatvā hy asatvāṃ satvānāṃ kṛtenecchaṃty anuttarāṃ saṃyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbodhuṃ. Bhagavān āha: evam etat Subhūte tathā yathā vadasi: duṣkara[kārakā]

5. khalu bodhisatvā mahāsatvā yatra hi nāma na ca satvam upalabhante nāpi satvaprajñaptiṃ satvānāṃ cârthāyecchanty anuttarāṃ saṃmyaksaṃbo[dhi]...

6. rajñatām abhisaṃbuddhvā tātyasanti satvāni satvagrāhāt parimocyanti, tad yathā Subhūte kaścit puruṣas tiṣṭhe pṛthivīpradeśe [vṛ]

7. tasya vṛkṣasya na nāmaṃ jānīyān na gaṇḍaṃ na śākhā na patrāṇi na puṣpāṇi na phalāni jānīyāt sa cājānamānas tasya vṛ[kṣasya] ....

8. varopayitvā ca kālena kālaṃ paripālayet kālena kālaṃ pariśodhayet sa tasya gaṇḍo nupūrveṇa mūla-śākhā-patra-palāśa-puṣpa-phala-saṃpa[nna] ...

9. [..]tvat patra-puṣpa-phalāni pramuditā paribhuṃjīyāt sarvvasyâdhiprahāṇāyā. evam eva Subhūte bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ satvānām arthāyâ[nu] ....

10. ... anu[pūrveṇa] ṣaṭsu pāramitāsu cīrtvā sarvvakārajñatām anuprāpnoti. sarvvasatvānāṃ ca tvad gaṇḍa-patra-śā[khā]-puṣpa-phalopajīv[y]o

11. .....[mahāsatv]ānām āgamya [satvās] tribhyo yātebhyo parimucyante. tatredaṃ puṣpaṃ yad ....tva ma[hā]...

Textual Criticism Notes on the *Vimalaprabhā* by Puṇḍarīka

by FRANCESCO SFERRA

Recently, Samdhong Rinpoche, with the assistance of V. Dwivedi and S.S. Bahulkar, has published the second volume of the *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā* of *Śrīpuṇḍarīka* on *Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja* by *Śrīmañjuśrīyaśas* (Rare Buddhist Texts Series No. 12, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, CIHTS, Sarnath 1994).

The book is the critical edition of the third and fourth chapters of the *Vimalaprabhā* (VP), the most important commentary on the *Laghukālacakratantra* (LKC) and the only gloss in Sanskrit (1). The not always orthodox use of Sanskrit (2), the rigid and unusual metre, the encyclopedic character, and the esoteric content of the LKC are some of the reasons for which a commentary is indispensable. This Tantra, which presently in its entirety consists of 1,047 *sragdharā* verses, and the VP are each divided into five chapters (*paṭala*) (3). The first and the second chapters of the VP were critically edited in a first volume by the late Jagannath Upadhyaya (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica No. 11, CIHTS, Sarnath 1986). The fifth chapter and the indexes will be published soon in a third volume.

The editors of volumes I and II of the VP have done very scholarly critical editions based on several Sanskrit MSS (see Preface, vol. I, pp. xxix-xxxi, vol. II, p. 22) and the Tibetan translation by Bu-sTon (4). However, two MSS have been found since the publication of vol. II, which might have been useful to the learned editors.

In organizing and cataloguing Prof. G. Tucci's Sanskrit MSS and some photographs of Sanskrit texts that he had photographed during his research in Tibet and Nepal (which I am doing with C. Cicuzza under the guidance of Prof. R. Gnoli), I have recently found a microfilm of another MS of the VP that was believed to be lost (hereafter MS A). It is the Mf of an ancient palm-leaf MS of the first four chapters of the VP in Bhujimol script, which G. Tucci brought from Nepal or Bengal. The original MS has been lost; we only know that G. Tucci deposited it in a bank. Due to the providential insistence of R. Gnoli, G. Tucci had a microfilm of it made, which is now preserved in the IsMEO Library in Rome (not catalogued). It consists of 367 folios of six lines each, numbered on the right side of the verso. The original numeration begins anew every chapter, but a second progressive numeration (from one to 367) was placed within the second and the third columns that divide the text on the folio. This second numeration (as we find it on the Mf) is apparently correct; however, parts of some chapters are mixed with parts of other chapters. It seems as though someone had dropped the MS and recollected it paying attention only to a correct numerical order and not to the content. The author of the latter numeration must have accepted the order in which he had found the folios. Based on the second numeration, the correct order of the pages is the following: 1-173; 344-67; 212-30; 293-303; 241-63; 329-43; 174-210; 276-94; 231-40; 304-28; 264-75. Furthermore, during the mechanical reproduction onto Mf, pages 85b-89a were photographed without respect to their recto-verso relationship. The MS begins with *animittajñānasaṃśuddhaṃ dharmātmācittam advayam // vāgapraṇahitajñānaśuddho* [sic] *mantro 'kṣayo dhvaniḥ / evam anabhisaṃskārajñānaśuddho hy anāvilaḥ* // (see ed., vol. I, p. 1, lines 17-19) and finishes with two *vasantatilakā* verses (which are not present in the Tibetan translation): *taṃ maṇḍala°* [...] *sakalo 'stu lokaḥ* // (see ed., vol. II, p. 251). Folio 1b of chapter I, folio 68 of chapter II with folios 29 and 53 of chapter III are missing. The MS is fairly correct and in general easily readable; only a few pages are obscured in the margins and here the exact reading is uncertain.

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(1) Puṇḍarīka is also the author of a brief summary of the VP, the *Śrīkālacakrabhagavatsādhanavidhi*, preserved in Kathmandu, National Archives, MS E-22290.

(2) On this theme in particular, see J. Newman's article, 'Buddhist Sanskrit in the Kālacakra Tantra', *JIABS*, 11, 1, pp. 123-40, and for a more general approach, K.N. Mishra, ed., *Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit*, CIHTS, Sarnath 1993.

(3) The LKC has been edited twice (by R. Vira and L. Chandra: International Academy of Indian Culture, Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 69, New Delhi 1966, pp. 53-378, and by B. Banerjee: The Asiatic Society, Bibliotheca Indica, vol. 311, Calcutta 1985), but an unabridged translation of it does not exist. J. Newman translated the first chapter of the LKC along with the VP in his Ph.D. thesis (*The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra*, University Microfilms International, The University of Wisconsin, Madison 1987). Some verses of the LKC and the parts of the VP that are quoted by Nāropā in his *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* have been translated into Italian (R. Gnoli & G. Orofino, *Iniziazione*, Milano 1994).

(4) sDe dGe edition, vol. no. 40, Text no. 1347, Dharma Publications, USA, 1981.

In the IsMEO Library there is also a modern copy (not catalogued) of the first three chapters of another MS of the VP (hereafter MS B), of which G. Tucci had a copy made from a more ancient one (apparently similar to MS GA; see ed., vol. I, pp. xxix-xxx) during a scientific expedition in Nepal. This copy consists of 146 folios on modern Nepalese paper (the recto is light brown and the verso is yellow) numbered on the verso from 1 to 146, with 14 lines per page (except fol. 146a with eight lines and fol. 146b that contains no writing) and measuring cm 16.4 x 31.8 each. Its script is Devanāgarī. The corrections were made in red ink; the major part of them are directly above the corrected word or syllable, but sometimes also in the margins. Many words and at times even whole passages are missing (for instance, part of the gloss on I, 119-141; ed., from p. 138, line 18, to p. 148, line 14). The MS begins with *oṃ nāmo mañjunāthāya // namaḥ śrīkālacakrāya śūnyatākaruṇātmane / tribhavotpattikṣayābhāvajñānajñeyaikamūrttaye* // and is interrupted abruptly during the commentary on LKC III, 148 (see ed., vol. II, p. 119, lines 31-32) with the following words: *eko rājan śaśāṃko maraṇabhayaharaḥ sevitaḥ sarvakālam acyutasukhena // prajñādharmmodayastho*. It is worth mentioning that in this MS the numeration of the verses of the LKC differs slightly from that of the editions and other MSS of the LKC (3).

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(3) A MS of the LKC, which G. Tucci had someone copy during one of his scientific missions in Nepal, is preserved in the IsMEO Library (not catologued). This copy consists of 62 folios on Nepalese paper numbered on the verso from 1 to 62, measuring cm 16 x 32 each. Every page has 14 lines, except the last with 11. It is written in Devanāgarī script. The numeration of the verses starts anew every chapter (chap. I, folios 1b-11b; chap. II, folios 11b-22a; chap. III, folios 22a-34a; chap. IV,

MS A is particularly important because it presents some different readings of the VP text with respect to the critical edition (vols. I and II) and in many cases it helps to resolve some unanswered points (6). For example, in vol. I, on page 6, line 10, *sarakāṇu* (*araṇi*) would be better read *śarakāṇḍapāṇi°*, according to MS A, chap. I, folio 4b, line 5; in vol. II, on page 1, line 23, *māsasaṃkrāntibbedāt [ityā]di* would be better read *māsasaṃkrāntibbedādi* (MS A, chap. III, folio 2a, line 3; Tib. *zla ba 'pho ba'i dbye ba mams la sogs pa*, folio 234, lines 1-2) (7). MS A also confirms some of the conjectures of the editors, such as, *bodbir durlabbā* (vol. II, p. 2, line 6), *°pudgalo* (vol. II, p. 175, line 15) or *argbādikaṃ* (vol. II, p. 250, line 22). For some parts of the VP text, MS A is the only source that preserves certain incorrect readings (for instance, it reads *°pratibbāsenopamaḥ*, chap. IV, folio 47b, line 2, instead of *°pratisenopamaḥ*, vol. II, p. 219, line 14) or that presents alternative readings, which are theoretically as valid, for example, *śūkaracarmāṇīti*, chap. III, folio 83a, line 4, instead of *śūkaracarmāṇi*, ed. vol. II, p. 111, line 22.

Regarding specifically the edition of the second volume of the VP, we find some minor mistakes, distractions, or misprints in the text as often happens when a text is edited without a translation. For example, on p. 2, line 4, it would be better to read *durlabbā* instead of *durlabbaḥ*; on p. 88, lines 15 and 19, *tyajasva* instead of *tyaja sva°*; on p. 110, lines 18 and 25, *bindvapātas* (MS A, chap. III, folio 82b, line 1; see also note 6 of the edition) instead of *bindupātas*; on p. 155, line 15, *būṃkāraparinatam* (MS A, chap. IV, folio 6a, line 1) instead of *būṃkāraparinata°*; on p. 205, line 12, *niḥṣyandādi°* (as also in note 1) instead of *niḥspandādi°*; on p. 206, line 12, *niḥṣyandādi°* (as also in note 3) instead of *niḥspandādi°*; on p. 207, line 10, *vajrābje* (MS A, chap. IV, folio 39a, line 2; Tib., *rdo rje chu skyes dag la*, folio 566, line 1) instead of *vajrābjaiḥ*; on p. 216, line 8, *sakāmaḥ* instead of *sa kāmaḥ*; on p. 250, line 5, *niṣiktā* (MS A, chap. IV, folio 63a, line 1; see also note 3) instead of *citritā*. On p. 3, line 28, it would probably be better to read *prakarṣeṇa* instead of *prakāreṇa*; on p. 6, line 11, the word *kim* should probably be deleted (Puṇḍarīka abbreviates a passage of Vajrapāṇi's *Lagbutantraṭīkā*, MS 715 A 47/20, folios 38b-39a, National Archives, Kathmandu); on p. 146, line 23, it would probably be better to read *śrāmaṇera°* instead of *śrāvaṇera°* (MA S, chap. III, folio 103b, line 3; see also ed., p. 4, line 21); on p. 205, line 18, *nirodbite* (Tib. *'gog pa*, folio 562, line 6) instead of *nibodbite*; on p. 207, lines 1-2, *vāmagatigataḥ* (as in note 1) and

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folios 34a-47b; chap. V, folios 47b-62b). The MS begins with *oṃ namaḥ śrīkālacakrāya* and finishes with: *iti śrīdvādaśasābasrikādibuddboddbṛte śr<ī>mati kālacakre jñānapaṭalaḥ pañcamaḥ // 5 // iti śrīmatkālacakratantrarājaḥ samāptaḥ // śubbam //*. See also the photographic edition of a palm-leaf MS of the LKC published by L. Chandra in *Sanskrit Manuscripts From Tibet* (*Facsimile edition of the Kālacakra-Tantra and of an Unidentified Palm-Leaf Manuscript, both from the Narthang Monastery*), International Academy of Indian Culture, Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 81, New Delhi 1971. The MS is written in old Bengali script and consists of 240 folios numbered on the verso; it is dated '*parinirvāṇa* 1808' and 'Śaka 1186', viz., 1263-1264 A.D.

(6) MS A belongs to the same family of MSS as KA and KHA: chapter I is interrupted at exactly the same point as these MSS and the commentary on LKC II, 123 (ed., vol. I, p. 234) is missing (as in KA and KHA). However, MS A seems more correct with respect to KA and KHA and thus it probably represents a more ancient phase in the tradition of the VP text.

(7) For the Tibetan translation, I have consulted *The Collected Works of Bu-sTon Part 2 (Kba)*, edited by L. Chandra, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 1965.

dakṣiṇagatigataḥ (as in note 2) instead of *vāme gatigataḥ* and *dakṣiṇe gatigataḥ*; on p, 219, line 11, the meaning of the sentence *ihāmalamaṇir* [...] requires the deletion of the word *na* after *karoti*. We should note that Bu-sTon always transcribes the word *oṭṭā* (p. 108, lines 13 and 18) as *oḍḍā* (see also note 3). Sometimes the punctuation is misleading. For example, on p. 3, line 2, one should delete the *daṇḍa* before *vajraṃ*; on p. 88, line 8, the *daṇḍa* placed before *anyatra* should be removed and put before *tato* (the sentence is also quoted in the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*) (⁸); on p. 106, line 16, the *daṇḍa* placed before *sāmāya°* should be removed and put before *°mudrayā* (*ibid.*, Carelli ed., p. 24). In some cases the editors have not provided the source of the verses quoted by Puṇḍarīka. For instance, stanza *kāyavajradharo brahmā* [...] (p. 100, lines 26-27) corresponds to *Guhyasamājatantra*, XVII, 19. Notwithstanding a few mistakes, the critical edition of the second volume of the VP deserves the highest admiration.

It is worth noting that Puṇḍarīka often quotes some stanzas from the *Mūlatantra*, or *Ādibuddhatantra*, that we can also find in other texts (⁹). For example, verse *madhyamottamaśvāsena* [...] (p. 207, lines 12-13) corresponds to stanza six of the *Herukābhidhānatantra* (alias *Śrīcakrasaṃvaratantra*) (MS C410, Mf. C44/3, National Archives, Kathmandu) where instead of *°yutena ca* (*pāda* b) we read *°sahitena tu*, which is the reading also adopted by Vajrapāṇi in his commentary, the *Laghutantraṭīkā* (C. Cicuzza's personal communication). Stanzas *caṇḍālī jvalitā nābhau* [...] and *binduyoga iti khyātaḥ* [...] (p. 205, lines 7-8; 10-11) are drawn respectively from the *Hevajratantra* (I, 1, 31) and the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (X, 3).

In addition, we can note that stanza *ācāryasya guṇā grāhyā* [...] (p. 4, lines 4-5), which is quoted by Puṇḍarīka without mentioning the source, is very similar to verse 14cd-15ab of the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* by Vajragarbha (*ācāryasya guṇā grāhyā doṣā naiva kadācana* | *doṣagrahaṇam asiddhiḥ śiṣyāṇāṃ nātra saṃśayaḥ*, MS A1267/6, folio 2a, National Archives, Kathmandu) (¹⁰).

(⁸) M. Carelli, ed., *Sekoddeśaṭīkā of Naḍapāda*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. XC, Baroda 1941, p. 15. I am very grateful to R. Gnoli and to C. Cicuzza for having allowed me to consult the proofs of their forthcoming work: a new and complete edition of the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (SOR, IsMEO) and the *Laghutantraṭīkā* by Vajrapāṇi (edition and translation) respectively.

(⁹) Regarding this, see also J. Newman 'The *Paramādibuddha* (The *Kālacakramūlatantra*) and its Relation to the Early Kālacakra Literature', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 30, 1987, pp. 93-102; G. Orofino, *Sekoddeśa, A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translations With an Appendix by* R. *Gnoli on the Sanskrit Text*, SOR, LXXII, Roma 1994, p. 14; R. Gnoli, 'A Newly Discovered Verse of the *Sekoddeśa*', *EW*, 44, 1994, p. 453.

(¹⁰) I am preparing the critical edition of the Sanskrit text and the English translation of this work.

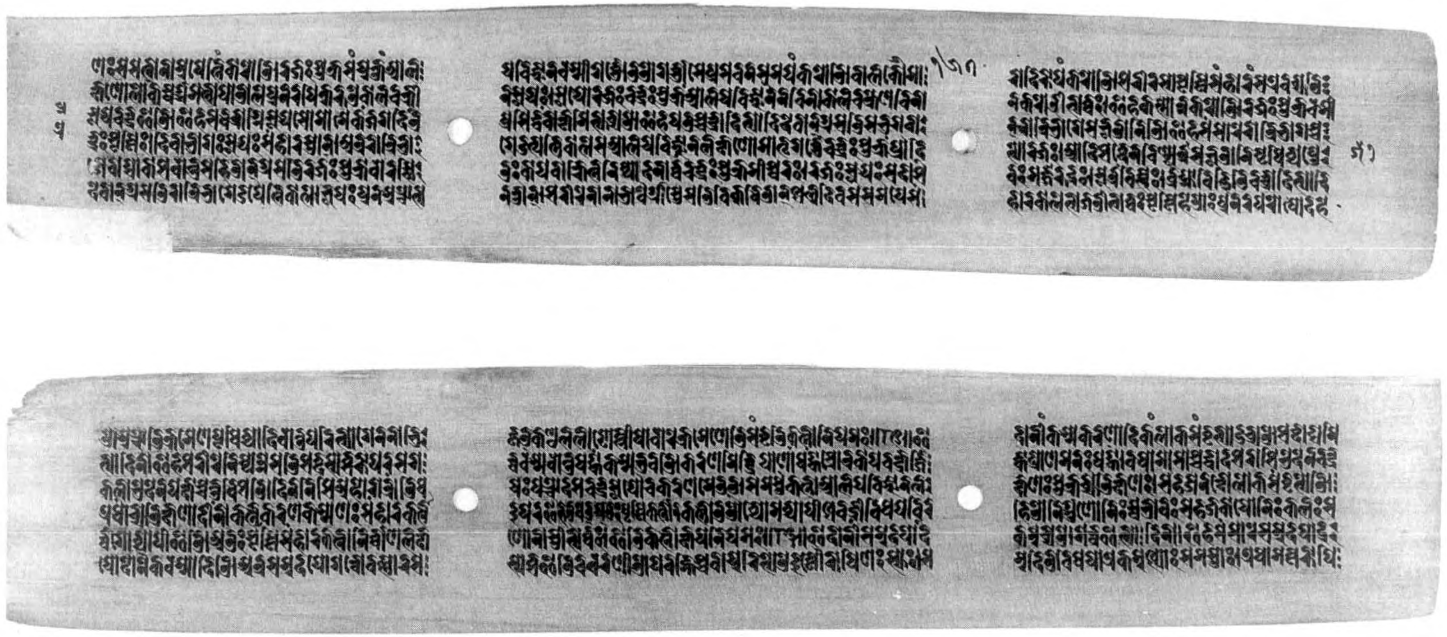

Fig. 1 - (MS A, chap. II, folios 51b-52a; ed., vol. I, pp. 214, l. 21-215, l. 28).

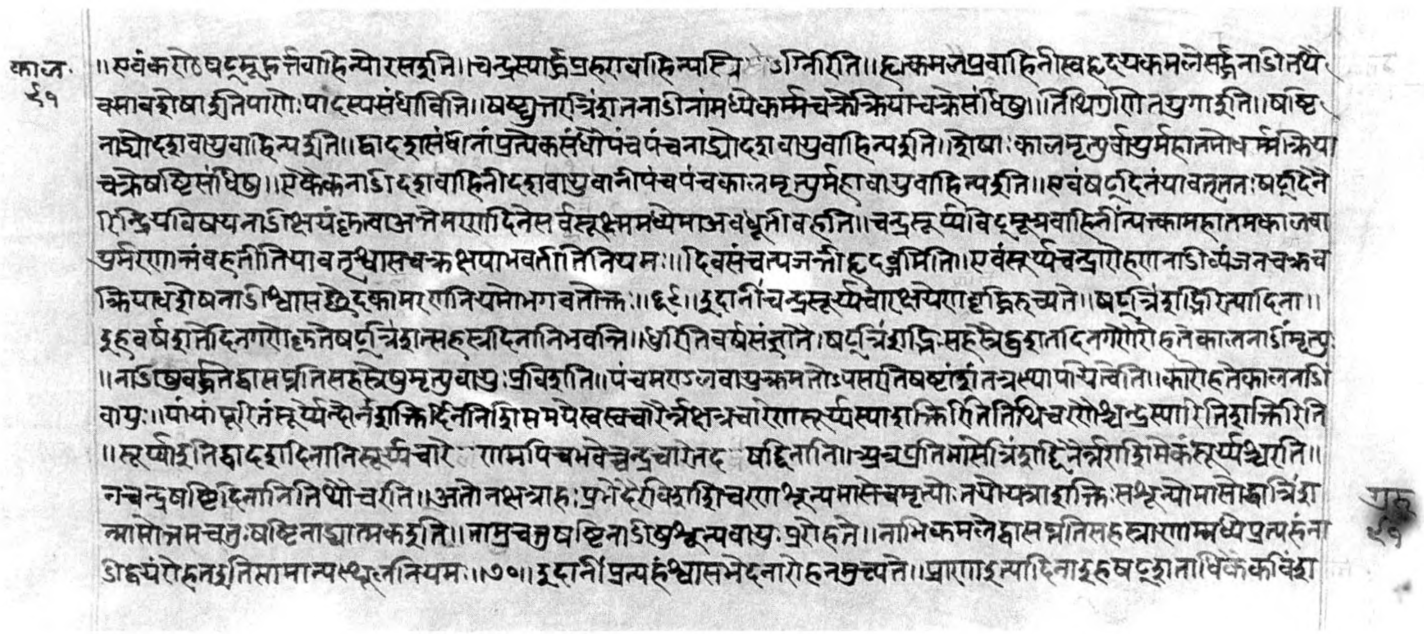

Fig. 2 - (MS B, folio 91b, chap. II; ed., vol. I, pp. 206, l. 21-207, l. 22).

Five Khotanese Ghostwords

by Mauro Maggi

1. *prraysīnīme, mūṣe, yāna*

The Late Khotanese fragment P 2928 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, contains in lines 4-41 the beginning of a Late Khotanese *avadāna*, in which the love story of a householder's son and a minister's daughter is told. The text was edited by H.W. Bailey in *KT* 3.105-106 but it has never been interpreted in full. Only a summary has been offered by Bailey 1963: 19 and isolated words and passages are dealt with in *Dict.* No parallel text in any other language has been identified so far. The following remarks are intended as a contribution to the interpretation of the text.

In *Dict.* 254 Bailey has the following entry: '*prraysīnīme* "I watch", III 106.34-5 *skāda yāna mūṣe mara būsa mabā jsa prraysīnīme ṣṭau maista* "I will loosen secretly my girdle; sleep here with me; I will however make great watch"'. An etymological explanation extending over thirteen lines follows.

The same passage is partly quoted in *Dict.* 339 as the only instance of a supposed verb '*mūṣ*- "remove, take off clothes", III 106.34 *skāda yāna mūṣe* "secretly I will loosen the girdle"', and in *Dict.* 342 in the entry devoted to the hapax '*yāna*- "girdle, belt", III 106.34-5 *skāda yāna mūṣe mara būsa mabā jsa* "secretly (*skauda*) I loosen the girdle; here lie with me"' (there follow thirteen lines of etymological analysis).

Bailey's reading and interpretation of the passage raise much more problems than they solve. Among other things, *ṣṭau* is a particle (< Old Khotanese *ṣṭānä*, originally present participle middle of *ṣṭ*- 'to stand', see *Suffixe* 79 and 82) and does not mean 'however'. But let us concentrate on *yāna*, *mūṣe* and *prraysīnīme*.

A fresh reading of the manuscript reveals that the entire line P 2928.34 is not to be read as *śāma ttyau baṣṭā ysāra ttye cakṣaka vīrāṣṭą skāda yāna mūṣe mara bū-* (1) with Bailey, *KT* 3.106, but as *śāma ttyau baṣṭā ysāḍa ttye cakvaka* (2) *vīrāṣṭą /skāda* \ [[*ysāḍa*]] *mū-ṣe mara bū-* (3). Bailey's *ysāra* is in fact to be read *ysāḍa* as comparison with *bāḍa* in line 33 and *mūḍe* iṇ line 41 clearly shows: *baṣṭā ysāḍa* 'she sent the old folk away' is confirmed by the use of *ysāḍa* with *bays*- also in Or 11252.12b6 *KT* 2.20 *ṣīya ysāḍa baysīru u viḷaka* 'you should send the old people and the children away at night'. Bailey's *yāna* is to be read [[*ysāḍa*]]: it was deleted by the scribe himself. It appears that, after he had written *vīrāṣṭą*, the copyist's eye turned back to the previous word ending with the ligature *ṣṭ*-, i.e. *baṣṭā*, and he went on copying once again *ysāḍa*, i.e. Bailey's *ysāra*. Immediately realising the mistake, he deleted the wrong *ysāḍa*, and added *skāda* below the line marking the insertion point by a caret between *vīrāṣṭą* and the deleted ⟦*ysāḍa*⟧. Thus, no *yāna*- 'girdle, belt' exists in Khotanese.

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(1) A note specifies '*skāda* below'.

(2) For the reading *cakvaka* instead of Bailey's *cakṣaka* cf. 33 *ṣkvīda*, 36 *kṣa*; *cakvaka* occurs also in line 25 where it is read *cakrraka* by Bailey.

(3) Note the following critical signs: /abc \ = addition below line brought into line in the edition in connection with a ms. *caret*; < > = editor's supplement where the ms. has no lacuna; [[abc]] = deletion by the copyist; {abc} = editor's expunction.

Since there is no girdle, there is nothing to loosen: *mūṣe* belongs with what follows and is to be read as two words: P 2928.34-35 *KT* 3.106 */skāda* \ ⟦*ysāḍa*⟧ *mū-ṣe mara būsa mabā jsa*. In the context it is almost certain that it was *mū-ṣve* 'this night' that was intended by *mū-ṣe* (cf. *Dict.* 333 s.v. *mū* and 347 s.v. *ṣṣavā*-). Though no instance is known, at the moment, of Late Khotanese *ṣe* for *ṣve* 'night', omission of the lower part of a ligatured akṣara is not uncommon, e.g. Sudh P 144 *KBT* 16 *baśā'* for Sudh A 40 *KBT* 32 *baśdā'* 'sin', JP 67r1-2 *KT* 1.155 *jąñąñą* for *jṣąñąñą* 'to be boiled', JP 94v2 *KT* 1.177 *baysgā* for *baysgvā* 'in the nostrils', JP 97r4 *KT* 1.179 *pbiysąña* for *pbiysgąña* 'in the bladder', JP 102r4 *KT* 1.183 *śāka* for *śtāka* 'necessary', cf. also JS 22v1 (97) *maiysyųna* for *maiysdyųna* 'miserable', JS 11v4 (47) *śaysyau jsa* for *śaysdyau jsa* 'with snakes', and JS 12v1 (50) *paṃnyai* for *paṃtsyai* 'you abandoned' (*t* and *n* are very similar in shape). The sentence is thus to be translated 'Sleep with me here secretly tonight' (4). The minister's daughter had already got rid of the old folk, as we have seen above.

As for *prraysīnīme*, it is based on a misreading. In the hand of P 2928 the akṣaras *ma* and *ra* are to some extent similar but not identical and it is always possible to distinguish between them. In the passage in point, the correct reading is *prraysīnī re*, as already printed by Bailey himself in *KT* 3.106. This reading underlies also Bailey's statement that '[i]n the course of the tale we learn that the minister is the friend of Prasenajit of Kośala, famous in many Buddhist texts' (Bailey 1963: 19). Though not all the details are explained yet, it seems clear that the daughter of the minister wishes to persuade her sweetheart to sleep with her and tells him that her father will be at a banquet for six days with king Prasenajit. The clause with *prraysīnī re* as the subject is P 2928.35 *KT* 3.106 *prraysīnī re ṣṭau maista vaña khaysaṃ khāśe'* 'king Prasenajit is now taking part in a great banquet' (cf. Sudh C 129 *KBT* 26 *drrai māśta aunaka khaysana khaṣṭauda maista* 'for three months they took part in a great banquet'). That Prasenajit plays a role in the story is confirmed by the prologue of the tale (P 2928.4-7 *KT* 3.105), where it is stated that the story took place in Śrāvastī at the time of Śākyamuni, i.e. when the city was ruled by Prasenajit: [4] *tta p[yū]yūṣṭa bame bada bāḍą tta tta śākyamauna sarvaña* [5] *beysa śrrāvasta kṣīrai ṣa mūde jattavaña baiṣṭyau batca* [6] *ttana bāḍna bada śā bīsadā'rai śrāvasta kūbe ysanauśca* [7] *yūḍe u nāra nāve nva gūttaira tta tta khū padaja ṣṭa* '[4] So it has been heard. So, at another time Śākyamuni, the all-knowing [5] Buddha, was staying in the land of Śrāvastī, in the Jetavana together with (his) pupils. [6] At that time one householder set up house in the city of Śrāvastī [7] and took a wife according to (his) family just as is the custom'. On king Prasenajit of Kośala and the Buddha see Lamotte 1958: 12 and 21. The Late Khotanese form *prraysīnī* occurs also in N 171.7 and corresponds to Old Khotanese Z 23.136 *praysīnai*.

The words *prraysīnīme*, *mūṣe* and *yāna* do not exist.

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(4) Much less pregnant would be an interpretation of *mū ṣe* as 'now indeed', i.e. a phrase consisting of the adverbs *mū* 'here, now' (*Dict.* 333 s.v.) and *ṣe* for Old Khotanese *ṣṣu* 'indeed' (*Dict.* 406 s.v. *ṣā* and 410 s.v. *ṣu*). Old Khotanese *ṣṣai* 'even' (*Dict.* 412 s.v.) is to be excluded altogether.

2. *ravīnā*

As is well known, the Late Khotanese Sudhanāvadāna is preserved by three main manuscripts (A, C and P-B) and by several fragments. Mostly, mss. C and P-B agree with one another, whereas A diverges. Usually A shows a more conservative language than C and P-B but the text is often corrupt.

The word ***ravīnā*** occurs only once as a variant reading in a passage of Sudh. The pāda in question is to be read in the mss. as follows (of ms. A, Bailey could only read ***cāṣa'*** [*sic*] in *KBT* 31; ms. E has a gap here):

mūrā jīviji|vā karivīnā cāṣe'|.	A 15
sye mvara jīvajīvā ra cā|ṣa'	C 61-62 *KBT* 22
ṣa' mura jīvajīvā ravīnā cāṣa'	P 109 *KBT* 14

Bailey (1966: 518) comments: 'In P 109 ***ravīnā*** is taken as adj. to ***rrai*** plain'. The same interpretation is found in *Dict.* 359: '***ravīnaa-*** "of the plain" adjective to ***rrai***, K 14.108 [wrong for 109] ***jīvajīvā ravīnā cāṣa'*** '***jīvanjīva***-birds, birds of the plains, jays', = K 22.61 ***jīvajīvā ra caṣa'***, BS ***jīvanjīva-*** 'pheasant'. Bailey's etymology raises phonetic difficulties because the stem of the supposed base lexeme is ***rāa-*** 'plain' (*SGS* 305) so that both the short ***-a-*** in the first syllable and the ***-v-*** of ***ravīnā*** remain unexplained. An adjective ***ravīnaa-*** is in fact not listed in *Suffixe*.

The variants A ***karivīnā***, C ***ra*** and P ***ravīnā*** indicate that the tradition is corrupt. P ***ravīnā*** actually looks like an ***-īnaa-*** adjective, but a base lexeme ****ravǎ-*** (or less likely ****ratǎ-***) with a suitable meaning is unknown (P 1311.b9 *KT* 3.42 ***ravi*** 'appointed time', see *Dict.* 359 s.v. is inappropriate here). C ***ra*** must merely be a miswriting, which is not uncommon in this ms., but in this case it might well have been caused by a difficulty met with by the copyist in his source.

A ***karivīnā*** 'all around' (see *Suffixe* 134 § 21.3.6) is the only meaningful variant supported by the occurrence of the word in other Late Khotanese texts. A possible translation of the pāda in A could thus be 'all around (there were) birds, pheasants (and) jays'. Though the text is metrical (but Late Khotanese metrics is still widely unexplored), the syntax appears to be not quite satisfactory because one would expect ***karivīnā*** to be placed at the beginning or at the end of the clause, not in the middle of the list of birds. Rather, one suspects that the variant in ms. A is a *lectio facilior* for an uncommon bird name.

Khotanese poetry has another list of birds that affords a solution to our textual problem. It is contained in Lyr 53-55 (Dresden 1977: 89):

[53]	***<kau>kalą īmūka tcāṣa' karavī***	A 31
	kaukala īmūka cāṣa' karavī	B 47
	kaukala |īmūka cāṣe' karāvīra |.	E 29
[54]	***stārya kakva papūśkyā beja|kya ysyama***	A 32
	stā|ryi kakva papūśkyi bejakyi ysyama .	B 48
	stārye papūśakyā bīdye baijakye |ysūmā	E 30
[55]	***aṣṇā tcīrauka ū ttara ūcā mūraka***	A 32
	aṣṇā tcīrauka ū tta|ra ūcą mūāraka	B 49
	aṣṇā ttā tcīraukā ū {tta cuā} ttara ūcā mūrakā	E 30

'[53] cuckoos, parrots, jays, *karavī(ra)s*, [54] starlings, *kakvas*, hoopoes, sparrows, *ysūmas*, [55] doves, ducks and partridges, water birds' (cf. Bailey 1951b: 37-38 and see *Dict.* s.vv. for the words not considered by Bailey to be loanwords). Thus *karavī(ra)*, occurring in the vicinity of *cāṣa'*, must also be the bird name that originally stood in the Sudh passage under consideration. There remains to explain why the textual corruption originated.

Other occurrences of the word are: Z 7.42 *kbo ābya āṇā karavīrai canda mura* 'birds as small as a sparrow in an egg' (Emmerick's translation); Z 15.99 (= H 142 NS 53r3 *KT* 5.27) *karavīra āce* 'sparrows, water-birds' (Emmerick's translation; fragmentary context); Avdh 11r2 *KT* 3.5 *karavīrai murā māñaṃda* 'like the bird *karavīraa*'.

The word (with the variants *karavīraa-* Avdh 11r2 *KT* 3.5 and possibly *karavia-* if Lyr A 31 and B 47 *karavī* is not due to Late Khotanese loss of the final syllable) is a loanword from Indian and is to be connected (Bailey, *KT* 6.41) with Pāli *karavī-*, *karavīka-* 'Indian cuckoo' (*PTSD* 196) and with Buddhist Sanskrit *karaviṅka-*, *kalaviṅka-* 'Indian cuckoo' (Edgerton 1953: 169). None of these, however, is the direct source of Khotanese *karavīra-*. The meaning of *kalaviṅka-* is 'sparrow' in Old Indian (Monier-Williams 1899: 260), but it appears to be much more probable that Khotanese *karavīra-* reflects the meaning 'Indian cuckoo' of the corresponding Middle Indian words in Buddhist texts, though there is no means to ascertain what Khotanese *karavīra-* precisely meant because of lack of bilingual evidence. However, an indication that the Khotanese word means 'Indian cuckoo', a bird which is 'proverbial for its sweet voice' (Edgerton 1953: 169 s.v. *karaviṅka*), is found in the already quoted passage Avdh 10v5-11r3 *KT* 3.4-5 *pyāya ma jsa . bai śśā[ra-bajā]ṣṣa . mista-bajāṣṣa mulysdaṣṣauna-bajāṣṣa . bvarra-bajāṣṣa . ysaujsa-bajāṣṣa* . [+ +] *māñaṃda bajāṣina . brahmānā gyastā māñaṃda . karavīrai murā māñaṃda . śśāra-bajāṣṣa* [.] *vasva-bajāṣṣa* 'Speak with me, O good-voiced, loud-voiced, compassionate-voiced, sweet-voiced, delicious-voiced, O you who, in voice, are like [...], like the god Brahma, like the Indian cuckoo (*karavīrai*) bird, O good-voiced, pure-voiced' (cf. Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 242-43). What looks certain is that *karavīra-* is not a word of the common speech but belongs to the learned vocabulary. It occurs twice in lyrical contexts (Z 15.99 and Lyr 53; three times if we consider also the Sudh passage) and twice in Buddhist contexts (Z 7.42 and Avdh 11r2).

Just the learned character of the word is likely to have been responsible for the textual corruption in Sudh: if one takes into account that the homophonous phrase Z 2.79 *karā vīrā* 'in a circle' and the quasi-homophonous adjective *karvīra-* 'surrounding' (Skjærvø 1985: 62) existed in Khotanese, and that the bird name *karavīra-* was a learned word, then it becomes clear why A *karivīnā* 'all around', semantically the same as a nominative-accusative plural of the adjective *karvīra* 'surrounding', could be substituted for the original nominative-accusative plural *karavīra* 'Indian cuckoos', a *lectio difficilior*. It should be noted that the words *karvīnā* 'all around' and *karvī*, *karavī* from *karvīra-* 'surrounding, encircling' (7) occur as variants in one passage of Sudh not far from the passage in point: Sudh A 35 *KBT* 32 *sīma karvī baste* (so read) = C 81-82 *KBT* 23 *sīma karavī baste* 'he drew an encircling boundary', P 136 *KBT* 15 *sīma karvīnā baste* 'he drew a boundary all around'.

To sum up: the Sudh passage under consideration is to be reconstructed as *sye mura jīvajīvā* **karavīra cāṣe'* '(there were) geese, pheasants, Indian cuckoos (and) jays'; A *karivīnā* 'all around' is a *lectio facilior* for **karavīra* 'Indian cuckoo'; and P *ravīnā* and C *ra* are further mistakes in the tradition. In particular, a word *ravīnā* does not exist for it is merely a corrupt reading.

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(7) LKh. *karavī* and *karvī* cannot be variant spellings of *karvīnā* because only final syllables with short vowel may be dropped in Late Khotanese.

3. *vūysa*

According to Bailey, *Dict.* 390 s.v., *vūysa* is an hapax occurring as a variant reading in Sudh A: '*vūysa* "hither", K 24.87-8 *mahadrasaina rai vā vā jsanāka paśavai* "Mahendrasena the king has sent out a killer hither", = K 32.39-40 *mahaidra(s)ai(na) rre vūysa jsanākā <paśave>*, = K 16.143 *mahaidrasaina-rre vā jsānaka paśavai*. Hence *vā vā* = *vā* = *vūysa*. If formed like *bā*, *bāysa-* "distant", this *vūysa* could attest **vāysa* from *vā* and *vūysa* from *vū* "hither" by *-za-* suffix, *-zā* in *bāysa* "afar". Further evidence is necessary'.

But *vūysa* is just a misreading, as inspection of the manuscripts shows that the relevant verse line in Sudh is to be read as follows:

mahaidrasai rre vụ̄-v-ā jsinā |kā paśāve	A 39-40
mahadrasaina rai vā-v-ā jsa |nāka paśāvai	C 87-88
mahaidrrasaina rre vā jsanāka paśāvai	P 143

The sequence A *vụ̄-v-ā*, C *vā-v-ā* is probably to be interpreted as consisting of the directional particle *vụ̄* 'hither' (see *Dict.* 389 s.v.) or *vā* 'hither' (*Dict.* 382 s.v.) — if they are really two words and not mere Late Khotanese variant spellings — followed by the Late Khotanese hiatus filler *-v-*, usual after back vowels such as *-ū-* and *-ā-*, and finally by *-ā-*, a Late Khotanese variant spelling either of the first person enclitic pronoun *-(a)ṃ*, *-ū̌ṃ* from Old Khotanese *mā* (see JS p. 412), or possibly of the enclitic emphatic particle *-ū* (see E p. 404 s.v. *ū*, and *Dict.* 35 s.v. *ū*). The spelling *-ā* for the enclitic emphatic particle *-ū* is probably met with even in Old Khotanese *pulsumā* 'I ask indeed' for *pulsumā* + *-ū* (Sgh 203.1 and 203.3 [twice]) in a manuscript (Reuter I + H 147 NS 112) showing strong Late Khotanese influence (see Sgh p. 151). Thus, the pāda above is to be translated 'king Mahendrasena has sent hither a killer against me' or 'king Mahendrasena has indeed sent hither a killer'.

Also the comparison with *vūysa* in *Dict.* 478 s.v. *bāysa-* 'far, distant' must accordingly be cancelled (6).

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(6) I am grateful to R.E. Emmerick, who read a draft of the present article, made valuable suggestions and improved my English. A slightly different version of section 2 (*ravīnā*) was presented at the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies, Cambridge, 11-15 September 1995.

ABBREVIATIONS

Dict. = Bailey 1979; E = Leumann 1933-1936; *JS* = Dresden 1955; *KBT* = Bailey 1951a; *KT* = Bailey 1945-1985; N = Leumann 1920; *PTSD* = Davids & Stede 1921-1925; Sgh = Canevascini 1993; *SGS* = Emmerick 1968b; *Suffixe* = Degener 1989; Z = Emmerick 1968a.

Abbreviations of Khotanese texts as in Emmerick 1992. Lyr is used for the lyrical poem together with the sigla A = Ch 00266.1-42, B = P 2025.7-79, E = P 2956. The following sigla have been adopted for the mss. of Sudh: A = P 2957.3-161, B = P 4049a, C = Ch 00266.44-223, E = P 5536 bis.b, P = P 2025.80-267.

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Two Anonymous Texts in the *bsTan-'gyur*

by FABRIZIO TORRICELLI

In the *Tōhoku* Catalogue (¹) of the sDe-dge edition (D) of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, after Tilopa's *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* (*Tōh.* 2330), two other works concerning with the so called Six Yogas of Nāropa (*Nā-ro'i chos drug*) are listed under the nos. 2331 and 2332. The same two are present in the Co-ne Canon (C), while in the sNar-thang and Běijīng editions they are missing. These texts, belonging to the Tantric section (*rGyud-'grel*) of the *bsTan-'gyur*, vol. *zhi*, are

Tōh. 2331 *bKa' yang-dag-pa'i tshad-ma zhes-bya-ba mkha'-'gro-ma'i man-ngag* (*Ājñāsaṃyak-pramāṇa-nāma-ḍākinyupadeśa* (²)), D fols. 271a-273a, C fols. 271a-273a;
Tōh. 2332 *bKa'-dpe phyi-ma*, D fols. 273a-276a, C fols. 273a-276b.

According to the contents of the former text, whose title could be read in English as 'the *ḍākinis*' instructions which are called the very model of the[ir] perfect pronouncement', we divide *Tōh.* 2331 into three sections:

I (D fols. 271a.3-272a.1, C fols. 271a.2-272a.1) dealing with those *yoga* techniques where the practice of the illusory body (*māyākāya*) is needed, after some general preliminaries, we read: [D 271a.6] [[C 271a.6]] *gtum mo 'od gsal sbyangs pa la || sgyu ma lta bu'i lus bsgom pa || slob pa dang ni mi slob gnyis || slob pa la yang gnyis yin te || mngon par rtogs pa'i rim pa dang || rang nyid lhag par gnas pa'o || mngon par rtogs pa'i rim pa la || gsang ba'i dbang gi dus dag tu || me long dri ma med pa* [271b] *la || rdo rje sems dpa' legs bris* [[271b]] *te || de yi gzugs brnyan snang dang mtshungs || zhes bya ba nas sgyu ma'i dpe bcu gnyis kyi sgo nas rtogs par bya'o || rang nyid lhag par gnas pa la || 'pho dang grong du 'jug pa dang || rmi lam bar do rnam pa bzhi*;

II (D fols. 272a.1-272b.7, C fols. 272a.1-272b.7) about the dream state (*svapna*), begins: *rmi lam la yang rnam lnga ste || dran dang sgyu mar shes pa dang || sbyangs dang goms pa khrid pa dang || gong du 'pho bar shes par bya*;

III (D fols. 272b.7-273a.3, C fols. 272b.7-273a.3) about the intermediate state (*antarābhava*), begins: *snang ba thim dang rtog pa thim || rags pa thim dang phra ba thim || thim pa'i rjes la goms pa dang || rang bzhin gyis ni 'od gsal 'byung.*

(¹) Ui, H., M. Suzuki, Y. Kanakura & T. Tada, *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* (*Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur*), Sendai 1934.

(²) I follow the *Tōhoku* reconstruction of the Sanskrit title, instead of the less correct *Ābapramaṇasaṃyag*° given in the Tibetan text.

As for the 'further texts' (*bka'-dpe* (3) *pbyi-ma*) of *Tōb*. 2332, we can distinguish eight sections in it:

I (D fols. 273a.4-273b.7, C fols. 273a.4-273b.7) about the mystic heat (*caṇḍālī*), ends: *bsgoms pas sangs rgya ba gtum mo'i tsbig sbram* // *brtson 'grus can tsbe 'di la sangs rgya ba'i gdams pa'o*;

II (D fols. 273b.7-274a.5, C fols. 273b.7-274a.5) on *māyākāya*, begins: *sgyu lus lam du bya bar ni*; it ends: *bag cbags dag pas sangs rgya ba sgyu lus kyi tsbig sbram*;

III (D fols. 274a.5-274b.1, C fols. 274a.5-274b.1) on *svapna*, begins: *rmi lam lam kbyer gdams pa ni*; it ends: [D 274a.7] [[C 274a.7]] *bag cbangs* (*cbag* C) *can rmi lam la brten nas sangs* [274b] *rgya ba'i* [[274b]] *tsbig sbram*;

IV (D fol. 274b.1-4, C fol. 274b.1-4) about the radiant light (*prabbāsvara*), begins: *'od gsal lam du bya ba ni*; it ends: *gnyid 'thug pos sangs rgya ba 'od gsal gyi tsbig sbram*;

V (D fols. 274b.4-275a.1, C fols. 274b.4-275a.1) about the transference (*saṃkrānti*), begins: *'pho ba'i bye brag sbin tu mang*; it ends: *ma bsgoms* (*sgoms* C) *par sangs rgya ba 'pho ba'i tsbig sbram*;

VI (D fols. 275a.1-275b.3, C fols. 275a.1-275b.4) on *antarābbava*, begins: *bar do lam du slong ba ni*; it ends: *srid pa bar dor sangs rgya ba bar do mam pa gsum gyi lam dang bsre ba bar do'i tsbig sbram*;

VII (D fols. 275b.3-276a.1, C fol. 275b.4-7) about the entering corpses (*parakāyapraveśa*), begins: *grong du 'jug pa'i 'pho ba ni*; it ends: [275b.7] [[276a.1]] *grong 'jug gi* [276a] *tsbig sbram bstan pa itbi*;

VIII (D fol. 276a.1-7, C fols. 275b.7-276a.6) about the path of means (*upāyamārga*), begins: *tbabs lam byang cbub sems kyi man ngag ni*; it ends: *'di ni tbabs lam bka' dpe kun la ma gnang ba yin no* // *bka' rgya lan gsum du yod do*.

These two texts have no author recognized by the *Tōboku* Catalogue, but we have good reasons for finding them a place within a tradition very close to the *mabāsiddba* Nāropa.

In the second part of the first section of volume V of Kong-sprul's *gDams-ngag-mdzod* (4), regarding the 'extraordinary six *yoga*-s' (*tbun-min cbos drug-gi skor*), we find seven works. The last two are by Mi-la-ras-pa, and the first five bear the name of Nāropa as author, or as translator (5):

K1 *bKa' yang-dag-pa'i tsbad-ma zbes-bya-ba mkba'-'gro-ma'i man-ngag*, pp. 69-89;

K2 *sNyan-brgyud rdo-rje'i tsbig-rkang zbes-bya-ba*, pp. 89-94;

K3 *Grub-cben nā-ro-pa'i gdams-ngag cbos drug skor-gyi bka'-dpe tsbigs-su bcad-pa*, pp. 95-106;

K4 *Cbos drug-gi man-ngag ces-bya-ba*, pp. 106-107;

K5 *mKbas-grub cben-po nā-ro-tā-pas mal-'byor-gyi dbang-pbyug mar-pa lo-tsā-la gdams-pa'i cbos drug dril-ba rdo-rje'i mgur*, pp. 108-109.

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(3) Cit. in L. Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Delhi 1959, s.v., even if the reading '*ka-dpe*' is to be preferred; cf. *Bod-rgya tsbig-mozod cben-mo*, Beijing 1986.

(4) Kong-sprul (1813-1899), *Gdams ṅag mdzod. A Treasury of Instructions and Techniques for Spiritual Realization, Compiled by 'Jam-mgon Koṅ-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, Reproduced from a Xylographic Print from the Dpal-spuṅs Blocks*, V, Delhi 1971.

(5) In this case always coupled with that of Mar-pa Chos-kyi Blo-gros.

A few remarks about the first, the third, and the fourth of them can bring us nearer to the author of *Tōb*. 2331 and *Tōb*. 2332.

The colophon of K1, entitled like *Tōb*. 2331 (⁶), informs us that 'Nāropa and Mar-pa Chos-kyi Blo-gros translated, revised and finalized [this text] taken from Akaniṣṭha Heaven by *guru* Tilopa' (⁷). Guenther (⁸), attributing the *Ābasaṃyakpramāṇa-nāma-ḍākinī-upadeśa* to Tilopa, observes that this 'authoritative Tibetan text of the bKa'-brgyud-pas varies in the arrangement of the subject-matter from the one preserved in the *bsTan-'gyur*'. But a closer examination and comparison of *Tōb*. 2331 and K1 shows that the two, apart from few lines, even if they are cognate are not the same.

On the contrary, nearly all *Tōb*. 2331 and part of *Tōb*. 2332 can be found in K3. As for the fifteen short texts collected under the title *Grub-chen nā-ro-pa'i gdams-ngag chos drug skor-gyi bka'-dpe tshigs-su bcad-pa*, they can be grouped into eight sections:

I (pp. 95.2-96.6) without title is one text dealing with *mayākāya*; all of its 77 verses are among the 93 in the first section of *Tōb*. 2331;
II (pp. 96.6-98.1) entitled *gTum-mo'i bka'-dpe* is one 'text about *caṇḍālī* (⁹)'; 30 out of its 54 verses are among the 79 in the first section of *Tōb*. 2332;
III (pp. 98.1-99.7) entitled *rMi-lam bka'-dpe* is one 'text about *svapna*'; all of its 96 verses are among the 101 in the second section of *Tōb*. 2331;
IV (p. 100.1-7) entitled *'Od-gsal-gyi bka'-dpe* comprises two 'texts about *prabhāsvara*';
V (pp. 100.7-102.4) entitled *Bar-do'i bka'-dpe* comprises three 'texts about *antarābhava*': the beginning of the first of them (8 verses on 31) opens the third section of *Tōb*. 2331;
VI (pp. 102.4-103.2) entitled *Grong-'jug-gi bka'-dpe* is one 'text about *parakāyapraveśa*';
VII (pp. 103.2-105.4) entitled *'Pho-ba'i bka'-dpe* comprises three 'texts about *saṃkrānti*';
VIII (pp. 105.5-106.3) entitled *gDams-ngag-gnad-kyi bka'-dpe* comprises three 'texts about the essential points of the instruction (*upadeśa*)'.

To sum up, K3 is relevant with the two *bsTan-'gyur* texts according to the following scheme

K3			*Tōb*. 2331		*Tōb*. 2332	
section	subsect.	verses	section	verses	section	verses
I		77/77	I	77/93		
II		30/54			I	30/79
III		96/96	II	96/101		
V	I	8/31	III	8/28		

At the end of it Kong-sprul writes: 'So the texts of Nāropa are completed. Even if there is

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(⁶) *Ābapramaṇasaṃyag*°; cf. the *Tōboku* reconstruction.

(⁷) K1, p 89.5-4: *bla ma tilli pas 'og min gyi gnas nas spyan drangs pa jo bo nā ro pa dang / mar pa chos kyi blo gros kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o.*

(⁸) H.V. Guenther, *The Life and Teaching of Nāropa. Translated from the Original Tibetan with a Philosophical Commentary Based on the Oral Transmission*. London 1963, p. 54, fn. 1.

(⁹) We read in a smaller script (p. 97.6-7) that '*guru* Tilopa granted [this instruction] to *guru* Nāropa, who granted [it] to Mar-pa, who granted [it] to Mi-la Thos-pa-dga' from Gung-thang' (*bla ma te lo pas bla ma nā ro pa la gnang des mar pa la gnang des gung thang gi mi la thos pa dga' la gnang*).

another one in prose, this one in verse form is to be regarded as the most important (¹⁰)'. In the opinion of the English editor of the *gDams-ngag-mdzod*, this remark should come with the fact that, even if the *dkar-chag* mentions a 'bigger' and a 'smaller' text (*chos drug-gi ka-dpe che chung gnyis*), the smaller *ka-dpe* is not included in the collection (¹¹).

Nevertheless, after K4, Kong-sprul himself writes that 'this is the smaller text on the six *dharma*-s, or the small text on the six *dharma*-s, by the lord of *yoga* Tilopa, which is like a wish fulfilling gem: so it is called by the lineage holders who consider it the authentic source of the instructions (¹²)'.

In conclusion, among many other 'treasures' for the oral teachings of the Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa lineage, Kong-sprul's *gDams-ngag-mdzod* has a smaller text by Tilopa (K4) considered the 'authentic source' (*khungs*), and a bigger one by Nāropa (K3) which is 'superior' (*gtso-bo*), if compared with another which should be in prose. Since some Nāropa's *ka-dpe*-s of K3 are so relevant to *Tōh.* 2331 and *Tōh.* 2332, our anonymous texts in the *bsTan-'gyur* can be ascribed to Nāropa, or at least to the first tradition stemming from him.

(¹⁰) K3, p. 106.3: *ces nā ro pa'i bka' dpe rnams rdzogs so // ka dpe tshig lhug pa gcig kyang yod do // tshig bcad 'di gtso bor mdzad do.*

(¹¹) Cf. Kong-sprul, *op. cit.*, fn. 2.

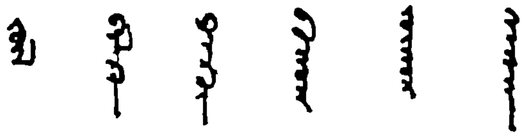
(¹²) K4, p. 107.7: *'di ni chos drug gi bka' dpe chung ba'am / rnal 'byor dbang phyug tilli pa'i chos drug gi gzhung chung yid bzhin nor bu zhes brgyud pa 'dzin pa rnams kyis gdams ngag gi khungs su mdzad do.*

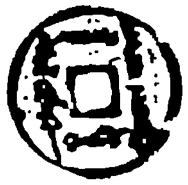
Two New Uighur Coins

by YANG FU-HSUEH

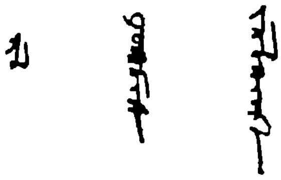
In October 1990, Mr Wang Ping-ch'êng, Director of the Cutural Properties Administration, Kimsar, in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, presented me two photographs which showed both the obverse and reverse sides of a coin preserved in the Administration. He had hoped that I would be able to decipher the inscription. After a detailed study I understood the meaning of the letters and the date from Uighur manuscripts (¹).

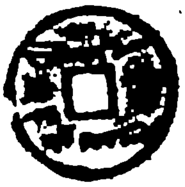
According to the information provided by discoverer Mr Wang, in 1981 this coin was recovered in Liu-hu-ti of San-t'ai in Kimsar county i.e. Fêng-luo-shou-chou Town of the T'ang era. This garnisoned town became a part of the capital of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom. This coin is circular in shape with a square hole in the centre. Its diameter is 2.3 cm, thickness 0.15 cm, the diameter of the hole about 0.7 cm, and its quality comparitively good with a copper texture. The inscription on the obverse is:





We can read it as '*kül bilgä buyuy uighur t(a)ngri qaxan*'.
That on the reverse is:





It can be read as '*el tuymïš y(a)rl(ï)r-ingä*'.

(¹) See Yang Fu-hsüeh 1991: pl. II, nos. 1-2. But this number of the Journal in which my paper was published, of which the circulation was very limited, is rather rare in libraries and private collections in Europe and the lapse of nearly two years since I finished that study has enabled me to improve on some points. Besides this, my study was published in Chinese, for the Western scholars who do not know Chinese, it is as difficult to understand as the Uighur inscription on coins. This is the reason why I am publishing it here, by the kind permission of the editor.

Another coin of the same category was published by Japanese scholar Okudaira Shōkho (n.d.: vol. 9) with a brief account. The minting and purpose of these coins has not yet been studied in detail because of the paucity of historical accounts. We can only give the initial discussion from the inscription of the coins.

The inscription on the coins must belong to the period of '***kül bilgä buyuγ uigbur t(ä)ngri qaγan***', for, according to the numismatic conditions of the Central Plain of China and other areas, this conclusion is beyond any doubt. Now, the problem is to make sure of the period of Xaqan (Khan). We had initially concluded that the coins belonged to the Qočo Uighur Kingdom period. Firstly, one of the two coins was discovered in the summer capital of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom viz. Pei-t'ing (Kimsar) which was the political, economic and cultural centre at that time. Moreover, since the Uighur script had been created in the latter half of the 8th century, but not being widely used it was in force only up to the mid-800's when the Uighurs migrated westwards to Qočo, Pei-t'ing, etc. They established their own kingdom and the Uighur script gradually prevailed and only under this historical situation, was it possible to mint the Uighur coins. Until the later period of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom, approximately from Äsan Tēmur Ïduq-qut and Barchuart Tegin Ïduq-qut almost all the kings had the title 'Ïduq-qut'. Moreover, the title 'Khan' was not used again (Ch'êng Sho-luo 1983: 13-23), there was no accordance between the king's name and that on the coins. In addition, the social and economic documents of the Uighurs during the Mongol-Yüan Dynasty from Turpan and other places mention various currencies, such as cloth money (e.g. *böz*) (Yang Fu-hsüeh 1989: 14-17), paper money (e.g. Chung-t'ung-pao-tsao and so on) and the metal coins (e.g. golden coins, silver coins and Tänga coins) (Id. 1992), only the bronze coins under discussion were not mentioned. It can be said that in the later Qočo Uighur Kingdom, the minting of this kind of coin was very limited. It is quite possible that this kind of coin was only a commemorative issue and not currency. This hypothesis provides and explanation, even if a partial one, why there are so few of this kind of Uighur coin, up to now I only know of the existence of the two coins mentioned above.

As is well known, the Qočo Uighur Kingdom lasted for four or five centuries from the mid 9th century when the Kingdom was established, to the mid 14th century when the Kingdom ended. Unfortunately, due to the shortage of sources, the royal titles of the Kingdom have remained very few, only 20 odd titles being recorded (Ch'êng Sho-luo 1983: 13-23). Among them the majority belongs to the period after Äsan Tēmur and Barchuart Tegin, only five kings such as P'ang T'e-ch'in, P'u-ku Chün, Lu-shêng, Chih-hai and Pi-lê-ê are from an earlier period. All the titles do not correspond to those of the inscription on the coins. Fortunately, by chance I found the key to this problem from an Uighur inscription on a wooden tablet which was discovered in Turpan and published by F.W.K. Müller. The first four lines of the content are as follows (Müller 1915: 22):

T. III.

1. qutluγ ki ot qutluγ qoin yïl · ikinti ai · üč yangï-qa · kün ai t(ä)ngridä qut bulmïš uluγ
2. qut ornanmïš alpïn ärdämin el tuγmïš alp arslan qutluγ kül bilgä t(ä)ngri xan(ïmïz?)......xan olurmïš · öngtün sačin
3. kidin nuč barsxan-qatïgi ilinŋ ärksinü yrlïqayur oγurda...xan...t(ä)ngrikän.......el ügäsi alp tutuγ
4. ügä qutluγ qočo ulusuγ bašlayur ärkän..män uč ärd(ä)nikä......süzük kirtgünč

The title '*kül bilgä t(ä)ngri xan*' in the 2nd line coincides with that of Khan on the obverse side of the coins and the title '*el tuγmīš*' on the same line is inscribed on the reverse side of the coins. Hence it can be said that the coins must belong to the period of this Khan.

As for the time when the inscription on the tablet was created, scholars were in disagreement for a long time. At first Mr Müller, who published this inscription, considered it to be 767 A.D. (1915: 26). Nevertheless, at that time the centre of the Uighur Empire was still in Orkhon River Valley. The power of the Empire never reached the Western Region. No need to examine that Qočo and Pei-t'ing became the capitals. From this, we can only suggest the probable date of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom. This problem was considered by L. Bazin in his research. But I wonder what led him to explain the '*qutluγ ki ot qutluγ qoin yīl*' as 'the year of Suu-wei' (Bazin 1974: 100-326). His viewpoint coincided with that of Mrs A. von Gabain who reached this conclusion earlier than him. After doing her research, she came to the conclusion that it may belong to 1019 A.D., give or take 60 years (Gabain 1973: 20). Japanese scholar Moriyasu Takao also accepted this theory but he doubted whether in 1019 A.D. the territory of the Western Uighur Kingdom reached the Issyk-kul and Syr River or not. He said,

> according to Abe, during the whole of the 10th century, the territory of the Western Uighur Kingdom extended to the Syr River Valley. However, in the same book he also said that in early 11th century, at the latest in 1010 A.D. the Western Uighur Kingdom and the Pei-t'ing Kingdom of east and Karakhanid of west were completely split. Hence it can be said that the inscription on the wooden tablet can be dated to 959 A.D. (Moriyasu 1980: 337, fn. 55).

In reality, the '*qutluγ ki ot qutluγ qoin yīl*' is not 'the year of Suu-wei' but corresponds to 'the year of Ting-wei' of the Chinese calender. So this year can only be dated as 947 or 1007 or 1067 A.D. A detailed study of their date has been made by me (1990: 73) and I think that it must be 947 A.D., and obviously my view coincides with that of J. Hamilton (1955: 143) and is also near to 959 A.D. proposed by Moriyasu.

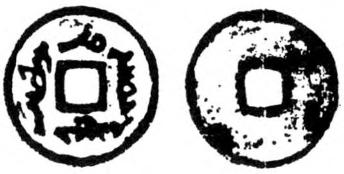
It is interesting to find new material which can help us to ascertain the date when the Khan died, in another Uighur inscription on a wooden tablet published also by F.W.K. Müller (1915: 6):

1. ymä qutadmīš qutluγ topraγ qutluγ bičin yīl-qa ödrülmiš ädgü ödkä qutluγ qoluqa
2. toquzunč ai tört otuz-qa purva pulguni yultuz-qa kün ai t(ä)ngritäg küsänčig körtlä yaruq
3. t(ä)ngri bög(ü) t(ä)ngrikänim(i)z külbilgä t(ä)ngri ilig-ning orunqa olurmīš ikinti yīlīnga

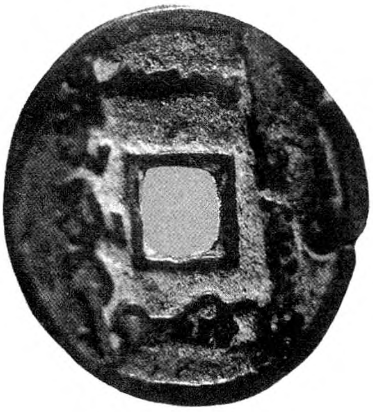
The wooden tablet was erected in the year of *qutadmīš qutluγ topraγ qutluγ bičin yīl* 'the year of Wu-shên', viz. 948 A.D. (detailed study, see Hamilton 1955: 143 and Moriyasu 1973: 38). The inscription on this tablet can be dated to the 2nd year of ***kül bilgä t(ä)ngri xaqan***, viz. the Khan of wooden tablet no. T.III and the ***kül bilgä buγuγ uigbur t(ä)ngri qaxan*** in the coins, so, the Khan's death must have taken place in 947 A.D. Thus the Uighur coins must have been cast in or before 947 A.D. when this ***kül bilgä buγuγ uigbur t(ä)ngri qaxan*** was on the throne, i.e. approximately during the early half of the 10th century.

Interestingly when I was examining the coins, another Uighur coin, which is preserved in Shanghai, was published. This bronze coin is also circular in form, with a square hole in the centre, its diameter is 2 cm, width 0.55 cm, weight 2.3 g and a plain reverse. The inscription on the obverse is as follows (2):

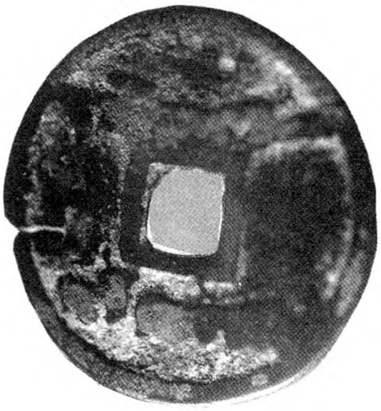
ïduq y(a)rlïq yürïs-ün



The content is completely different from the inscription on our coins. In order to take into consideration its appearance, the word '*yürïs-ün*' is divided into two sections. According to Kiang Ch'i-hsiang who has done the research on this coin, two inscriptions follow the title '*ïduq*', but they are too blurred to be deciphered. The meaning of '*ïduq*' is 'sacred' or 'bright', which is written as I-tu-hu in Chinese records. As far as I know '*ïduq*' was used as a title by the Uighur rulers from around the 9th century, however in the early period of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom this title was seldom used. Only by the end of the 12th century and beginning of the 13th century did it become a common title (Yang Fu-hsüeh & Niu Ju-ki 1990: 51). Taking into consideration the script of the inscription, we can opine that Uighur copper coins belonged to the end of the later Qočo Uighur Kingdom and are at least 200 years later than our coins, from this we can conclude that our coins are the earliest existing coins in ancient Uighur history.



obverse



reverse

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(2) Kiang Ch'i-hsiang 1990: 66. Among them, the second word was misread as *yorlïq*.

As is well known, the Qočo Uighur Kingdom is a very important period for the political, economical and cultural development of the Uighurs (Ch'êng Sho-luo 1984: 1-8). Handicrafts developed considerably. From the 'Account of Qočo' in *Sung Shih*, it can be said that the Uighurs were very artistic and good at working gold, silver, and at making bronze and iron tools and perfected jade carving. A Manichaean manuscript of the 9th century mentions that the throne of the king of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom was made of gold, and the ornaments were made of precious stones (Arat 1964: 151-52 and Yang Fu-hsüeh & Niu Ju-ki 1990: 48-49). Moreover, the commerce of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom also reached a certain stage of development. The discovery of the Uighur coins not only provides us with precious material objects for a better understanding of the development and level of the handicrafts and commerce of the Uighur Kingdom, but also fills in the gaps in the historical accounts and enriches the history of Chinese numismatics.

As mentioned above, our coins are circular in form with a square hole, like the Uighur coin published by Mr Kiang. This kind of shape is completely similar to that of the Chinese Heartland, and it manifests the deep influence of Chinese culture on the ancient Uighurs.

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A Short Note on a New Nepalese Labyrinth

by ROSA MARIA CIMINO

On the occasion of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held in Venice in 1987, I presented an article on a labyrinth. It consisted of a drawing by the Capuchin Father Cassiano da Macerata, which, in his opinion, reproduced the walls of Simraongarh (Cimino 1986: 277-89; 1989: 581-99; 1990: 1151-63) (Fig. 1). This city, located in Nepalese eastern Terai and capital of the kingdom of the Tirhuts (Mithila) — who originally inhabited Karnataka — achieved a degree of importance in the late 11th century, before being destroyed in 1325 by Ghiyas un-din Tughlaq.

Father Cassiano claims he saw the plan of the walls of the city at Bhatgaon, engraved on a stone slab.

Tradition has it that the defeated king sought refuge in the Nepalese valley and that he married the widow of the king of Bhatgaon. The Malla dynasty, which came to power after these events and governed the kingdom for centuries, claimed to descend from the Tirhuts of Simraongarh.

It has so far not been possible to trace the slab in question, nor to check the original shape of the walls of Simraongarh, despite the reconnaissance carried out in the zone by IsMEO, which is still performing sondages to identify the main structures of the city.

The site is extremely large, and mainly given over to farming. There are several scattered villages and a larger one where there is even a police station, and a market is held periodically. Several statues of excellent craftsmanship and decidedly Pala-Sena style, probably belonging to the ancient city, have been placed in the sacred area of the temple. Other statues in the same style are to be found in the small neighbouring villages and are still worshipped by the inhabitants. In the countryside it is frequent to find long embankments covered with vegetation which possibly were part of the famous walls.

The aerial photographs taken by the Italian Archaeological Mission of IsMEO reveal a rectangular external wall perimeter with the long sides running North-South and covering an area of about 7.5 x 4.5 km. The original walls probably consisted of earthworks about 3-4 m high, on top of which a fired brick wall, of a height presumably equal to that of the base, was erected.

Despite the poor state of repair of the archaeological remains, which were used for centuries as a 'brick quarry', it is still possible to identify a secondary wall system which was concentric with the external walls and between which there lay ditches filled with stagnant water.

Radiocarbon analysis of some of the numerous potsherds found during the IsMEO excavations, which were focused mainly on what used to be the main civil and religious complex of the city, has indicated the existence of two periods, the first between the 10th and 12th centuries, and the second, after a short gap, between the 13th and the 14th centuries (Vidale 1994).

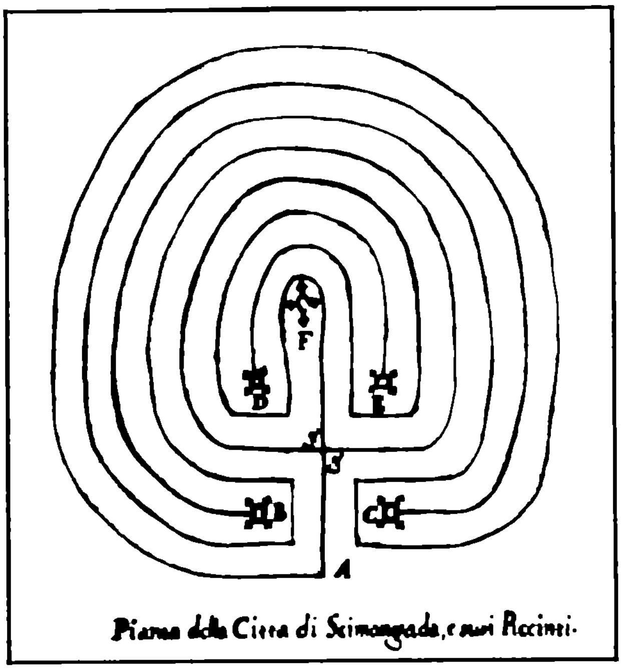

Fig. 1 - Plan of the city walls of Simraongarh by Father Cassiano da Macerata. (Photo from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale, Macerata).

Even though the data so far obtained do not support the claim of a 'labyrinth' wall in the case of Simraongarh, Father Cassiano's drawing is of great importance as it is indicative of the interest shown by the ruling dynasty of Bhatgaon in the ancient capital, to which it felt it was somehow linked, even to the extent of representing it symbolically, emphasizing its impregnable nature by means of the labyrinth pattern. The defeat, according to tradition, was due to betrayal, and certainly not to any weakness in the defensive structure or lack of skill on the part of its defenders.

In previous studies were described the shape of the labyrinth, which is of the 'Cretan' type. We also examined other labyrinths found in Nepal and India, and linked them up with western tradition.

The figure of the labyrinth, in its various shapes and patterns, is found in many *yantras*, i.e. magic diagrams, of the 17th and 18th centuries, even though the origin of this symbol, considered an archetype, is much older than the texts that have come down to us. In this case it takes on a precise meaning and has a magic and protective function.

The same role is played by the *nandyāvartā*, the propitiatory symbols similar to labyrinth, which may be made up of one or more intersecting swastikas (Cimino 1989: pls. LXXVIIIa-b, LXXXb). It seems that in the temple of Pashupatinath, also in Nepal, there is a similar labyrinth, a kind of compulsory path made up of 522 votive *liṅgas* arranged in the form of

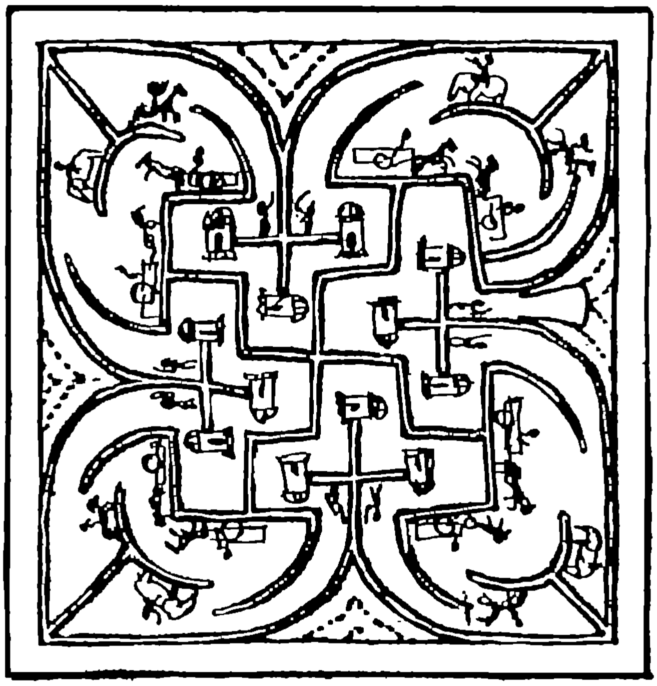

Fig. 2 - *Maṇḍala*-labyrinth on the ceiling of the second floor room (external dimensions *c.* 71 × 71 cm). Painted on wooden tables, in the centre of the ceiling. (Drawing E. Galdieri).

a swastika drawn in a clockwise direction. This winding path proceeds from the entrance — which foreigners are not allowed to enter — towards the sanctum, and probably symbolizes the arduous path to salvation.

A labyrinth of a perhaps similar shape to the latter was found only a short time ago, painted on the ceiling of a room in the *pujari*'s residence in the temple of Dattatreya at Bhatgaon, after the cleaning and restoration work carried out there by IsMEO under the direction of the architect Eugenio Galdieri (Galdieri, in the press). It is to the kindness and friendship of the latter that I owe the indication of the labyrinth and the drawings and photographs (Fig. 2).

The *pujari*'s house, situated beside the great temple of Dattatreya, is famous for its openwork wooden windows.

Much care has been taken also over the decorations of the inner rooms, although up to two years ago the soot from the oil lamps and general neglect had led to the paintings on the walls and ceiling of a large first floor room of the building, probably used for meetings, being almost completely hidden. The IsMEO restoration has brought back to life some magnificent and hitherto unsuspected paintings that have an iconography and an interesting style worthy of careful study.

The room is divided into two sections by columns and beams. One of the ceilings, painted with a leopard skin pattern, has a labyrinth in the centre inscribed within a square having a side length of 71 cm. Against a blue background there is a red figure, consisting of four lotus petals which spread out at the corners, on which the path through the labyrinth is marked in yellow.

This is a somewhat peculiar labyrinth consisting of a central swastika, the arms of which are connected to an irregular M-shaped segment which occupies the corner petals. The wavy external lines of the latter join together to form a cross, the three arms of which end in three defensive towers. Starting from the only access to the labyrinth there runs a winding path, defended by warriors, war chariots, soldiers on horseback or riding elephants, that is forced to pass by the defensive towers to reach the last petal, which is located near the entrance and represents the point of maximum security.

The principle underlying this labyrinth is the same as that found in the drawing of the walls of Simraongarh, except that here the path is circular and does not consist of broken straight lines. As in this case, also in the labyrinth in the *pujari*'s house there is a weak point which, once it has been located, allows easy entry to what should be the most protected part. This point lies precisely at the beginning of the path and consists of a wall located in the immediate vicinity of the innermost zone. If this wall is knocked down, one can penetrate the heart of the labyrinth directly, thus avoiding the defensive systems situated along the difficult path.

Legend has it that it was precisely the demolition of this wall, which had been revealed to the enemy by a traitor, that led to the fall of Simraongarh.

The painting on the ceiling of the Pujari Maṭh has twelve towers, of a simple cylindrical shape ending in a low dome and placed, as we have seen, at the tips of the arms of the four crosses. Along the path eight soldiers with long swords have been drawn, the same number of war chariots with horse and coachman, four men on horseback and four riding elephants, which probably represent all the different types of militia of which the traditional armies of the time were composed.

The presence of this labyrinth in the house of the *pujari* allows no scope for reference to cities, either real or legendary. Al-Bīrūnī describes the city of Rāvaṇa, on the island of Lanka, as a labyrinth, perhaps referring to a lost text. He gives a drawing of it in which it is represented as a 'Cretan' form (Cimino 1989: pl. LXXIXa).

Our representation seems closer to the figure of a *maṇḍala* or a *yantra*, taking on both a magic and protective function and a religious-spiritual significance. Its form could in fact be a good representation of man's difficult journey towards spiritual victory. Moreover, its geometric scheme could also have a function of meditative support. However, its position on the ceiling leaves us in some doubt as to the practical possibility of using this schema in meditation, as the latter is normally performed in a sitting position.

Its 'propitiatory' significance is more likely also because, in the adjacent room, in a position symmetrical to the labyrinth, a lotus flower is depicted, i.e. the symbol *par excellence* of Buddhists and Hindus, which is linked to concepts of purity and spiritual achievement.

Forms similar to our labyrinth continue to be constructed even today, using flowers and coloured powders on the doorsteps of the houses on the occasion of feasts or weddings and are known as *rangolī* or *kolam*.

This type of pattern, which is reminiscent of a winding pathway and is made up of several intersecting swastikas, is depicted in an 18th century Rajasthani miniature, in which the Mahārāṇā Amar Singh appears during the games for the Holī feast (Cimino 1989: pl. LXXXI).

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Note on the Article by A.K. Ananthanathan

(*EW*, 44, 1994)

by RAJU KALIDOS

This brief communication has reference to the article on *Tirukkuṟaḷ* by A.K. Ananthanathan in the recent number of *East and West* (44, 2-4, pp. 315-26). I do not want to enter into the controversies of the core theme but only point out that in an article, dealing with classical Tamil literature, the *Tamil Lexicon* method will have to be followed. There are problems when the Tamil words are not properly handled, using the diacritical system. In the present case, the two basic words, *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and Tiruvaḷḷuvar, are in question. *Kural* in Tamil means 'voice' or 'call' whereas *kuṟaḷ* is a rare type of metrical composition, a couplet, much less popular with poets of standing. The credit goes to Tiruvaḷḷuvar who is believed to have adopted the mode of poetry very boldly to be crisp so that each and every *kuṟaḷ* houses 'infinite riches in little romos' as it has been said in connection with the essays of Francis Bacon. *Vaḷḷuvar* were a caste who enjoyed a superior status in those times but lost their position in society later (Hanumanthan 1981: 147-50) whereas *vall(u)avaṉ* would stand for a giant-like man, physically or mentally very strong. There are several such examples, the following are a few to note:

porul	should be	*poruḷ*	p. 316
payiram		*pāyiram*	p. 317
arattupal		*aṟattuppāl*	p. 317
porutpal		*poruṭpāl*	p. 317
Tolkappiam		*Tolkāppiyam*	p. 320
Purananuru		*Puṟanāṉūṟu*	p. 321
arasaneri		*aracaneṟi*	p. 321

The word Cangam could have been either Śaṅgam (Skt) or Caṅkam (T). *Murai* (p. 323) would mean '(to) view sternly' whereas *muṟai* is an orderly manner or 'justice'. Sometime ago, scholars in Tamilnadu followed a kind of *maṇipravāla* in the transliteration of Tamil words (e.g. Subrahmanian 1990). I committed the same error in my doctoral thesis and several of the articles till advised by the editor of *Acta Orientalia* (50, 1988) to follow the *Tamil Lexicon*. This method is more scientific and will have to be encouraged. In a paper on a subject like *Tirukkuṟaḷ* the *Tamil Lexicon* will have to be assiduously followed. A good example in case of the article under note is the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* no. 397, quoted in p. 325. In its present form it makes no sense at all. I could not make out anything out of it unless I refer to the original.

It is not possible to prepare a list. Just a few more examples could be given. *Pal* means 'tooth' whereas the *pāl* of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* would denote essence, literally 'milk'. Kamathupal (p. 317) should be *kāmattuppāl*. The following should be in the form as noted against each word:

Illanakanar	-	Iḷanākaṉār	p. 321
Jivaka cintāmaṇi	-	*Civakacintāmaṇi*	p. 321
Kovurkkilar	-	Kōvūr Kiḻār	p. 318

Unless handled with great care, the Tamil words are sure to misguide the reader.

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Michael Madhusudan Dutt's Second Wife

by R. ALAIN EVERTS and LIU JIAN

Much of the life of the famous Bengali poet and playwright Michael Madhusudan Dutt remains to this day shrouded in mysteries — mysteries that he made not only no effort during his lifetime to shed light on, but which he compounded knowingly. Not the least mysterious aspect of his life are his two marriages, or perhaps more appropriately, the circumstances of his two wives.

In the Makers of Indian Literature volume of biography entitled *Michael Madhusudan Dutt* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1981) by the late Dr Amalendu Bose, the author presents little information on Dutt's wives, and sums up his marriages nicely, stating (p. 3):

> He was married twice, both times in Madras and to non-Indian Christian women; the legal and sacramental validity of these two marriages and the legal validity of his separation from his first wife are vague as vague can be.

Dr Bose also refers in some detail to Michael Dutt's first wife, Rebecca Mctavish (whom he calls McTavish), giving 1848 as their date of marriage, and speaking of their four children. However, there is no factual verification presented for the date of marriage, no dates of birth for the children, and no names for the four children. Dr Bose appends a brief essay to his biography, 'Michael's Two Marriages' that discusses Rebecca Mctavish in some further detail, albeit speculative detail, that seems to have used H.W.B. Moreno's excellent essay 'Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt and His Anglo-Indian Wives' from *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. 26, July-December, 1923), as its basis.

Michael Dutt's second wife, according to Dr Bose, was Henrietta, 'but surely the marriage could not have been solemnised simultaneously with the separation (at least social, since not sacramental). Surely some considerable time had to elapse before the second marriage could take place' (p. 35). But about her antecedents, Dr Bose admits nothing is known, and H.W.B. Moreno admits that her maiden name is not stated in any biography of her husband. Moreno though does give her full Christian names: Emilia Henrietta Sophia and states she was of French extraction and that her father was a Professor at the Madras Presidency College. Further, he speculates that she may have had the family name of 'Dique'. Moreno arrives at these data by deducing that at the time of the second marriage of Michael Dutt, there were two tutors at the Presidency College, L. Dique and A. Dique, whose names appear to suggest a French origin, and who may or may not have been related to the second Mrs Dutt.

Moreno also gives details on the children from this second marriage: Henrietta Elizabeth Sarmista Dutt, born in 1858 or 1859 and who died on 15 February 1879. As she was only 14 or 15 when her father died, and as she accompanied his body to the cemetery with her husband, it is hard to believe that she was in fact born in 1858 or 1859, but it is just possible that she was. The second child, Frederick Michael Dutt was born 23 July 1861 and died on 11 June 1875. The third child, Albert Napoleon Dutt died at age 40, according to Moreno, on 22 August 1909 (although Civil Service records list 20 August 1909 as the date).

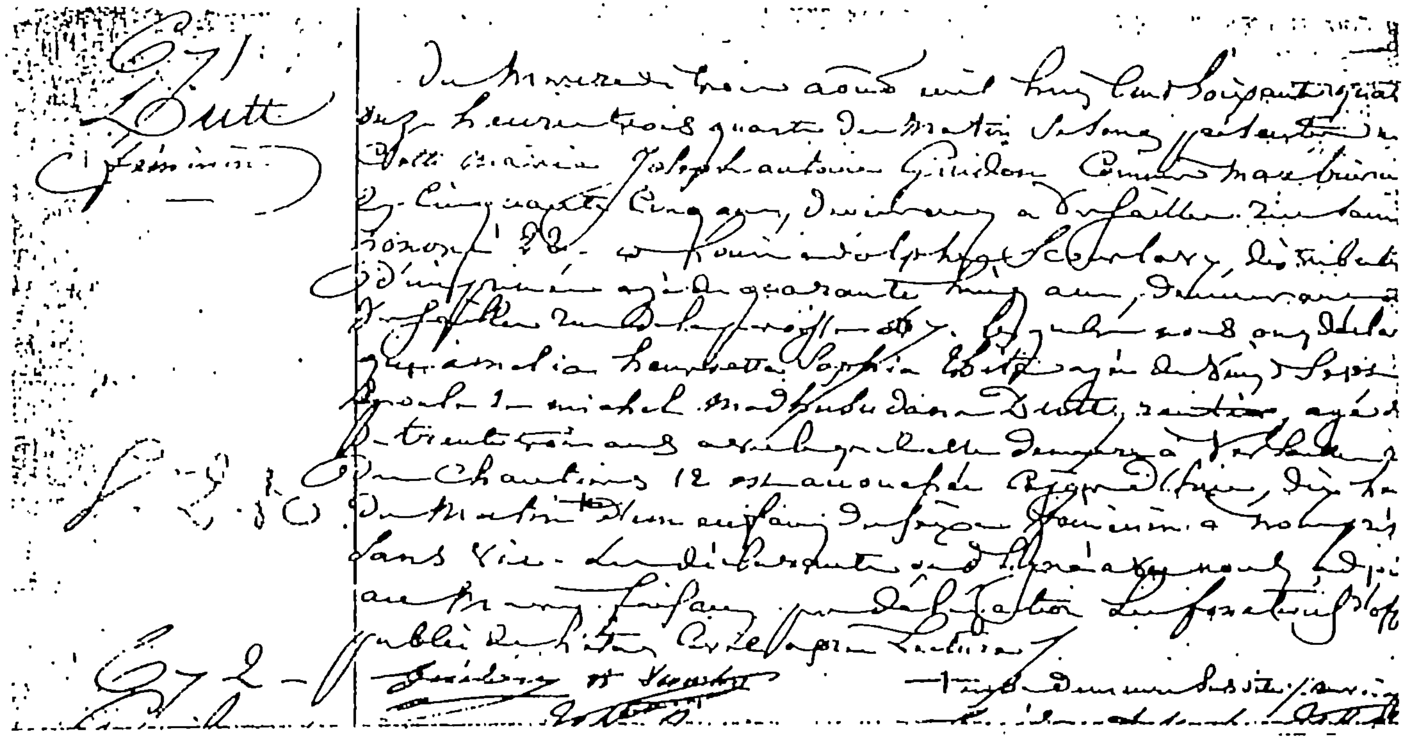
In fact, Moreno is wrong concerning the antecedents of Michael Dutt's second wife, about her full name, and about her possible maiden name. He also is wrong on the full name of the first son, and he is unaware of a child born dead to Michael and his wife. However, this information is all contained in the two birth certificates for two children born in France to Michael Dutt and his wife, that have been overlooked for over a century and a quarter by scholars.

The certificates, from the birth registry records of the city of Versailles's Mayor's Office, reproduced in facsimile (Figs. 1-2), state as follows:

> 671
> Dutt
> (female)
>
> on Wednesday three August eighteen hundred sixty-four eleven o'clock and three-quarters in the morning presented themselves at this city hall Joseph Antoine Guidon, Marbrun commune, aged fifty years living in Versailles rue Saint Honoré 22 and Louis Adolphe Scourlary distributor of printed matter aged forty-eight years living in Versailles rue Delaparois 67. These ones have informed us that Amelia Henrietta Sophia White aged twenty-seven wife of Michael Madhusudana Dutt who lives of the interest of investments aged thirty-three years with whom she lives in Versailles rue des Chantiers 12 gave birth this day at six o'clock in the morning to a child of the female sex born without life.

> 677 —
> Dutt
> Albert George Napoléon
>
> on Tuesday twenty-seven August one thousand eight hundred sixty-seven at noon was reported the birth of Albert George Napoleon of the male sex born yesterday at four o'clock in the morning where she lives with her husband in Versailles rue Maurepas 6 wife of Michael Modoosudana Dutt lawyer aged thirty-seven years and of Amelia Henrietta Sophia White his wife without profession aged thirty-five years. Their witnesses are Umabel Nicola Carré, landlord aged sixty-nine years living in Versailles rue l'Étigny 3 and Antoine François Edouard Binart manufacturing manager aged forty-five years living in Versailles Boulevard du Racine 14. Without the presentation of the child with the aid of family doctor Louis Julien Fénard, medical doctor, Chevalier de la légion d'honneur, aged forty-seven years living in Versailles rue du Hotel 3 present at the birth and who has signed with the witnesses.

Although there are inconsistencies concerning the age of Michael Madhusudan Dutt and his wife, there is no doubt that her name is as repeated in the documents: Amelia Henrietta Sophia White. On certificate 671, for 3 August 1864, she gives her age as 27 and her husband's is given as 33. On certificate 677, for 27 August 1867, her age is given as 35 and Michael's as 37. In fact, we know that in August 1864, Michael Dutt was 40½ years old and that in August 1867, he was 43½ years old, having been born on 25 January 1824. However, when Michael Dutt applied to study law at Gray's Inn in London on 19 August 1862, he gave his



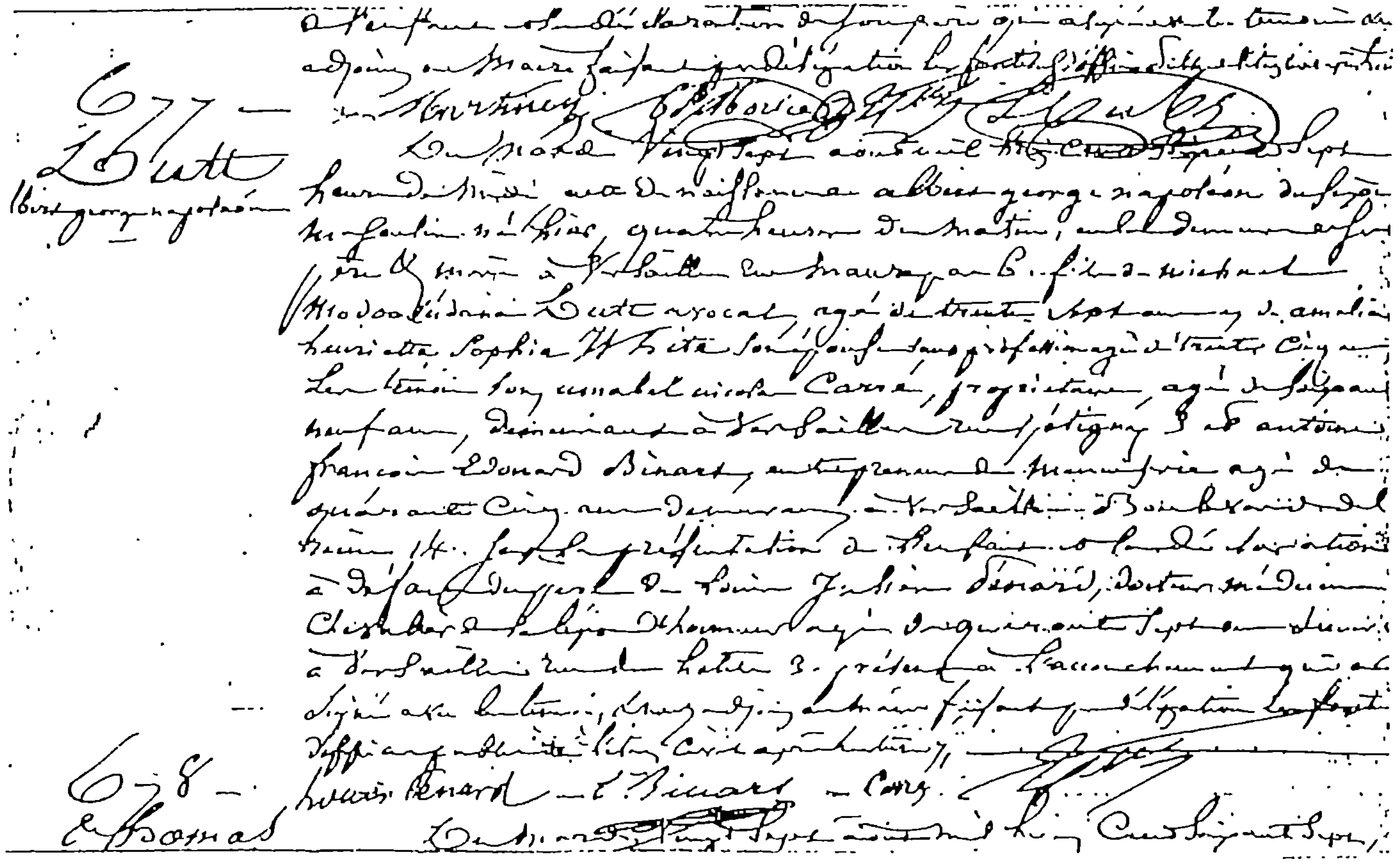
671 Dutt (féminin)

f. 2.30

Du mercredi trois août mil huit cent soixante quat[illegible]
[illegible] heures trois quarts du matin [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] Joseph Antoine [illegible] [illegible]
de cinquante cinq ans, demeurant à Versailles, rue [illegible]
[illegible] 22, et Louis Adolphe [illegible], distributeur
d'imprimés, âgé de quarante huit ans, demeurant
à Versailles rue de la Paroisse 87. Lesquels nous ont déclaré
que Amelia Henrietta Sophia [illegible] âgée de vingt [illegible]
épouse de Michel [illegible] Dutt, rentier, âgé de
trente trois ans, avec lequel elle demeure à Versailles
rue des Chantiers 12, est accouchée [illegible], dix heures
du matin, d'un enfant du sexe féminin, à nous présenté
sans vie. Les déclarants ont [illegible] nous [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

672

Fig. 1



a l'enfant et sur la déclaration du comparant qui a signé avec les témoins et nous
adjoint au Maire faisant par délégation les fonctions d'officier de l'état civil après lecture.
[illegible]

677 — Dutt
albert george napoléon

Du [illegible] Vingt Sept août mil huit cent cinquante Sept
heures de midi. acte de naissance de albert george napoléon du sexe
masculin né hier, quatre heures du matin, au domicile de ses
père et mère à Versailles rue Maurepas 6. fils de Michael
Théodore Lindsay Dutt avocat, âgé de trente Sept ans, et de amelia
henrietta Sophia White son épouse sans profession âgée de trente cinq ans.
Les témoins sont [illegible] nicolas Carré, propriétaire, âgé de soixante
neuf ans, demeurant à Versailles rue Pétigny 3 et antoine
françois Edouard Binart, entrepreneur de menuiserie âgé de
quarante cinq ans demeurant à Versailles Boulevard de la
Reine 14. Sur la présentation de l'enfant et sur la déclaration
à défaut du père de Louis Julien Bérard, docteur médecin
Chevalier de la légion d'honneur âgé de quarante sept ans demeurant
à Versailles rue [illegible] 3. présent à l'accouchement qui a
signé avec les témoins, et nous adjoint au maire faisant par délégation les fonctions
d'officier de l'état civil après lecture.
Louis Bérard — E. Binart — Carré.

678 —
[illegible]

Du [illegible] Vingt Sept août mil huit cent cinquante Sept,

Fig. 2

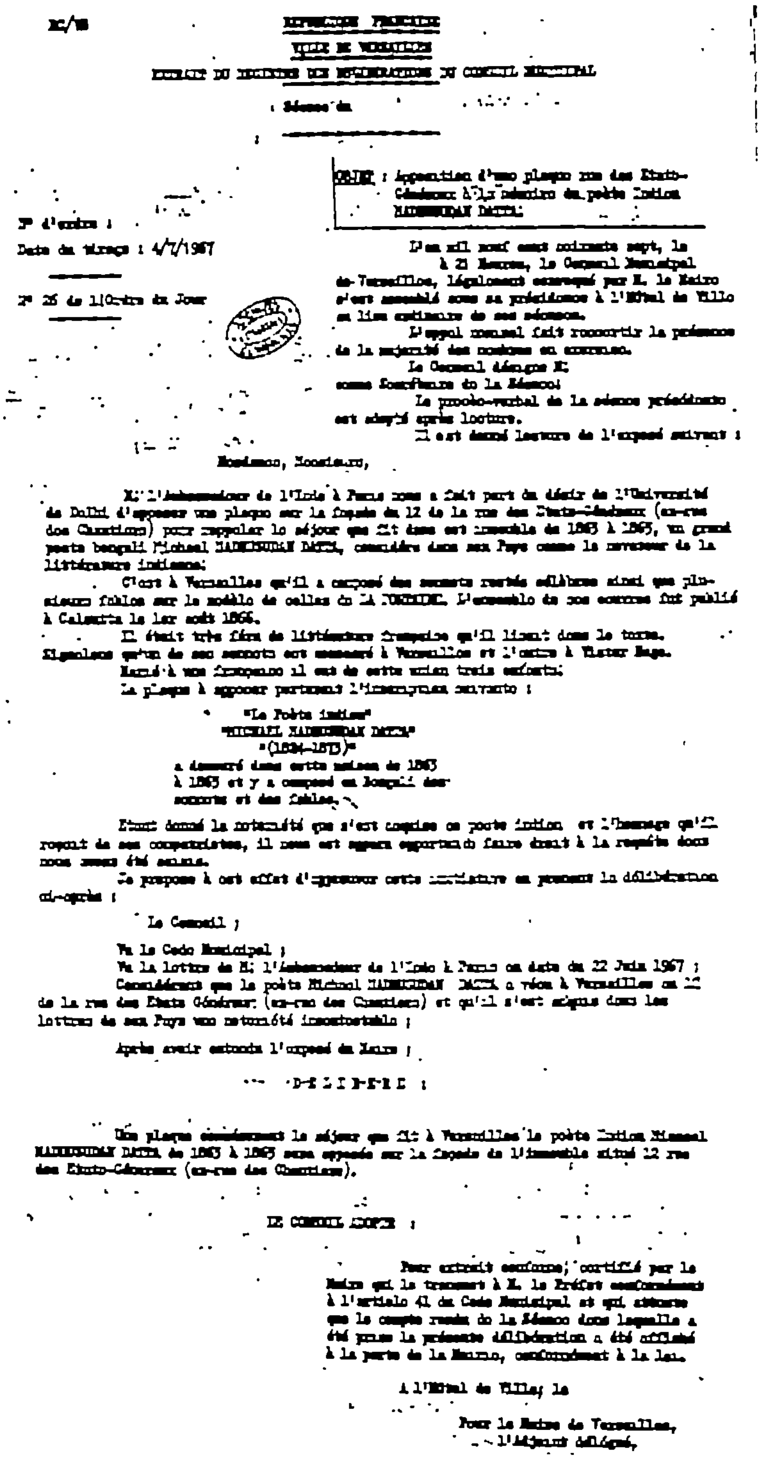
age as 31 years, when in fact he was 38½ years old, shaving off more than 7 years. But his age on these certificates would be consistent more or less with this shaving off 7 years from his age. His wife's age on certificate 671 means she was born about 1827, but on certificate 677, about 1835, quite a discrepancy. It would appear that she has not been even consistently truthful about her age.

But we have one more piece of evidence for Henrietta Dutt — the Burial Register for Lower Circular Road Cemetery in Calcutta that Moreno lists in his article, and where she was interred after her death, which reads:

> 26th June 1873. Emelia Henrietta Sophia Dutt, aged 27 years, wife of Michael: buried by J. Lewis and Co., in a *kutcha* grave 23 feet south of Mrs. L.J. MacCarthy's headstone, 5th range of graves, 6th walk south from the 1st gate, south-east quarter.

If correct, this would give 1846 as her year of birth, or 1845 if she turned 28 by August (the month of her two births in France). This is patently an error in transcription, and Moreno postulates that a 10-year period was omitted by error, making her born in 1836. We would postulate that it is most likely that she was born in 1837, since this accords with her first birth in France, and may in fact accord with the second birth. When asked about her age, she may have responded with her year of birth, '37 which was transcribed on the Versailles certificate as her age, 37 years. At this period, the English manner of listing deaths was to list the age that a person had attained when that person had died. So, if 27 is given (or 37 if we credit Moreno, and we do), this means that Henrietta was in her 37th year when she died, meaning that she had in fact already attained her 36th birthday. This would accord nicely with a year of birth of 1837, since she would have turned 36 in 1873, having entered her 37th year at her death, but would also fit the age on certificate 671 from France, and would fit certificate 677 if the error postulated above is considered.

Also overlooked by scholars is the plaque affixed to the front of 12 rue des États-Généraux (formerly rue des Chantiers) that commemorates the stay there of the poet from 1863 to 1865. This ceremony occurred on in Versailles on 4 July 1967, at the behest of the University of Delhi, and the Municipal Counsel order is reproduced in our Figure 3.



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REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
VILLE DE VERSAILLES
EXTRAIT DU REGISTRE DES DELIBERATIONS DU CONSEIL MUNICIPAL

Séance du

OBJET : Apposition d'une plaque rue des Etats-Généraux à la mémoire du poète Indien MADHUSUDAN DATTA.

N° d'ordre :
Date de tirage : 4/7/1967
N° 26 de l'Ordre du Jour

L'an mil neuf cent soixante sept, le
à 21 heures, le Conseil Municipal de Versailles, légalement convoqué par M. le Maire s'est assemblé sous sa présidence à l'Hôtel de Ville au lieu ordinaire de ses séances.

L'appel nominal fait ressortir la présence de la majorité des membres en exercice.

Le Conseil désigne M.
comme Secrétaire de la Séance.

Le procès-verbal de la séance précédente est adopté après lecture.

Il est donné lecture de l'exposé suivant :

Mesdames, Messieurs,

M. l'Ambassadeur de l'Inde à Paris nous a fait part du désir de l'Université de Delhi d'apposer une plaque sur la façade du 12 de la rue des Etats-Généraux (ex-rue des Chantiers) pour rappeler le séjour que fit dans cet immeuble de 1863 à 1865, un grand poète bengali Michael MADHUSUDAN DATTA, considéré dans son Pays comme le rénovateur de la littérature indienne.

C'est à Versailles qu'il a composé des sonnets restés célèbres ainsi que plusieurs fables sur le modèle de celles de LA FONTAINE. L'ensemble de ses oeuvres fut publié à Calcutta le 1er août 1866.

Il était très féru de littérature française qu'il lisait dans le texte. Signalons qu'un de ses sonnets est consacré à Versailles et l'autre à Victor Hugo.

Marié à une française il eut de cette union trois enfants.

La plaque à apposer porterait l'inscription suivante :

"Le Poète indien"
"MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DATTA"
"(1824-1873)"
a demeuré dans cette maison de 1863
à 1865 et y a composé en Bengali des
sonnets et des fables.

Etant donné la notoriété que s'est acquise ce poète indien et l'hommage qu'il reçoit de ses compatriotes, il nous est apparu opportun de faire droit à la requête dont nous avons été saisis.

Je propose à cet effet d'approuver cette initiative en prenant la délibération ci-après :

Le Conseil ;

Vu le Code Municipal ;

Vu la lettre de M. l'Ambassadeur de l'Inde à Paris en date du 22 Juin 1967 ;

Considérant que le poète Michael MADHUSUDAN DATTA a vécu à Versailles au 12 de la rue des Etats Généraux (ex-rue des Chantiers) et qu'il s'est acquis dans les lettres de son Pays une notoriété incontestable ;

Après avoir entendu l'exposé du Maire ;

DELIBERE :

Une plaque commémorant le séjour que fit à Versailles le poète Indien Michael MADHUSUDAN DATTA de 1863 à 1865 sera apposée sur la façade de l'immeuble situé 12 rue des Etats-Généraux (ex-rue des Chantiers).

LE CONSEIL ADOPTE :

Pour extrait conforme, certifié par le Maire qui le transmet à M. le Préfet conformément à l'article 41 du Code Municipal et qui atteste que le compte rendu de la Séance dans laquelle a été prise la présente délibération a été affiché à la porte de la Mairie, conformément à la loi.

A l'Hôtel de Ville, le

Pour le Maire de Versailles,
l'Adjoint délégué,

Fig. 3

Dance in Ancient Java
The Dance Sculptures of the Śiwa Temple at Prambanan

by ALESSANDRA IYER

Introduction

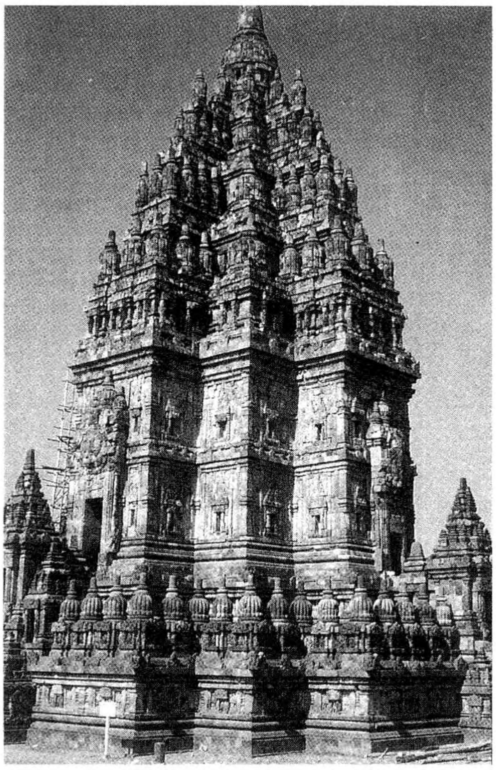
Every artistic endeavour and achievement in Indonesia and the whole of Southeast Asia was thought in the past to be the result of a transplantation of Indian culture, known by the term 'Indianization'. More recent scholarship has emphasised a process of transformation and syncretism — the absorption of religious and cultural influence from India within highly sophisticated indigenous religious and aesthetic ideas. Yet, as scholars emphasise the localisation of Hinduism and Buddhism these are still seen as primarily Indian, with the result that sight is lost of the fact that the adoption of such religions and their world view was in itself a local creative endeavour. Moreover, Hinduism and Buddhism did not necessarily come from India alone, Hindu and Buddhist centres in various parts of Southeast Asia were mutually influential, recycling ideas and trends which would in turn reach the Indian subcontinent. This fact seems to be constantly overlooked (1).

Within this frame work, the question of the relationship between Indian and Javanese dance is still viewed from an inadequate perspective. To say that Indian dance influenced (or did not) Javanese dance is, in either case, a meaningless statement. The important link that exists between dance and religion within a Hindu (and Buddhist, owing to their symbiotic growth) world view is not taken sufficiently into account. Comparisons are usually drawn between present-day dance traditions from India and Indonesia, in order to highlight difference. And differences do of course exist.

Yet there is ample evidence that in the past a dance form which followed canons of Hindu dance, known wherever Hinduism had some following and was practised, played a role in the shaping of Javanese performance art. This evidence is found in form of sculpture at the Śiwa temple, part of the Prambanan complex, in central Java, about 15 km from Yogyakarta, as well as at other temples in the region.

(*) The author gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the British Academy (U.K.) and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (India) which made it possible for her to spend one year at Nrithyodaya, Madras (India) to work on a research project on the *karaṇa* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* under the guidance of Dr Padma Subrahmanyam, Director of Nrithyodaya.

(1) See Wang Gungwu, 'Introduction', in D.G. Marr & A.C. Milner, eds., *South East Asia in the 9th to 14th C.*, Singapore 1986.



This article is based on research undertaken as a follow up to my doctoral dissertation, a study of dance iconography in ancient Hindu/Buddhist Indonesia, with the aim of throwing further light on performance, art and iconography in that region. Identification and reconstruction of dance movements from sculpture is nearing completion. The practical recreation of this older form of Javanese dance is beyond the scope of my own research but could be a further development of the project.

Fig. 1 - View of the Śiwa temple at Prambanan. (Photo: Ramdhan M.).

Candi Śiwa and the Dance Panels on the Outer Balustrade

The Prambanan temple complex, to which *candi* (temple) Śiwa belongs is of saiva denomination and was originally composed of three courts of which only two are extant. Three enclosures encircled each court and each enclosure had four gates, all aligned. Unfortunately only the first enclosure has survived. Within the central court there are eight temples, the most important ones in the west row. These are the Śiwa Mahādewa temple, also known as *candi* Loro Jonggrang, in a central position (Fig. 1), the Brahma temple, south of the above; and to the north, the Wiṣṇu temple. Opposite these temples are minor shrines, often thought to be dedicated to the three gods' animal vehicles, though there is no conclusive supporting evidence. The Śiwa temple was fully restored by the Dutch Archaeological Service (Oudheidkundige Dienst), later Dinas Purbakala, between 1937 and 1953, together with the Brahma and Wiṣṇu temples; the rest of the complex is still undergoing restoration. It can now be dated to the early part of the 9th century A.D. (2).

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(2) See R.E. Jordaan, *Imagine Buddha in Prambanan: Reconsidering the Buddhist Background of the Loro Jonggrang Temple Complex*, Leiden 1993, p. 35.

Candi Śiwa has a square ground plan and is erected on a platform. It is surrounded by a balustrade with four gateways, which divide it into quadrants. The main chamber contains a statue of Śiwa Mahādewa; in the other three cellas are statues of Bhatāra Guru (The Divine Teacher), Gaṇeśa and Durgā. The temple is named Loro Jonggrang after a local princess, identified with Durgā. The balustrade is one of the most interesting parts of the temple. On its inner side a whole series of sculptural reliefs illustrates the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. The scenes have been seen as an example of dramatic performance in the stone medium (³). On the outer side of the balustrade there are 62 panels with dancers and musicians, together with 70 reliefs showing a group of three *apsarī* (celestial maidens) in graceful standing poses — but in some of these reliefs there are groups of three *widyādhara* (male celestial beings). The *apsarī/widyādhara* groups are in niches with columns, adorned by a *kalamakara* (dragon like motif) and capped by a dome with finial (⁴).

The dance panels regardless of their sequence can be classified in two groups. The first group features one dancer in the centre foreground accompanied by two other dancers/musicians, almost identical in looks and attire, but clearly subsidiary figures. The second group shows musicians among whom the drummer, also a dancer, is the main figure. The dancers and musicians depicted in the reliefs seem to be all male. No two panels are identical.

Karaṇa *Sculptures, Dance Practice and the* Nāṭyaśāstra *in Indonesia*

It is not my aim to give here a full technical analysis of the panels. Rather, I would like to talk about the important historical issue of sculpture, dance practice and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in Indonesia, raised by the existence of these reliefs. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is an ancient Hindu text which codifies dance and drama and is thought to have originated in Kashmir at an unspecified time before the birth of Christ (⁵). From data emerging from my own research and the findings of other scholars (⁶), it can be stated that the Prambanan dance reliefs are representations of *karaṇa* (units of dance movement) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the past the

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(³) See E. Sedyawati, 'The Dramatic Principles of Javanese Narrative Temple Reliefs', in B. Arps, ed., *Performance in Java and Bali*: *Studies of Narrative Theatre Music and Dance*, London 1993, pp. 174-85.

(⁴) There are only 66 domes as some corner niches share the same dome. This placement is unconvincing because no domes are visible in pre-restoration photographs, such as those in J. Groneman, *Tjandi Prambanan op Midden Java na de ontgraving*, Leiden 1893. This point is discussed at greater length in my forthcoming monograph on Prambanan, in preparation.

(⁵) The date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is still highly controversial and no consensus has been reached although scholars agree that it cannot be later than the 3rd century A.D. The dance tradition that is describes was obviously based on contemporary practices and had probably been well established before the work was composed. The status of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is regarded as archetypal because all later texts on drama, music and dance found in India were based on it, often submitting straightforward copies of the relevant chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in their discussion of the art of dancing. See M. Bose, *Classical Indian Dancing*: *A Glossary*, Calcutta 1970, pp. 1-2.

(⁶) See K. Vatsyayan, 'Dance Sculptures of Lara Djonggrang (Prambanan)', *Quarterly Journal of the National Centre for the Performing Arts*, VI 1, 1972, pp. 1-14 and E. Sedyawati, 'The Question of Indian Influence on Ancient Javanese Dance', *Review of Malay and Indonesian Affairs*, 14.2.1982.

identification of these *karaṇa* was impossible because there was no tested reference system to rely upon in the analysis of representations; the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, discovered only last century, had not been studied in depth in its kinetic context. The Dutch Archaeological Service did refer to this text and the 1936 translation of its fourth chapter by Naidu Naidu and Pantulu (7) in the 1937 restoration of the panels, but with a lack of kinetic perspective, mistook the reliefs for representations of *aṅgahāra*, without fully realising that *aṅgahāra* cannot be depicted in just one or even two panels (8).

However, the obsolete dance technique of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has, in the past two decades, been carefully reconstructed from textual and sculptural evidence so that one has now a well defined term of comparison which helps to clarify many points hitherto little understood by archaeologists and art historians, usually unaccustomed to kinetics (9). The main questions to be asked are why *karaṇa* would be found outside India and whether the Prambanan reliefs can truly tell us something about dance performance in ancient Java. This highlights the relationship between performance practice and visual arts. Opinions differ, but few people would deny that the arts of ancient Java formed a continuum, mutually influencing each other's development. This is apparent when one looks at later Javanese art, when *wayang* (shadow play) performance heavily influenced sculpture and painting and was in turn influenced by them (10). Thus there are insufficient grounds for concluding that in earlier periods such an interrelationship did not exist. The *karaṇa* of Prambanan are not copies of Indian material. They are about 200 years older than the first known *karaṇa* series, at the Bṛhadiśvara temple in Tanjore, South India. It is likely that the Coḷa King Rājarāja may have been inspired to have a *karaṇa* sequence in his temple after learning about Prambanan (11). At Prambanan the series is incomplete by *Nāṭyaśāstra* specifications, but it is definitely a series (12). This 'incompleteness' may be due to a number of reasons, including a local preference for particular *karaṇa* as the basis for dance, showing influence from performance practice. The figures are too accurate, from a technical viewpoint, to have been carved without a knowledge of a living dance tradition based on the principles of body manipulation known from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Thus it seems implausible that the figures would only represent an ideal dance, in other words that they existed only as iconographic conventions. Kinetically, the figures are perfect and though the movements shown are cadences frozen in sculpture — a static medium — they cannot be mistaken for poses (13). It has been pointed out that the carvers may have been foreign or imitating samples of a foreign sculptural tradition (14). But our data show very clearly that there were no prototypes or 'samples' for the *karaṇa* of Prambanan and thus the images were an entirely local creative endeavour. This is very important because it shows that Southeast Asian Hindus did not depend on Indian input, but had knowledge of the *śāstra*(s) to draw upon.

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(7) See Naidu, Naidu & Pantulu, *Tāṇḍava Lakśaṇam*, Madras 1936.

(8) *Aṅgahāra* is composed of a string of *Karaṇa* and is therefore a complex movement sequence.

(9) Dr Padma Subrahmanyam is the leading dancer-cum-scholar who has been able to recreate the dance technique of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, thus providing a link between theory and practice.

(10) See Soedarsono, *Wayang Wong the State Ritual Dance Drama in the Court of Yogyakarta*, Yogyakarta 1984, pp. 5-6.

(11) See Padma Subrahmanyam, 'Dance Art in Bṛhadiśwara Temple', paper presented at the Seminar on Bṛhadiśvara, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Madras 1993, p. 2.

(12) See Vatsyayan, *op. cit.*

(13) The difference is subtle but important: a pose is a static stance; a depiction of a movement phase, although static because of the medium employed, has an obvious inherent dynamism, being a cadence of movement.

Images of non-dancers, at Prambanan, also conform to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Examples of such nature are the *apsarī/widyādhara* groups in graceful standing poses, in niches along the outer wall of the balustrade of *candi* Śiwa, alternated by the dance panels. Sculptors had, in all likelihood, an active knowledge of Hindu sastraic theories of dance and image making, which prescribed a master of the principles of the art of dance to trainee sculptors and painters, thus emphasising the close interdependence of these art forms. The closeness of dance and sculpture stressed by theory was however a complex relationship that could not exist in a vacuum without receiving constant feed back from practice at regional level. Change in performance styles were thus reflected in the way the plastic arts depicted the human body. It is a moot point whether the interrelationship and parallelism of the arts in Java sprang from a 'pan-Asian' Hindu (and Buddhist) 'classical theory' of art interdependence which emphasised an effort 'to give form to the formless' or whether it was rooted in a pre-existing indigenous perception of the unity of the cosmos and its beauty (15).

The point I am trying to make is that to bracket off Hinduism and Buddhism as 'foreign' to Java and Indonesia results in a rather distorted view of Indonesian history. The important fact is that art interrelationship, whatever its origin, has, to the present day, been a feature of the Javanese artistic development.

In the context of this article further attention should be given to the question of the role of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, in Indonesia. This text links dance with the god Śiwa, who is described as the performer of the *Tāṇḍawa nṛtta* (both terms stand for dance). No direct rendering nor copies of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* have yet been found in Indonesia, although the old Javanese work *Nawanatya* needs to be perused further, in the light of today's more advanced knowledge of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as it seems to relate to ways of expression and possibly dramatic action (16). A most important point is, however, that the impartation of dance has traditionally been, in both India and Indonesia, based on oral transmission and rote learning. Even today, in India, many dance masters' only point of reference is what has been passed on by their own teachers. This is despite the fact that the dance imparted would unerringly reflect the codification found in texts, whose composition did not coincide with their being written down. Indeed many authoritative works on any subject were committed to memory and transmitted in this manner — oral transmission was traditionally more important to learning then any written text. A case in point was that of the *veda*, memorised and recited long before they were written down. In Indonesia, apart from Javanese manuscripts relating to a codification of 19th century court dance, the tradition of writing dance and performance manuals seems to have been non-existent (17). It was the content of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, that was known in Southeast Asia primarily because of its strong saivite connection. We have no way of knowing at this stage whether the nomenclature of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was also used in ancient Java. But this does not preclude its technique of dance from being known and practised. Moreover, it should be noted that the Old Javanese language has words such as *nṛtta* to refer to dance, *rasa* to refer to feeling and *bhawa* to refer to manner of acting and temperament as well as the word *abhinaya* to refer to acting. These are key words in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. One further point should be emphasised. Without the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as a term of reference any analysis of dance images from Hindu/Buddhist Indonesia becomes mere groping in the dark. It is primarily on the basis of a comparative analysis of movement that the Prambanan sculptures are found to be related to the codification of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Therefore for want of an indigeneous nomenclature or movement taxonomy apt to describe the technique depicted in the reliefs, one is justified in using the terminology of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, for it provides the opportunity for a systematic and intelligible description and identification.

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(14) See F. Hughes-Freeland, 'Javanese Visual Performance and the Indian Mystique', in L. Chandra, ed., *The Art and Culture of Southeast Asia*, Delhi 1991, p. 129.

(15) See K. Vatsyayan, *The Square and the Circle of the Indian Arts*, Delhi 1983 and P.J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan: a Survey of Old Javanese Literature*, The Hague 1974.

(16) Further readings of the text and cross reference with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are necessary before drawing definite conclusions. Fragments of the *Nawanatya* text have been translated by Th. Th. Pigeaud in his *Java in the 14th Century; A Study in Cultural History; The Nāgarakĕrtāgama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit 1365 A.D.*, The Hague 1960-63.

Finally if a dance technique based on *karaṇa* movements was practised in ancient Java, this is not to say that indigenous non-śastraic dance forms did not exist. Sedyawati has pointed out that in the reliefs of *candi* Borobudur, a Buddhist temple in Central Jawa slightly earlier than the Prambanan complex, different dance forms seem to coexist (18). It has been remarked that Hinduism and Buddhism must have been predominantly religions of the court, since it was at the royal courts that their impact was most apparent (19). There is no reason to rule out that sastraic dance was connected with worship. Thus, not confined to being a court activity alone, it may have percolated down to lower levels of society. Even today, in Bali, there are various forms of temple dancing, practised as an offering to the gods. And with dance scenes appearing on several *candi*, is it really far-fetched to speculate that dance played an important role in worship?

The Performers in the Reliefs and the Restoration of the karaṇa *Sequence*

It is clear, by now, that there is a link between dance and god Śiwa. The *karaṇa* sculptures of Prambanan appear on the Śiwa temple and depict the dance of Śiwa, articulated through *karaṇa*, according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (20). Who are the dancers in the reliefs? In those panels where the main dancer is in a central position, accompanied by two subsidiary figures, dancing and making music — bells and cymbals are clearly shown — it is very likely that this is Śiwa himself. Thus these would be the only extant images of dancing Śiwa from the whole of Indonesia. The concept of a dancing Śiwa is found in the *stuti* and *stava* of Balinese Brahmana priests. In these hymns, there are clear references to Śiwa performing *abhayam* (protection) and *varadam* (bestowing) with gestures — not unlike the south Indian Naṭarāja (lord of the dance) — and to the *damaru* (drum) of Rudra (21). Other references are likely to be found if the Old Javanese corpus of textual material and inscriptions is carefully examined.

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(17) Research on these 19th century manuscripts has been carried out by Clara Brakel, *The Sacred Bedhaya Dances of the Kratons of Surakarta and Yogyakarta*, Ph.D. Thesis, Leiden 1988.

(18) See Sedhyawati, *op. cit.*

(19) As above.

(20) See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 4, 13; 264.

The Prambanan figures are two-armed but this does not in itself mean that the figures cannot be representations of Śiwa. A two-armed Śiwa Mahāyogi was discovered on the same Śiwa temple by Sedyawati and Jordaan (22). Nor should the lack of attributes suggest that this is not Śiwa. Khmer images of dancing Śiwa as well as those from Champa on mainland Southeast Asia often do not show any attribute. Another parallel is from South India, at Kumbakonam, where the god can be seen performing *karaṇa* (23). In those reliefs where the main figure is that of a drummer or musician, also seen dancing, the performer is a celestial being, part of Śiwa's retinue. Thus the sequence shows Śiwa and celestial beings in the act of dancing the *tāṇḍawa*. It should be remembered here that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* specifies that the *tāṇḍawa* is not only performed by the Lord himself, it can also be danced as an act to worship (24). Therefore at Prambanan one sees both the Lord and celestial beings dancing (Figs. 2-3).

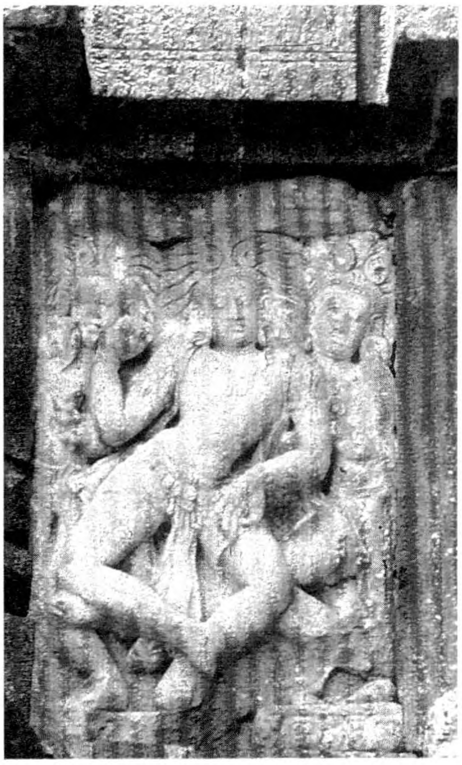

Fig. 2 - A *karaṇa* panel on the outer balustrade of the Śiwa temple. (Photo: author).

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(21) See T. Goudriaan & C. Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava (Bauddha Saiva and Vaisnava) of Balinese Brahmana Priests*, Amsterdam 1971, pp. 292, 317, 397, 458.

(22) See E. Sedyawati & R. Jordaan, 'Some Iconographic Notes on the Śiwa Temple at Prambanan', *Archipel*, 40, pp. 15-23.

(23) See P. Subrahmanyam, 'Bharata's Art Then and Now', Bombay-Madras 1979, pp. 60-63.

(24) See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 4, 266-67.

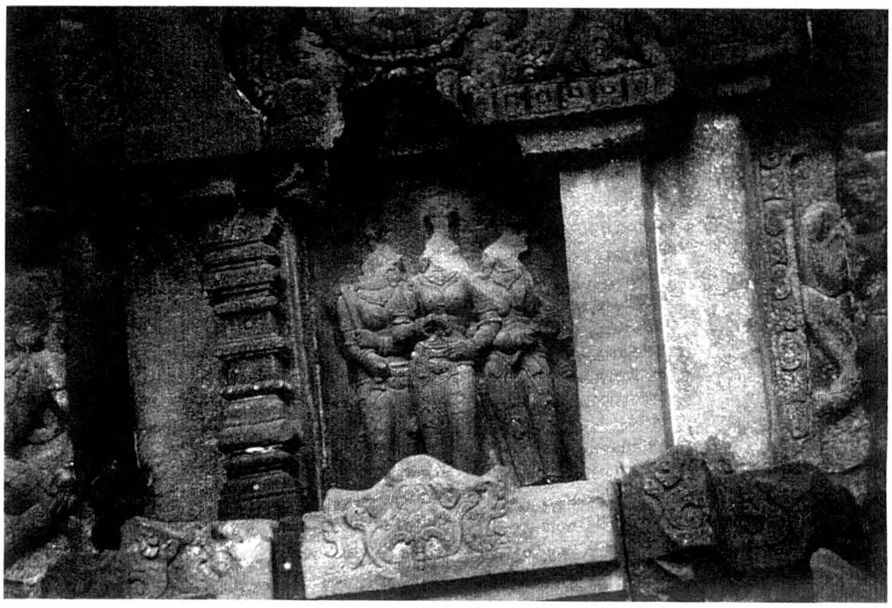

Fig. 3 - A group of three *apsarī* on the outer balustrade of the Śiwa temple. (Photo: author).

My research has also led me to conclude that confusion arose with regard to the sequential arrangement of the panels. It is most unlikely that the present arrangement is the original one. The plates published in 1893 in Groneman (25) show very clearly that the temple complex and *candi* Śiwa were in complete ruins. The Oudheidkundige Dienst report of 1948 clearly states that only the placing of 21 panels around the balustrade was certain and that the *apsarī/widyādhara* groups were also not in place. Restorations prior to the one carried out in 1937 were shoddy according to the same report. It also seems likely that some *karaṇa* figures are missing. Moreover it is plausible that they should have occupied the space now taken by the *apsarī/widyādhara* groups inside the small niches, with *kalamakara* and dome, resembling miniature shrines. Why would *apsarī* and *widyādhara* be given such a prominent place and why would Śiwa be treated like a secondary character on a temple dedicated to him? The Groneman plates show that the *shrine*-like niches were restored at a later stage and were not in evidence when the temple was discovered. The reliefs also appear to have been reassembled at random, and fitted in where they probably did not belong. The above remarks are not being made in a negative spirit. I do not, in any way, intend them with a lack of respect for the enormous task accomplished by the restorers. The Prambanan complex as it is today is one of the best kept monuments in the whole of Asia. Regrettably, however, some mistakes, perhaps no longer rectifiable, were made in the past, when *candi* Śiwa was rebuilt.

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(25) See Groneman, *op. cit.*

Concluding Remarks

There was a close link between Saivism and dance at a conceptual level (cosmic dance of Śiwa). This would explain why a sastraic form of dance was known and practised in ancient Java. This dance was based on a local knowledge of the technique codified in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is very likely that this was an orally transmitted tradition, not wholly dependent on texts.

The dance figures of Prambanan indicate that the sculptors had a living dance tradition to refer to. Detailed analysis reveals that the dance movements depicted are based on ***karaṇa***, and ongoing research is finalising their identification. The figures do not appear to have been restored following the original sequence and it would seem that some serious mistakes were made as far as their placing is concerned.

There is little doubt that the sequence portrayed the ***tāṇḍawa nṛtta*** of Śiwa and it is more than likely that the performer of this dance shown in the reliefs with a male dancer in the foreground and in a central position, accompanied by two background subsidiary figures of dancers/musicians is Śiwa himself, with celestial beings.

Finally, the importance of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* for a study of Hindu iconography within and outside India should not be underestimated. Knowledge of this text may help in understanding fully the formal developments of Hindu/Buddhist art and may help in establishing connections and links that may alter our fragmented perspective.

Second International Congress of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute (Bombay, 5-8 January 1995)

by CARLO G. CERETI

The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay held its second international congress from the 5th to the 8th of January 1995. This congress is the latest major cultural event organized by an Institute which can boast a long and notable history in the field of Oriental Studies.

Let us briefly go through the more important activities held at the Institute in the last few years.

The First International Congress was held from the 5th to the 8th of January 1989 and the relative proceedings, containing twenty-four papers by scholars of various nationalities, were published in 1991 (1). That first congress, born from an idea conceived in a discussion between Prof. K.D. Irani and Mrs H.N. Modi, Jt. Hon. Secretary of the Cama Oriental Institute, was accomplished through the unswerving energy of the latter, of Dasturji Dr K.M. JamaspAsa and of many others. It proved to be both a great cultural arena and a valuable opportunity of dialogue between the Parsi community and western scholars.

The K.R. Cama Oriental Istitute was inaugurated by Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, on the 18th December 1916. On the 11th November 1936 the foundation stone of the present building was laid, according to Masonic rites, by Dr Sir T.B. Nariman, Right Worshipful Grand Master, All Scottish Freemasons of India. Finally, on the 11th December 1937, Dasturji Dr M.N. Dhalla declared the building open (2). Therefore, Platinum Jubilee Celebrations were organized between 18th December 1990 and 18th December 1991. Celebrations included festivals, symposiums, debates, exhibitions, a number of lectures by various scholars and the publication of a miscellaneous volume containing a quantity of papers mainly on Iranian subjects (3).

Among the many other activities of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute we must mention the publication of an annual journal (4) ever since 1922, and of a number of scholarly monographs, comprising both original works and translations of noteworthy titles into English (5).

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(1) K.R. *Cama Oriental Institute. International Congress Proceedings*, Bombay 1991.

(2) J.F. Shroff, Foreword, *75 Years Platinum Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1991, pp. 1-2.

(3) *75 Years Platinum Jubilee Volume, cit.*

(4) *Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute* (JCOI).

(5) Among the most important are: L.H. Gray, *The Foundations of the Iranian Religion*, Bombay 1925; S.H. Hodivala, *Parsi History*, Bombay 1926; B.N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Revayat of Hormazdyar Framarz and Others*. Their Version with Introduction and Notes, Bombay 1932; B.T. Anklesaria, *Pahlavi*

The library of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, which includes many private collections donated to the Institute, consist today of about 27,000 books, 2000 manuscripts and 500 bound volumes of scientific journals (6).

Among other statutory activities of the Institute is the fostering of learning among the youth by assigning various prizes and awards.

Six years after the First International Congress Capt. H.J.M. Desai, Dasturji Dr K.M. JamaspAsa, Mrs K.F. Mehta and Mrs H.N. Modi, the guardian angel of the Cama Oriental Institute, together with many others, provided us with another, unforgettable occasion to meet in Bombay.

Before turning to the short description of the highlights of the congress, a vote of thanks is due to one of the most prominent characters of the Parsi community and indeed of modern India: Mr S.P. Godrej. This eminent industrialist, known for his enthusiastic patronage of both environmental and cultural issues, who has made modesty and understatement his style of living took precious time from his many engagements to help in the organization and to be present at the congress.

The scope of the Second International Congress were 'Indo-Iranian Historical and Cultural Studies'. It was inaugurated by H.E. Dr P.C. Alexander, Governor of Maharashtra, in a session which, among others, saw the addresses of Dasturji Dr K.M. JamaspAsa, of Mr J.F. Shroff, President of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, of Mrs H.N. Modi and of the renowned jurist Mr N.A. Palkhivala.

Among the many interesting papers which were read during four intense days, one should mention at least those by prominent scholars such as Prof. Ph. Gignoux, who spoke on the notion of soul in Sasanian Mazdeism; Prof. H.P. Schmidt, on the non-existence of Ahriman and the mixture of good and evil; Prof. S. Insler, on Avestan *vāz* and Vedic *vāb*; Dr Ph.G. Kreyenbroek, who analysed Zoroastrian tradition on the basis of his experience in oral studies; Prof. H. Humbach, on the Gathas and their Pahlavi translation; Prof. A. Tafazzoli on a Pazand version of the beginning of the sixth book of the *Dēnkard* found in a manuscript preserved in a private collection in Iran; and of Prof. G.L. Windfuhr on Mozart's *The Magic Flute*, Sarastro and Zarathushtra.

Very stimulating were also the papers read by learned representatives of the Zoroastrian clergy. One cannot go without mentioning those of Dasturji Dr H.M. Mirza, High Priest of Udvada, who lectured on the origin of Pahlavi ideograms, and of Dasturji Dr K.M. JamaspAsa, High Priest of the Anjuman Atash Bahram in Bombay, who read a paper on Judaism and Zoroastrianism. Valuable were also the contributions by Ervad Dr R.P. Peer, on the concept of *druz ī nasuš*, of Ervad P.M. Bajan, on Middle Persian *stōš*, and of Ervad R.P. Karanja on the teaching of the Avestan script.

Several eminent Indian scholars participated in the congress. Among the many the

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Vendidad, Bombay 1949; *Professor Jackson Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1954; B.T. Anklesaria, *Revayet-i Hemit-i Ashavahishtan*, Bombay 1962; K.R. *Cama Oriental Institute. Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1969; K.R. *Cama Oriental Institute. International Congress Proceedings*, Bombay 1991; K.R. *Cama Oriental Institute. Platinum Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1991; H.E. Eduljee, *Kisseh-i Sanjan*, Bombay 1991; H.K. Mirza, *The Kopenhagen Manuscript K27*, Bombay 1992.

(6) *75 Years Platinum Jubilee Volume*, *cit.*, p. 7.

following must be mentioned. Prof. S.A. Upadhyaya, of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavaŋ, spoke on the Pahlavi translation of the *Pañcatantra*, and Dr M.A. Mehendale, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Pune, who lectured on the interpretation of a passage in the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*. Prof. K.D. Irani, from the City University of New York, lectured on the reflective religion in ancient Iranian and Indian traditions.

The conclusive session of the congress, chaired by Mr S.P. Godrej, saw the presidential address by Mr H.J.H. Taleyarkhan, former Governor of Sikkim.

Little is left to say. We may hereby express the hope that the Proceedings of this Second International Congress held at the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay, may soon be printed for they will be of great interest to all, both the scholarly and the Parsi community. Moreover a vote of thanks is due to Mrs H.N. Modi and to the entire staff of the Institute for the wonderful hospitality and the perfect organization. We may only hope that there will soon be yet another occasion to meet in Bombay.

Book Reviews

IRANIAN STUDIES

F. Briant, *Les Perses et l'Empire*, p. 411 (G. Gnoli).

J. Wiesehöfer, *Die 'dunklen Jahrhunderte' der Persis. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Fārs in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330-140 v. Chr.)*, p. 411 (G. Gnoli).

Sh. Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*, p. 415 (G. Gnoli).

Anthologie de Zadspram, ed. Ph. Gignoux & A. Tafazzoli, p. 422 (A. Panaino).

INDIAN STUDIES

H. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften, Teil 3*, p. 425 (F. Sferra).

V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (A.D. 1000-1300)*, p. 425 (M. Taddei).

C. Radcliffe Bolon, *Forms of the Goddes Lajjā Gaurī in Indian Art*, p. 426 (M. Taddei).

N.R.V. Prasad, ed., *Epigraphia Āndhrica — Vol. VI*, p. 428 (R. Garbini).

T. Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New 'Indian' Art. Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c. 1850-1920*, p. 430 (G. Flora).

CENTRAL ASIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES

G. Canevascini, *The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra: A Critical Edition*, p. 432 (M. Maggi).

M. Ripinsky-Naxon, *The Nature of Shamanism. Substances and Function of a Religious Methaphor*, p. 433 (U. Marazzi).

H. Walravens & M. Taube, *August Hermann Francke und die Westhimalaya-Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*, p. 434 (E. De Rossi Filibeck).

CHINESE STUDIES

M. Scarpari, *Avviamento allo studio del cinese classico*, p. 434 (L. Lanciotti).

Der Abbruch des Turmbaus. Studien zum Geist in China und im Abendland. Festschrift fur Rolf Trauzettel, ed. I. Krüssman et al., p. 435 (L. Lanciotti).

F. Blanchon, ed., *Asie III. Savourer, Goûter*, p. 435 (L. Lanciotti).

VARIA

Corolla Torontonensis: Studies in Honour of Ronald Morton Smith, ed. E. Robbins & S. Sandahl, p. 436 (M. Taddei).

Acculturation and Domination in Traditional Asian Medical Systems, ed. D. Sich & W. Gottschalk, p. 437 (M. Maggi).

F. Briant, *Darius. Les Perses et l'Empire*, Découvertes Gallimard 159 — Histoire, 1992, 176 pp.

This small volume — excluding the many illustrations, the text itself occupies half the pages, which are small in format anyway — is an excellent example of good popularization. The author skilfully traces out a lively, striking picture of the Achaemenid empire at the time of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) while constantly holding the reader's interest, thanks in part to the generous quantity and good quality of the illustrations (monuments, maps, sculptures, seals, coins, inscriptions, statues, vessels and views of Behistun, Naqš-e Rostam, Persepolis, etc.), and in part also to a happy choice of extracts from royal inscriptions, Elamitic tablets and the books of Ezra and Esther, as also from classical writers ranging from Herodotus and Aeschylus to Ctesias and Thucydides, Xenophon and Quintus Curtius, Diogenes Laertius and Plato, etc. In fact, pages 129-53 are entirely dedicated to evidence and documents. These pages follow upon four chapters (I. 'Darius le Roi parle!': pp. 11-48; II. 'Darius et ses peuples': pp. 49-72; III. 'Des sables lybiens aux bouches du Danube': pp. 73-94; IV. 'L'héritage de Darius': pp. 95-128) and include a number of extracts from the excavation diary of J. Dieulafoy at Susa (pp. 154-57), from the description of the discovery of the statue of Darius that M. Kervran wrote for the *Journal asiatique* in 1972 and from writings commemorating the 2500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian empire in 1971 (M. Leroy, E. Riahi, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, Bahram Aryana, M. Mokri: pp. 158-61). There are also some extracts from Gore Vidal's *Création* (French ed., Paris 1982) (pp. 162-63) and, finally, some very useful tables: the succession of the sovereigns of the Achaemenid dynasty and the marriages and children of Darius (p. 164), the chronology of the Persian empire (p. 165), a bibliography (p. 166) and a chapter by chapter table of the illustrations (pp. 167-75).

The material is presented in a way that will surely prove accessible to a vast readership. The notes supplied in the margins offer extremely useful pointers on the various subjects and problems wihout burdening the author's clear, linear exposition. However, the treatment does show a certain bias towards the political-military and, in part, economic aspects of history at the expense of the religious elements, which are almost totally ignored (see pp. 92-93): indeed, the name Zoroaster gets no mention anywhere in the book, not even in terms of the problems to discuss.

The bibliography would have gained much with the inclusion of the second volume of the *History of Zoroastrianism* by Mary Boyce (1982), dedicated to the Achaemenid period, and — turning to the works of particular archaeological interest — the two volumes by Ann Britt Tilia on the restorations of Persepolis (1972 and 1978). On the other hand, it would hardly have suffered much loss had the compiler, for reasons of space, had to forego citing such a largely misleading work as E.M. Yamauchi's *Persia and the Bible* (1990). On this particular work it is well worth reading the balanced review J.R. Russell wrote in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, LXXXIII, 1992, pp. 256-61.

Gherardo Gnoli

J. Wiesehöfer, *Die 'dunklen Jahrhunderte' der Persis. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Fārs in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330-140 v. Chr.)*, Zetemata: Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 90, C.H. Beck, München 1994, 187 pp.

The 'Habilitationsschrift', presented in Heidelberg at the end of 1987 and announced in an article published in 1988 (1), has now appeared in a more definitive form. It aims to fill a gap: no history of Persis has been published since S.K. Eddy's well-known and much-discussed volume of 1961 (2).

As the author explains in his introduction (pp. 11-22), the dark years in the history of Persis are the five centuries that separate the last of the Achaemenians from the coming of the Sassanians. The present monograph is concerned only with the first two centuries of this dark period. The introduction makes appropriate mention of the particular educational and ideological function of the 'Natural History', emphasising its substantially Sassanian outlook (p. 18) as clearly explained by E. Yarshater (3). Because my essay on the formation of the idea of Iran was only published at the end of 1989, the writer was unable to refer to it in his work (4), either in relation to the problem of the dialectics of power in the Sassanian period between throne and altar (p. 18, fn. 31) (5), or regarding the problem of Alexander's image in pre-Islamic Iran (pp. 20 ff.) (6), though for the latter he was able to make extensive use of the authoritative research by M. Grignaschi (7).

This applies also to the few pages in that essay which I devoted to Persis in Seleucid and Parthian times (8). Similarly, with regard to the echo of Sassanian propaganda in Šābuhr's inscription at the Ka'be-ye Zardošt, the author was not able to refer to my article, published in 1991 (9).

The monograph is set out in five chapters, the final two being perhaps the richest in information as well as in original observation on this point or that.

In my view the way Chapter I, on Alexander in Persis (pp. 23-49), deals in particular with Alexander's relationship with the Achaemenid legacy in the heart of the empire is too speculative; however it is useful in any case for a good bibliographical updating. The are some important gains, including in particular (for the understanding of the Achaemenid concept of regality) the idea of OP *xšaça-* as a concrete term 'kingdom' rather than an abstract one, 'kingship'. Here the writer refers to a 1977 article by R. Schmitt (10), but neglects to mention my own demonstration of it presented as far back as 1972 (11). A useful summary of the conclusions reached in this chapter, with which I am basically in agreement, is found on pages 47-49.

Chapter II (pp. 50-56), on Peukestas and Persis (pp. 50-56), is presented in such a way that it constitutes a confirmation of the argument described in the previous chapter: A Persian supporter and intimate of Alexander, Peukestas represented the best guarantee of a policy of friendship and alliance between the new rulers and at least some of the Persian nobility; he was satrap of Persis until 315 (up to Asklepiodorus, who lasted until 312 and was followed in turn by Euagrus for a few months of that year, until the victory of Seleucus over Nikanor).

The third chapter (pp. 57-62), on the Seleucids and Persis, concerns what is perhaps the darkest of the already dark five centuries in the history of Persis between the Achaemenians and the Sassanians. The substantial lack of source material (above all literary), has sometimes been interpreted as meaning either that this was a time of particular calm and tranquillity, or that Persis was neglected by the first two Seleucids. The writer shows that the latter interpretation is to be rejected, and that the Seleucid policy of urban foundation and settlements did exist in Persis (though at times it was little more than the renaming of old established centres) — as illustrated by Antiocheia and Laodikeia under Antiochus I, and the mention of a mountain fortress called Stasis (pp. 61 f.).

Chapter IV (pp. 63-100), on Persis in the early Hellenistic period according to archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidence, is extremely useful because it offers a complete, precise and accurate picture of the archaeological evidence and the numismatic and epigraphic sources, dividing the material into six sections: sites, localities and isolated discoveries (pp. 64-80); tombs, burial grounds and ossuaries (pp. 80-89); inscriptions (pp. 89-91); coins and monetary treasures (pp. 91-96); seals (p. 97); pottery (pp. 97-100). The presentation is succinct, but at the same time the description is exhaustive and particularly thorough, and is accompanied by a wealth of bibliographical information. There are some sensible comments regarding funerary customs (pp. 83 f., 88 f.), although on this topic many uncertainties remain in the interpretation of the archaeological data, especially when compared with the literary data.

Chapter V (pp. 101-36) on the rule of the Frataraka in Persis is certainly the most interesting from a historical viewpoint. It is divided into two parts: sources (pp. 101-15) and historical analysis (pp. 115-36) — each divided into two further parts, the first into literary and epigraphic sources (pp. 101-103) and numismatic sources (pp. 103-15), the second into dating of the Frataraka (pp. 115-29) and their identification (pp. 129-36).

In the section on numismatic sources the author examines the coins of Baydād (pp. 103-5), with two digressions: one on the name *prtrk'* (pp. 105-8) and the other entitled '*Nominalisches*' (pp. 108-9) (with reference to M. Alram) (12), the coins of Ardaxšīr I (p. 109), Oborzos (p. 110), Autophradates I (pp. 110-12), the coins from the beginning of the so-called second monetary series with Autophradates II (pp. 112-13) — continued with the 'unknown king', Dārēw I, Autophradates III etc.; this is followed by another digression on the theory put forward in 1988 by Heidemarie Koch (13), which the author rightly rejects, partly on the basis of comments he received from M. Alram (14) (pp. 114-15).

The author is right to insist on the political and administrative nature of both the figure and the title of the Frataraka. He is also right in specifying the Baydād — Ardaxšīr I — Oborzos line of succession as supported by Alram (15), and not the succession commonly accepted (16): Baydād — Oborzos — Ardaxšīr I. His observations concerning the limp tiara flopping forward ('vorkragende Tiara': see below) are equally correct, while his position in relation to the legend *br prs* which appears on the coins of Ardaxšīr I and Oborzos (17) is commendably cautious. Moreover, he appropriately points out here the iconographic changes on the reverse of the coins of Autophradates I, the last 'dynast' of the first monetary series, referring in particular to the 'Flügelmann' motif (p. 115), interpreted as representing the *farn* (something that is far from certain, and indeed improbable) (18), and the representation of Nike crowning the Frataraka, obviously Hellenistic in derivation (see pp. 111 and fn. 74, 127 and fn. 182). In relation to the beginning of the second monetary series, while naturally pointing out further iconographic changes — the appearance of the royal title beginning with the currency of Dārēw I (further proof of the partial autonomy of the local lords in Persis from the rule of the Parthians), the influence of Parthian models and the use of the Middle-Persian alphabet in place of the Aramaic on the coins of Autophradates III etc. (p. 113) — the author agrees with Alram's view (19) that the records should not show any break between the types of coins in their currency and the coinages of their predecessors (p. 112).

The second part of this chapter is devoted to a historical assessment of the data previously examined. The author reviews the various theses on the chronology of the Frataraka and their initial establishment, from E. Herzfeld through E.T. Newell, G.K. Jenkins and D. Stronach to A. Houghton, O. Mørkholm, G.F. Hill, H. Koch, J. de Morgan, R. Stiehl and M. Alram, that is to say from the beginning of the third century B.C. (Herzfeld) to the first half of the second (Alram). Basing himself partly on J.H. Schmitt's important work on Antiochus the Great and his time (20), as well as on the views of de Morgan and Alram, he leans towards the later chronology for a combination of reasons which are convincingly set out (pp. 120-24). He then takes the view that Persis' 'independence' began only after Baydād (pp. 127 f.) and ended with Autophradates II (Alram).

Finally the author tackles the essential problem of the real identity of the Frataraka and offers conflicting interpretations of them, sometimes as sort of princepriests (due to errors of etymology and mistaken interpretations of their name), sometimes as actual dignitaries who are charged with tasks of a merely political and administrative nature such as those of an under-satrap — like for instance the well-known Aramaic title in Egypt — or a governor (pp. 105-8) (21). The author declares himself firmly in favour of the second interpretation, finding support for it in the fact that the 'vorkragende Tiara' (see above) is not a 'Magiertiara' as H. v. Gall (22) would have it, but the tiara of the satrap. Other matters are also addressed, such as the question of the *barsom* held in the left hand or the right (as in the so-called 'Fratarakarelief' in Persepolis) (23), and the question of the other emblems such as the sceptre and the bow, characteristic of temporal power (pp. 134 f.). In general, the author holds that the iconography of the scenes on the reverse of the coins presents us not with cultural motifs but at most with rituals of investiture, or in any case various elements in some way connected with the symbolism of royalty, from the puzzling monument standing out in these scenes to the 'Flügelmann' and the standard. The general intention is not religious but political.

In relation to the problem of the actual degree of independence the local lords of Persis enjoyed in relation to the Seleucids and the Parthians (a theme to which the writer returns at the end of this chapter), in the course of my search for an Achaemenian continuity I referred in my essay on the formation of the idea of Iran (mentioned above) to the local lords of Persis in Seleucid and Parthian times, who ruled 'with some degree of autonomy' (24). To this day I would not be prepared to agree with the idea of a period of true independence on the part of the Fratarakas, however brief (cf. p. 127), — not so much because of the ingenious explanation of their name given by H. Humbach in 1988 (25) (which Wiesehöfer certainly shows more inclination to accept than Mary Boyce (26)) as because of the actual meaning of the name itself (see above) and the well-known evidence of Strabo 15, 3, 24: 'the Persians were ruled by kings who were subjected to other kings, first the Macedonians and then the Parthians'. This is so clear that it seems to me difficult to diminish its value with elaborate explanations.

This of course does not mean there were no pushes for independence in Persis in Seleucid and Parthian times. On the contrary, the Fratarakas are precisely a case in point, a demonstration of the fact that such pushes did occur, and continued with the local *šāh*. In this regard the author is probably right in maintaining that the aristocracy of Persis, which could boast of having in its ranks a not insignificant number of συγγενεῖς of the Achaemenians (in whom J.-D. Gauger (27) has recognised the members of a nobility having effective blood ties with the old royal clan), kept the legacy of the Achaemenid monarchy alive while at the same time respecting certain limits. For Wiesehöfer, who returns to the subject in another work postdating the 'Habilitationsschrift', the Fars was not a centre of resistance against Hellenism (28).

A brief summary (pp. 137-39) is followed by a list of abbreviations (pp. 141-43) a 'Literaturverzeichnis' giving primary sources (pp. 144-45) and over six hundred titles of secondary source material (pp. 145-67), and four indices: personal names (pp. 168-70), geographical names (pp. 171-72), modern authors (pp. 173-77) and passages quoted from the various sources (pp. 178-83). There are also two plans of Persepolis taken from M. Roaf and E.F. Schmidt respectively (pp. 69, 71), seven figures inserted in the text (the 'Fratarakarelief' of Persepolis; the relief of the archer of Qīr in a drawing by D. Huff, five tetradrachms of Baydād, Oborzos and Autophradates I: pp. 75, 80, 104, 105, 110, 111, 112), and two maps (the Fars and the plain of Marvdašt: pp. 186 and 187).

This book completely fulfills its aim, and is obviously the fruit of long and careful research.

Gherardo Gnoli

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(1) J. Wiesehöfer, 'Die Persis nach Alexander. Widerstand gegen den Hellenismus zur Zeit der Frataraka-Dynasten', *Forms of Control and Subordination in Antiquity*, ed. T. Yuge & M. Doi, Tokyo 1988, pp. 488-91. In a second article the same author again anticipated some of the results of his research, now included in this monograph: 'PRTRK, RB ḤYL', SGN und MR'. Zur Verwaltung Südägyptens in achaimenidischer Zeit', *Achaemenid History VI*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt, Leiden 1991, pp. 305-9.

(2) S.K. Eddy, *The King is Dead, Studies in Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism (334-31 B.C.)*, Lincoln 1961.

(3) 'Iranian National History', *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3 (1), Cambridge 1983 (pp. 359-477), pp. 402-11.

(4) Though there are many instances (over forty) of works published from 1989 on being quoted and mentioned in the rich 'Literaturverzeichnis'.

(5) G. Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran. An Essay on Its Origin*, SOR, LXII, Rome 1989, pp. 170 ff.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 124 and fn. 27.

(7) Bibliographical references for which will be found on p. 154.

(8) *Op. cit.* (fn. 5), pp. 124 ff.

(9) 'L'inscription de Šābuhr à la Ka'be-ye Zardošt et la propagande sassanide', *Religions et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique, Sources écrites et documents archéologiques*, Paris 1991, pp. 57-63.

(10) 'Königtum im Alten Iran', *Saeculum*, 28, 1977 (pp. 384-95), p. 392.

(11) 'Note su *xšayaθiya-* e *xšaça-*', *Ex orbe religionum, Studia G. Widengren oblata*, Supplements to *Numen*, XXII, Pars altera, Leiden 1982, pp. 88-97. See also Gnoli, *op. cit.* (fn. 5), p. 6, fn. 5, also referring to the article by E. Provasi, 'Avestico *xšaθra-*', *Gururājamañjarikā. Studi in onore di G. Tucci*, Napoli 1974, pp. 89-99.

(12) *Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis*, Iranisches Personennamenbuch IV, Wien 1986, p. 164.

(13) 'Herrscher in der Persis unter Seleukiden und Parthern', *Die Welt des Orients*, 19, 1988, pp. 84-95.

(14) See p. 114, fn 97.

(15) *Op. cit.* (fn. 12), p. 166.

(16) See inter alia D. Sellwood, 'Minor States in Southern Iran', *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3 (1), *cit.* (fn. 3) (pp. 299-321), pp. 301 f.; M. Boyce & F Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism* III: *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden 1991, p. 114 (both quoted by the author on page 109, fn. 58).

(17) See page 109 and fn. 61, referring to D. Harnack, F. Altheim and R. Stiehl and to M. Boyce and F. Grenet, as well as H. Koch (see fn. 13 above).

(18) Gnoli, *op. cit.* (fn. 5), p. 150, fn. 26.

(19) *Op. cit.* (fn. 12), p. 163.

(20) *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit*, Historia-Einzelschriften, 6, Wiesbaden 1964.

(21) Extensive bibliographical information will be found in fns 24-29 on these pages. Note in particular P. Naster, 'Note d'épigraphie monétaire de Perside: *fratakara*, *frataraka* ou *fratadāra*?', *IrAnt*, 8, 1968, pp. 74-80; G. Ito, 'Gathica. XIV-XV', *Orient*, 12, 1976, pp. 47-66.

(22) 'Persische und medische Stämme', *AMI*, n.s., 5, 1972 (pp. 261-83), pp. 276 ff.

(23) Here we see Mary Boyce's altered view (cf. Ead., *A History of Zoroastrianism*, II· *Under the Achaemenians*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden 1982, pp. 146 f.; now, on the other hand, Boyce & Grenet, *op. cit.* (fn. 16), p. 99, fn. 171, for acceptance of the criticism of H. v. Gall, 'Das Felsgrab von Qizqapan. Ein Denkmal aus dem Umfeld der achämenidischen Königsstraße', *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 19, 1988 [pp. 557-82], p. 567, fn. 26) and the relative comments by the author: p. 133, fn. 225.

(24) Gnoli, *op. cit.* (fn. 5), p. 125.

(25) 'Herrscher, Gott und Gottessohn in Iran und in angrenzenden Ländern', *Menschwerdung Gottes — Vergöttlichung von Menschen*, ed. D. Zeller, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, 7, Freiburg-Göttingen 1988, pp. 89-114.

(26) Boyce & Grenet, *op cit.* (fn. 16) p. 111, fn. 229a.

(27) 'Zu einem offenen Problem des hellenistischen Hoftitelsystems. Ein persischer Ehrentitel συγγενής?', *Festgabe J. Straub. Zum 65. Geb. am. 18. Okt. 1977 dargebr. von Kollegen und Schülern*, Bonn 1977, pp. 137-58. Cf. p. 135, fn. 241 with further bibliographical details relating to the works of P. Calmeyer and Th. Petit.

(28) *Das antike Persien. Von 550 v. Chr bis 650 n. Chr*, München-Zürich 1994, p. 156.

Sh. Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*, Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, XVI, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1994, 176 pp.

This collection of the Jordan Lectures given by Sh. Shaked, complete with an appendix divided into five brief parts (pp. 132-60) and a long list of references, abbreviations and symbols (pp. 161-76), sheds revealing light on the thesis that the Iranian religious world was indeed complex. The author is a major expert on Sassanian Mazdaism, editor of book VI of the *Dēnkard* (1) and a great many other passages from Pahlavi literature, and has written important studies on various aspects of religious thought and religiosity in the Iranian world during the period running from the Seleucid and Parthian era to the early centuries of Islam (2).

The five lectures offer the reader a complex but on the whole organic picture of the entire field with a clear, consistent approach taking as constant factor the varieties of religion in Sassanian Iran. In fact, the author's principal thesis is 'the great diversity of doctrine, myth and perhaps also practice in Sasanian religion': from the religious point of view Sassanian Iran appears to have displayed striking differentiation, not only in terms of the different religions — Christianity, Manichaeism, Buddhism, etc. — but also in the very nature of its Mazdaism, by no means monolithic or closely knit in terms of doctrine but rich in traditions of varied origins, also marked by liturgical and ritual differences that might even clash on occasion.

In the introduction (pp. 1-4) the author sets the terms of the problem out clearly and concisely, aptly observing how useful an understanding of Sassanian Zoroastrianism can be to cast light on the development of Judaism and Christianity in the Near and Middle East (p. 3). My own critical observations on Mazdaism in the Sassanian era, as a religion on the whole 'unable or unwilling to give [...] a convincing answer to these anxieties [i.e. the anxieties of 3rd-century man], which were fairly common in Iran too, as can be seen by the numerous conversions to Manichaeism and Christianity' (3), come in for some comment, with the remark that 'we have no statistics of conversions, nor do we know whether they constituted a danger to the Mazdaean church' (p. 3). It is, however, easy enough to object in turn that the keen hostility shown to the Manichaeans from the 3rd century on, and subsequently to the Christians, especially during the 4th century, is to be taken as evidence of the fact that the *mowbeds* priesthood and the Crown itself must have sensed a fairly serious threat to their respective powers.

We then come to a thesis evidently dear to the author, who has illustrated it in various studies cited in note 2, that 'there [i.e. in Sassanian Zoroastrianism] was an aspect of the religion that reflected deeply-felt spiritual, perhaps mystical, attitudes, and this may mitigate the somewhat stark impression that we are apt to form of late Zoroastrianism' (p. 3). Once again we find it here, with the further observation that 'Indeed, it may be suggested that some of the mystical fervor of Islam was derived from Zoroastrianism, although it is not easy to show this in any detail, because Zoroastrian material only reached us through the channels of late priestly transmission, which exercised a certain process of selection on its literary heritage' (*ibid.*). This is a point we shall be returning to later in this review.

The first lecture, 'Cosmogony and Dualism' (pp. 5-26) contains many apt observations on certain positions adopted by H. Humbach (4), J. Kellens and E. Pirart (5), who decline to admit the presence of a cosmological dualism (and, I might add, of an ethical dualism) in the Gathas (see p. 8, fn. 6) or an eschatology connected with the cosmogony (p. 9). There are also some particularly penetrating observations on Zurvanism, which presents a specific version of the creation, which is not 'heretical' and every bit as dualist as various other versions: 'There is no reason to suppose that in Zoroastrianism the situation could be different [i.e. from those of Christianity, Judaism or Islam], and that there exists but one school where the thought of the founder is preserved in its pristine purity, while all others are mere deviations from that' (p. 21). This is quite right from the historiographical point of view. Equally right is the picture of Iranian dualism, described with a telling 'rough-and-ready definition' (i.e. 'the idea that there are two cosmic powers that are separate from an early stage in the existence of the universe') that, at least as I see it, is certainly more convincing than Kellens' (see p. 22, fn. 35 to the previous page). It is also seen as a system asymmetrical by its very nature (a point that W.B. Henning (6) dealt with brilliantly, and to which I have returned in a recent study cited by Shaked on p. 23, fn. 37 (7).

If there is anything one might object to in the first lecture, it is the odd idea that Zoroastrians only came to awareness of professing a dualistic religion at a relatively late stage, 'at the end of a long period of contacts and polemics with Jews and later Christians, and under the impetus of rivalry with other dualistic ideologies such as Manichaeism' (p. 25). Actually, the compelling force of Zoroaster's thought in the Gathas lies in dualism, presented so insistently as to suggest — as Henning (8) points out — a far from unwitting endeavour to oppose some monotheistic or at any rate non-dualistic doctrine. At the same time, the classical sources are quite clear about the dualism of Zoroaster and the Magi, and certainly do not give the impression that the supporters of the doctrine to which reference is made failed to grasp its real purport. Furthermore, with regard to relations between monotheism and dualism — a subject I myself have addressed in relation to Zoroaster's thought (9) — the conclusions the author arrives at seem to me somewhat paradoxical. There are, undoubtedly, connections between dualism and monotheism (some reference to Pettazzoni would have been called for in this respect (10)) but, in the case of dualism, the link lies not so much in the 'intensification of a trait inherent in every monotheism' (p. 26) as in sharp contrast or, we might put it, reaction. If not totally unjustified it is therefore overstating the case to assert that 'the difference between them [i.e. dualism and monotheism] is one of degree, of intensity, of emphasis, not of substance'. Finally, for the sake of bibliographic completeness we must point out that some reference to G. Monnot's vast work (11) might have been expected in relation to the Islamic sources — Šahrastānī, 'Abd al-Jabbār, etc. — on the various forms of Sassanian and post-Sassanian Mazdaism (pp. 15 ff.).

The second lecture, 'Eschatology and Vision' (pp. 27-51), explores the subject of eschatology, apocalyptic and 'vision' between the 'eye of the soul' and 'perception', or 'insight'. The particular importance of this lecture lies in the balance with which the various themes are handled and the notable break it makes from certain recent trends in our studies to ascribe a later date to the period of Iranian eschatology, especially the collective or universal eschatology (see the author's apt criticism of Kellens and Pirart (12) and Humbach) (13). Here he comes in line with D. Flusser (14), M. Boyce (15) and A. Hultgård (16), as well as G. Widengren (17), especially on the subject of vision. It might have been better to make a sharper distinction between eschatology and the apocalyptic genre of literature, since much of the present debate rests on what I see as confusion arising from the lack of any such distinction. It is excessive to place the whole of Iranian apocalyptic literature in the Islamic period, as is the tendency of Ph. Gignoux (18) (although we can ascribe to the early centuries of Islam certain apocalyptic motifs of Pahlavi literature, notably in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*) (19), but it is equally excessive to ascribe an early date to Iranian apocalyptic as literary genre on the sole evidence of the undoubted antiquity of Gathic eschatology. Shaked himself takes this into account: 'In this connection', he writes (p. 28), 'we need not go into the details of these questions, as we are not interested in describing the situation prevailing during the Sasanian period, a time by which Zoroastrian eschatology and apocalyptic were already well-developed and well-established'. This lecture is consistently convincing, also when addressing the problems of the funeral rites in the light of archaeological evidence (20) and of the so-called shamanism of ancient Iran (pp. 50 f.) as dealt with by H.S. Nyberg (21) and Ph. Gignoux (22).

The observations I have to make at this point are essentially bibliographical. On the motif recurrent in Pahlavi literature of the 'ease' of Resurrection as compared with creation (p. 33), one might have expected some reference to an article by A. Bausani of 1957 (23) on Quranic-Pahlavi correspondence and an article I myself published in 1963 (24). On the problem of whether punishment after death is eternal or not, it would have been only right to refer to a very clear and useful study by M. Molé (25). On the subject of *mang*, or *mang* mixed with wine, and its hallucinogenic or sedative properties, no reference is made to W. Belardi (26), who has gone into the subject in considerable depth.

The third lecture, 'Man and the Divine' (pp. 52-70), is dedicated to the anthropology of Zoroastrianism in its historical development, filling out upon previous studies on the subject by H.W. Bailey (27) and J. Duchesne-Guillemin (28). Shaked rightly stresses the Zoroastrian kinship between man and the divine, pointing out that: 'The distinction [between man and the divine] seems more like a gentle gradation than like a gap. The Iranian attitude stands in sharp contrast to the Jewish and Christian ideas about man and the divine world, where Man and the Divine occupy two poles between which there is an unbridgeable chasm. The Zoroastrian view is closer to that of Manichaeans [...]. In this typology official Islam stands squarely on the side of Judaism and Christianity. Sufism, however, especially in its bolder expressions, constitutes a separate religious phenomenon within Islam, and belongs largely to the Iranian type of religious thinking' (pp. 69 f.). The author points out that these observations 'are meant to be typological rather than indicative of historical or genetic connections' (p. 70), although he also considers 'It is not unlikely [...] that these affinities have something to do with the history of the transmission of ideas from Iran to Islam (29), a field which still requires close examination' (*ibid.*). We might add that the idea of consubstantiality between man and the divine is fundamental to the problem of relations between Iranian religiosity and gnosticism (and thus Manichaeism), but oddly enough the author does not go sufficiently far into this area of research, merely pointing up the difference between Zoroastrianism, gnostic trends and Manichaeism. Indeed, he even goes as far as stating that 'while there is a substantial Iranian component in Manichaeism, the gnostic character of Manichaean teaching is essential' (p. 58, fn. 23), which strikes me as a contradiction, as I also find contradiction in his statement that: 'It does not seem useful to debate the question whether Manichaeism is more "Iranian" than "gnostic", or the other way round (as done recently by Gnoli, 1985: 74 ff. (30); an opposite conclusion is reached by Reeves 1992: 208 f. (31) from the point of view of the Enoch material)' (*ibid.*). Here the author concurs, to some extent at least, not so much with those scholars who paradoxically deny any original Iranian element in Manichaeism, such as S.N.C. Lieu (32), as with those who, like P.O. Skjærvø (33), take what I see as an excessively wary approach. However, I see no need to make any significant change to what I wrote in 1985: consubstantiality of man and the divine on the one hand and dualistic teaching on the other represent evident connections between Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, albeit with specific differences in both cases, as also more generally between the Iranian world of religion and gnosticism (34). Here too I feel I can fully endorse the conclusions G. Widegren came to in a study on the origins of gnosticism nearly thirty years ago: 'les problèmes auxquels l'École de l'Histoire des Religions a travaillé se sont montrés d'une richesse qui n'est pas épuisée. Elle a indiqué pour les recherches futures une orientation' (35). More extensive considerations on the theme would go beyond the scope of this review, but it is worth stressing that, however the matter may eventually be settled, study of the Iranian connections with Manichaeism is by no as useless as Shaked would have us suppose (see above).

In 1971 I published an article which I see as in part still relevant, and which at any rate offers further points to Shaked's thesis on the 'deeply felt spiritual, perhaps mystical, attitudes' (see above) present in Sassanian Mazdaism (36). In this article, which Shaked has probably not seen, I endeavoured to bring into focus an esoteric feature of Zoroastrianism seen as a sort of anthroposophic soteriology also reflected in Pahlavi literature, particularly in the idea of association between man and Wahman in state of purity — *abēzagīh* — in which man's consubstantiality with the divine is fulfilled. This study may possibly further extend the already vast horizon traced out by the author on this particular and indeed important aspect of religious experience in Zoroastrianism as it developed in the course of history.

In the fourth lecture, 'A Hierarchy of Religious Expressions' (pp. 71-98), the author sets out his own views on this latter point with a balanced response to the polemical remarks H.W. Bailey made in the introduction to the second edition of the masterly *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* (37). The remarks concerned the value to be ascribed to the use of *nīz*, 'secret' and were addressed equally to Shaked, myself (38) and J. Duchesne-Guillemin (39) with regard to interpretation of the concept of *hvarnah-*. The author then goes on to consider the possible continuity between Sassanian Mazdaism and Islamic mysticism with reference to research by E. Blochet (40) and H.H. Schaeder (41), as also to H. Corbin (42). The hierarchy of religious expressions is seen to consist of three types of religion, not to be confused with the tripartite structure of the *dēn* in the Pahlavi texts (*gāhānīg*, *hādamānsrīg* and *dādīg*), in which M. Molé described the result of a process of interiorization of the social functions, according to the tripartite ideology of G. Dumézil, and their transcription on to an ethical level. (Shaked himself sees fit to dwell upon them in a different context: p. 67). The most spiritual level is élitist and, to some extent, esoteric, the most popular that of 'low religion' (p. 80) including magic and apotropaic cults, while the level defined as 'common' consists in a 'religious practice, which does not exactly tally with the theological Zoroastrian prescriptions, but at the same time does not constitute a grave deviation from or a direct clash with the tolerated standards of the priesthood' (p. 97). Shaked points out that 'Adherents of all three types of cult may well have regarded themselves as good members of the Zoroastrian community' (*ibid.*). These three different hierarchical levels of religious expression constitute a good part of the religious varieties in Sassanian Mazdaism. According to Shaked, 'strict definition of the limits of orthodoxy and of what is to be excluded from it may have been achieved only in the post-Sasanian period' (p. 98), although I feel some further qualification might have been called for here. However, there can be no doubt that the author's endeavour to explain the complexity of the religious world represented by Sassanian Mazdaism — with its veneration of Mihr or Anāhīd, who seem so remote from the priestly 'orthodoxy' of Pahlavi literature (43) — carries a fair degree of conviction with it. The problem posed with the Sassanian pantheon, including figures like Sāsān (44) and Bagdāna (45), the Sun and the Moon, Wahrām and the Fire, Bel, Nebo and Nanai, etc., receives due attention (pp. 90-96), as does the difficult question of the diffusion of astrology (p. 89).

The fifth and last lecture, 'The Instruments of Religion' (pp. 99-131), opens with strong reservations on a thesis of mine, expressed in these terms: 'Much has been made in recent scholarly literature of the theory that the Sasanian kings were the initiators of a new idea of Iran, and that this was coupled with a conception of the connection between their patronage of the religion and the cohesion of the empire. The main proponent of this view is Gherardo Gnoli (46), who has developed it in a number of publications over the past years. There is a great deal of truth in this, but we should try to keep a balance. We shall try to point out in the following a number of points which show this theory to be unsatisfactory, or at least incomplete' (p. 99). However, I was somewhat surprised to see the theory actually contradicted on one point alone (if I understand aright) — a particularly weak one at that (see below) — and in fact confirmed in a subsequent observation which must surely contradict the passage quoted above. The observation appear on p. 115: 'We may well imagine that the conception of an Iranian entity, which comprised both people and religion, which, as Gnoli has tried to show, is very likely a product of the Sasanian period, was developed in parallel fashion by both the king and the priesthood, each of the two parties pursuing its own aim'. However, let us come to the point (and not to 'a number of points', since I find no others) held to clash with my thesis. If I understand aright, the point is that the Sassanian kings endeavoured to control not only Mazdaism but all the religions in their empire (pp. 110-13). Here, however, I see nothing to contradict what I argued six years ago but rather, as I pointed out above, a weak point in the author's argument: indeed, any such efforts and aims on the part of the Persian sovereign in no way imply that the religion professed with a fair degree of coherence by the Sassanian sovereigns was not Mazdaism. I myself have sought to elucidate the point that Sassanian Iran was not 'a monolithic block, and neither [...] Mazdaism itself, as it is represented and described in the Islamic sources, from 'Abd al-Jabbār to Šahrastānī', adding: 'Undoubtedly one of the factors that help to prevent the historical perspective of Sassanian Iran and its official religions from being linear and compact is precisely the dialectics of power between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*' (47), a point that I feel has been made often and well (48).

The lecture goes on to deal with the following themes: a translation with commentary of the beginning of the fourth book of the *Dēnkard* (pp. 99-103), where Shaked's insight matches the particular difficulty of the text; an illuminating comparison between Zoroastrianism and Judaism with regard to the history of the scriptures — and here Shaked draws on some significant observations by Sh. Pines (49); some interesting, innovative reflections on the role of the oral tradition in transmission of the Avesta (pp. 116 ff.) and in the formation of the Zand (pp. 117 ff.), teaching of which was limited to few and controlled by few. The author then goes on to tackle the subject of next-of-kin marriage, *xwēdōdah* (pp. 120 ff.) and the historical problem of Mazdakism (pp. 124 ff.), addressed in a great many recent studies and a searching essay by E. Yarshater (50). On the former subject, however, reference is lacking to a contribution by R.N. Frye (1985) (51) and a further contribution by M. Macuch (1991) (52), while on the latter point we might have expected mention of the significant observations offered by A. Bausani in 1959 (53).

Next comes an Appendix (pp. 132-60) divided into five parts: 'A. Notes on the Inscriptions of Kirdēr' (pp. 132-34); 'B. The Composition of Man in Zoroastrianism: Remarks on the Avestan Lists' (pp. 135-41); 'C. Pahlavi Discussions of the Composition of Man' (pp. 142-45); 'D. Some Terms Relating to Man in Pahlavi' (pp. 146-52); 'E. Some Passages from Dēnkard III' (pp. 153-60). The Appendix relates closely to the material of the third lecture and is of considerable philological value. In particular, it offers significant observations on certain terms in Kerdīr's inscription, explanations of the Pahl. *wīrom*, 'reminiscence, recollection' or 'reflection' and Pahl. *wīr*, the faculty of intellectual awareness and perception, and, finally, interpretation of some passages in book III of *Dēnkard* in transcription and translation.

One of the author's aims was evidently to give the wider public, and not only experts in Iranian philology, access to a difficult and little known area. On the whole he has achieved this aim successfully thanks to the eloquent clarity of his exposition. In some cases a few more bibliographical references would have helped, as is certainly the case with interpretation of the notion of Fravaši (Pahl. *frawahr*), where reference to a recent article by J. Kellens (34) would have helped non-specialist readers to get their bearings.

If we had to make a global assessment of this collection of lectures, we might say that it stands as a very useful work on Zoroastrianism in terms of history, critical comment and problems. Once again Shaked displays a firm command of his sources and a vast knowledge of Pahlavi literature. His basic thesis is acceptable and historiographically plausible.

The bibliography is fairly complete, though I should also like to mention the old book by L.Ch. Casartelli published in Louvain in 1884 and subsequently in the English translation by F.J. Jamasp Asa in Bombay in 1889 (35). It would have deserved a mention, if only because it opens with a section of the 'diversity of doctrines on the divinity during the Sasanian period', but also because — as we know (36) — it also contains some shrewd (although factious, given the author's confessional spirit) observations on Iranian dualism and its various forms, as also on the composition of the human being. However, in this case the bibliographical reference would after all have made sense only in terms of the history of these studies. By and large it would have added nothing to the principal thesis argued here, nor to the value of a work that will long remain an essential reference point for the historical study of Zoroastrianism.

Gherardo Gnoli

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(1) *The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages*, Boulder, Col. 1979

(2) See, e g., 'Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit and His Creation', in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to G.G Scholem*, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 227-54; 'Esoteric Trends in Zoroastrianism', *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Science and Humanities*, 3, 1970, pp. 175-221; 'Eschatology and the Goal of Religious Life in Sasanian Zoroastrianism', in *Types of Redemption*, ed. by J.C. Bleeker & R.J.Z. Werblowsky, Leiden 1970, pp. 223-30; 'The Notions of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* in the Pahlavi Texts and Their Relations to Eschatology', *Acta Orientalia*, 33, 1971, pp 59-107; 'Some Terms Relating to Man in Pahlavi: L *axw* (*ax*)', in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, Louvain 1974, pp. 319-26; 'From Iran to Islam: Notes on Some Themes in Transmission', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 4, 1984, pp. 31-67; 'From Iran to Islam: On Some Symbols of Royalty', *ibid* , 7, 1986, pp 75-91; '"For the Sake of the Soul": A Zoroastrian Idea on Transmission into Islam', *ibid*., 13, 1990, pp. 15-32; 'The Myth of Zurvan: Cosmogony and Eschatology', in *Messiah and Christos. Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser*, Tübingen 1992, pp. 219-40; 'Some Iranian Themes in Islamic Literature', in *Recurrent Patterns in Iranian Religions. From Mazdaism to Sufism Proceedings of the Round Table Held in Bamberg (30th September — 4th October 1991)*, Studia Iranica - Cahier 11; Paris 1992, pp. 143-58.

(3) G. Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran. An Essay on Its Origins*, SOR, LXII, Rome 1989, p. 159. This passage is cited on pp. 2-3.

(4) *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*, 2 vols., Heidelberg 1959. Humbach's position on the subject shows no change in *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts*, 2 vols., Heidelberg 1991: cf. my review in *EW*, 42, 1992 (pp 519-27), p. 523

(5) The author cites the first two volumes of *Textes vieil-avestiques*, Wiesbaden 1988 and 1990. J. Kellens' position on the subject has undergone partial modification to judge by his *Zoroastre et l'Avesta ancien. Quatre leçons au Collège de France*, Paris 1991.

(6) *Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-doctor?*, London 1951, pp. 47 ff.

(7) 'Einige Bemerkungen zum altiranischen Dualismus', *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, Rome 1995, SOR, LXXIII, pp. 213-31.

(8) *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

(9) *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, Naples 1980, pp. 184 f.

(10) *La religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell'Iran*, Bologna 1920, p. 95; Id., 'La formazione del monoteismo', in his *Saggi di storia delle religioni e di mitologia*, Roma 1946 (pp. 3-28), pp. 6 f.

(11) *Penseurs musulmans et religions iraniennes. 'Abd al-Jabbār et ses devanciers*, Paris 1974; Id., *Islam et*

religions, Paris 1986 (a collection of essays, some of which particularly relevant to the matter in hand). See also D. Gimaret & G. Monnot, *Shahrastani. Livre des religions et des sectes. Traduction avec introduction et notes*, Leuven 1986.

(12) *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, I-III, Wiesbaden 1988, 1990, 1991.

(13) *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra* .., *cit.* Particularly apt is this critical comment on the ritualistic interpretation of the Gathas: 'A religious tradition, it should be remembered, often uses old terminology while groping towards new contents. Novel ideas are frequently expressed by old phraseology that is made to adapt to a new communal experience' (p. 27, fn. 1)

(14) 'The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and the Book of Daniel', *Israel Oriental Studies*, 2, 1972, pp. 148-75, Id., 'Hystaspes and John of Patmos', in *Irano-Judaica*, ed. by Sh Shaked, Jerusalem 1988, pp. 12-75 These two articles were republished by D. Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, Jerusalem 1988, pp. 317-44 and 390-453.

(15) 'On the Antiquity of Zoroastrian Apocalyptic', *BSOAS*, XLVII, 1984, pp 54-75; *Ead.*, 'The Poem of the Persian Sybil and the Zand ī Vahman Yašt', in *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, Studia Iranica - Cahier 5, ed. by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour & Ph. Gignoux, Paris 1989, pp. 59-77.

(16) 'Das Judentum in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit und die iranische Religion Ein religionsgeschichtliches Problem', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. by H. Temporini and W Haase, II, 19, I, Berlin-New York 1979, pp 512-90; Id., 'Forms and Origins of Iranian Apocalypticism', in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. International Colloquium on Apocalypticism* (Uppsala 1979), ed. by D. Hellholm, Tübingen 1983, pp. 387-411; Id., 'Bahman Yašt: A Persian Apocalypse', in *Mysteries and Revelations*, ed. by J.J. Collins & J.H. Charlesworth, Sheffield 1991; pp. 114-34.

(17) 'Leitende Ideen und Quellen der iranischen Apocalyptik', in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, *cit.*, pp. 77-162.

(18) See in particular by Gignoux: 'Nouveaux regards sur l'apocalypse iranienne', *CRAIBL*, 1986, pp. 334-46; 'Sur l'inexistence d'une Bahman Yasht avestique', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 23, 1986, pp. 53-64.

(19) See, now, on the subject C.G Cereti, *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn. A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, SOR, LXXV, Roma 1995, pp. 26 f.

(20) Reference here is to works by F. Grenet, *Les pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie Centrale sédentaire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation*, Paris 1984, and O. Nicholson, 'Shall these Bones Live? A dakhma at Dura', *AJA*, 89, 1985, pp. 667-71, as well as two important contributions by F. Grenet and J.R. Russell to the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV, 1990 (respectively 'Burial, II. Remnants of Burial Practices in Ancient Iran', pp. 559-61, and 'Burial, III. In Zoroastrianism', pp. 561-63).

(21) *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, German translation by H.H. Schaeder, Leipzig 1938.

(22) '"Corps osseux et âme osseuse". Essai sur le chamanisme dans l'Iran ancien', *JA*, CCLXVII, 1979, pp 41-79 (a theme Gignoux takes up again in a number of other works).

(23) 'Due citazioni del Corano nel Dēnkart', *RSO*, XXXII, 1957 (= *Scritti in onore di Giuseppe Furlani*), pp. 455-62).

(24) 'Osservazioni sulla dottrina mandaica della creazione', *AIUON*, n.s., XIII, 1963 (pp. 163-93), pp. 170-76, also for references to previous studies by L.C. Casartelli (see below: *op cit.* in note 56, pp. 24 ff.) and A.V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies. Iranian Religion and Various Monographs*, New York 1928, pp. 119 f.

(25) 'Le jugement des morts dans l'Iran préislamique', in *Le jugement des morts*. Sources Orientales, IV, Paris 1961, pp. 143-75.

(26) *The Pahlavi Book of the Righteous Viraz*, I, Rome 1979, pp. 113-19.

(27) *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Oxford 1943 (reprint 1971), pp. 78-119.

(28) 'L'homme dans la religion iranienne', in *Anthropologie religieuse*, ed. by C.J. Bleeker, Leiden 1955, pp. 94-107.

(29) A theme particularly favoured by the author, and one on which he has made significant, penetrating contributions: 'For the Sake of the Soul', *cit.* (fn. 2); 'Some Iranian Themes in Islamic Literature', *cit.* (*ibid.*).

(30) Reference here is to my *De Zoroastre à Mani. Quatre leçons au Collège de France*, Paris 1985.

(31) Reference is to J.C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony. Studies in the Book of the Giants Traditions*, Cincinnati 1992.

(32) *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China. A Historical Survey*, Manchester 1985, p. 53; 2nd edition, Tübingen 1992, p. 69: a book untouched by criticism (see for example my review of the first edition: *EW*, 37, 1987, pp. 473-75), by an author who has succeeded in discussing Manichaeism while virtually ignoring the Iranian world — no small flaw, and only slightly corrected in a more recent volume by the same author: *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia & the Roman East*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1994.

(33) 'Iranian Elements in Manichaeism: A Comparative Contrastive Approach. Irano-Manichaica I',

in *Au carrefour des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux*, Res Orientales, VII, Bures-sur-Yvette 1995, pp. 263-84.

(34) Despite Shaked's observation later in the text: 'The points on which Iran and gnosticism are in agreement cannot be used as an argument in the age-old debate as to the origins of gnosticism and its connections with Iran. At the late date in which much of the extant Iranian literature was composed, all that these correspondences show is that they both used a common stock of ideas and language' (p. 109).

(35) 'Les origines du gnosticisme et l'histoire des religions', in *Le origini dello gnosticismo — Colloquio di Messina 13-18 aprile 1966*, ed by U. Bianchi, Leiden 1967 (pp 28-60), p. 60. For bibliographic references to Widengren's major contributions on the subject of relations between Manichaeism and the Iranian religious world, see my article 'Manichaeism: An Overview', in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, M. Eliade editor in chief, New York 1987, vol. 9 (pp. 160-70), pp. 169 f.

(36) G. Gnoli, 'Questioni sull'interpretazione della dottrina gathica', *AIUON*, n.s., XXI, 1971, pp. 341-70

(37) *Op. cit.*, p. XXIX.

(38) Oddly enough, Bailey was referring to my *Ricerche storiche sul Sīstān antico*, Rome 1967, p. 7, rather than my article 'Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel Mazdeismo e nel Manicheismo', *AIUON*, n.s., XII, 1962, pp 95-128, where the theme of *xvarənah-* was addressed in greater depth.

(39) Reference here is to J. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'Le *χᵛarənah*', *AIUON* Sez. linguistica, 5, 1963, pp. 19-31.

(40) 'Études sur l'ésotérisme musulman', *JA*, XIX, 1902, pp. 489-531; Id., 'Études sur le gnosticisme musulman' (extract from *RSO*, II, III, IV, VI), Rome 1913

(41) 'Der islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung', *ZDMG*, 79, 1925, pp. 192-268.

(42) *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection de l'Iran mazdéen à l'Iran shî'ite*, Paris 1960.

(43) Cf. Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran*, *cit.*, p. 167.

(44) On which, see R. Gyselen, *Sceaux magiques en Iran sassanide*, *Studia Iranica* — Cahier 17, Paris 1995, pp. 55 ff.

(45) Sh. Shaked, 'Bagdāna, King of the Demons, and Other Iranian Terms in Babylonian Aramaic Magic', in *Papers in Honour of Prof. Mary Boyce*, II, Acta Iranica, 25, Leiden 1985, pp. 511-25.

(46) Apart from various works of mine, the author here (p. 99, fn. 1) cites K. Mosig-Walburg, *Die frühen sasanidischen Könige als Vertreter und Förderer der zarathustrischen Religion*, Frankfurt a.M.-Bern 1982.

(47) *The Idea of Iran*, *cit.*, p. 167.

(48) *Ibid.*, pp. 168 ff.

(49) 'A Parallel between Two Iranian and Jewish Themes', in *Irano-Judaica*, 2, ed. by Sh. Shaked & A. Netzer, Jerusalem 1990, pp. 41-51.

(50) 'Mazdakism', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3 (2), ed. by E. Yarshater, Cambridge 1983, pp. 991-1024; see also Gnoli, 'Mazdakism', *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, *cit.*, vol. 9, pp. 302-3

(51) 'Zoroastrian Incest', in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, ed. by G. Gnoli & L. Lanciotti, vol 1, Roma 1985, pp. 445-55.

(52) 'Inzest im vorislamischen Iran', *AMI*, n.s., XXIV, 1991, pp. 141-54.

(53) *Persia religiosa da Zaratustra a Bahā'u'llāh*, Milano 1959, pp. 120-30.

(54) 'Les fravaši', in *Anges et démons — Actes du Colloque de Liège et de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-26 novembre 1987*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1989, pp. 99-114.

(55) *La philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, PhD. diss., Louvain 1884; Engl. transl. as *The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, by F.J. JamaspAsa, Bombay 1889

(56) On the Roman Catholic bishop of Salford, former pupil of Charles de Harlez and subsequently professor at the University of Manchester, see now the article by A. Panaino, 'Casartelli, Louis Charles', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by E. Yarshater, V/1, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1990, pp. 24-25, with full bibliography. Significantly enough, in Bailey, *op. cit* , p. 78, fn. 1, Casartelli — also cited for his study of medicine in Pahlavi texts (*ibid.*, p. 81, fn. 3 and p. 196) — is the first to be mentioned among the scholars who had already addressed the theme of man, his constitution, and the destiny of his constituent parts (the others being A.V. Williams Jackson, H.S. Nyberg, J.C. Pavry and J. Tavadia).

Anthologie de Zādspram. Édition critique du texte pehlevi traduit et commenté par Ph. Gignoux et A. Tafazzoli. Studia Iranica, Cahier 13. Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, Paris 1993, 441 pp.

The present volume dedicated to the late Marijan Molé is an important new contribution to the development of Pahlavi and Zoroastrian studies. The book is arranged as follows: 'Avant-Propos' (p. 7), 'Table des Matières' (pp. 9-11), 'Bibliographie' (pp. 13-18), 'Introduction' (pp.

19-27), 'Transcription et Traduction' (pp. 29-141), 'Notes et Commentaire' (pp. 143-80), 'Texte critique' (pp. 181-313), 'Apparat critique' (pp. 315-76), 'Glossaire' (pp. 377-441).

As Gignoux explains in the 'Avant-Propos', Marijan Molé translated the 'Selections of Zādspram' with the intention of publishing an edition of the text with a translation and a commentary, but his work has remained a provisional step as his premature death foiled his aim. Also an edition of Molé's *Nachlaß*, suggested by the late Jean de Menasce, appeared to Gignoux to be practically impossible, because any revision might have modified or deformed the work as planned by Molé himself. Now the collaboration of two great specialists of Pahlavi philology and literature, the French scholar Philippe Gignoux and the Persian scholar A. Tafazzoli, has fulfilled the hopes of Molé and de Menasce by finally offering to Iranologists a very good critical edition of the text with a careful translation, that will surely be a significant milestone of the Pahlavi studies.

This edition (cf. pp. 25-26) is based on the ms. *K35* and on the edition of Anklesaria (1964); another ms. *BK* is a good copy of *K35*, and it seems that its colophon was also copied from *K35*; in this case *K35*, whose colophon is missing, could be ascribed to Marzbān Frēdōn Wahrām Rostahm Bundār, and dated 27-5-941 A.Y. (= 19-3-1572), according to the colophon of *BK*. Unfortunately Gignoux and Tafazzoli were not able to use systematically and directly *BK*, now in the library of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, but Tafazzoli looked through it in Bombay in February 1993, and the variants attested in it are noted only for the chapters XXIII 2 - XXXIV 26, according to the edition of Anklesaria (1964). The most complete ms. is *TD* (from the beginning to chapter XXXV 60).

The Wizīdagīhā, one of the most interesting Pahlavi texts, is the coherent work of a unique priest, Zādspram, living about the end of the 9th century A.D., a sort of modernist sometimes in contrast with his brother, Manuščihr, the author of the famous 'Epistles' (Nāmagīhā ī Manuščihr). The importance of this document lies in the coherent authorship it shows with respect to the Bundahišn or the Dēnkard.

About the name of the author, spelled *z'ts'spbm*, it must be noted that the editors preferred the transcription *Zādspram* to *Zādsparam*, now current. This is not a problem, but it is a pity that they do not justify their choice.

The present text is a very important document for the comprehension of the encyclopaedic knowledge of the Zoroastrian scholars as the editors underline in their 'Introduction' (pp. 22-24). I completely agree with Gignoux and Tafazzoli about the importance given in the text to astrological speculations. In fact the continuous references to the number 'seven' and 'twelve' confirm the astral interests of Zādspram. In particular I consider very interesting the connection of the seven Amahraspandān (XXXV 5; pp. 23, 128-29) with twelve qualities or the reference to the 'twelve creatures' (*dwāzdah dāman*) created by Ohrmazd at the beginning of the word (XXXIV 20; pp. 118-19). This astral pattern represents a sort of esoteric trend not uncommon in the Iranian tradition. In this case, the division of seven by twelve is arranged inside the wide limits of the Zoroastrian orthodoxy, that, in matters concerning astrology, was very peculiar and contradictory. But we may remember that in Mazdakism the Seven and the Twelve are given a central role, and that also in the Manichaean tradition, where the twelve zodiacal signs are considered demoniac, we have some clear astral reference to the Twelve, as the twelve Virgins of Light.

In the present review I would like to make some additional remarks concerning a few cosmological and astrological problems referred to in the Anthology of Zādspram:

Pp. 36-37: II 11: ***mihr ī abāxtarīg pad hamjuxtīh ī abāxtarīg māh***... 'le soleil planétaire en conjonction avec la lune planétaire...'; it is interesting to compare this passage with Ir.Bd. V 4; V, A, 14 (MacKenzie 1964: 512, 515), where ***mihr ī tamīg*** and ***māh ī tamīg*** ('the dark sun' and 'the dark moon') are quoted. It is the mythological representation of the eclipses, attributed to two black astral bodies known as Ketu and Rāhu in India. I would note that the translation 'conjunction', formally correct, is here misleading, because, according to this unscientific myth, it is not the conjunction of the planetary sun with the planetary moon that provokes the eclipses, but the conjunction of one (inexistent) black luminary (sun or moon) with the real sun or moon.

Pp. 38-39: II 22: *Ohrmazd pad wahīg būd ī-xwēš* $^{+}$*nišēb* 'Jupiter était dans le Capricorne qui est son périgée': the translation of *nišēb* as 'périgée' is questionable; in fact perigee refers to a physical position of the planet in its orbit, while in Capricorn there is properly the astrological dejection of the same planet (Bouché-Leclercq 1899: 97, fn. 2, 195). I do not think that the author was speaking of Capricorn as a proper constellation, but of Capricorn as a zodiacal sign, that is different.

Pp. 40-41: III 7: About the connection of Tīr with Tištar see Panaino 1995: 61-94.

Pp. 98-99: XXX: in this chapter a planetary 'melothesia' occurs; unfortunately in the 'Commentary', pp. 143-180, the importance and the background of this astrological element is not sufficiently considered (see Pingree 1978, II: 251-52, 259, 325-26 and *passim*). The planetary physiology is described as follows:

Saturn	hair
Jupiter	skin
Mars	veins
Sun	sinew
Venus	flesh
Mercury	bone
Moon	marrow

Similar elements are attested, but combined with different planets, in Sphujidhvaja' Yavanajātaka, I, 123-126, as Pingree noted (1978 II: 251-52):

Saturn	sinew
Jupiter	fat
Mars	marrow
Sun	bone
Venus	semen
Mercury	skin
Moon	blood

It is clear, as Zaehner pointed out (1972: 162), that here there 'seems to be no suggestion that the planets are evil, but rather that they are an integral and harmonious part of the Universe'. The Indian background and the reasons for its modification in this list should be carefully studied in the future.

Pp. 124-25: XLIII 49: according to this paragraph, at the end of the second period of six millennia, a supplementary period of four years should remain. Zādspram explains this datum, writing that each four years, one day is not reckoned; so that after 6.000 years the difference will be four years. This statement is curious, because it signifies that Zādspram was referring to the civil calendar, without intercalation, not to the religious one, normally intercalated (with an additional month) each 120 or 116 years (see Hartner 1985: 759-64; Panaino 1990: 660-63). In addition, we may note that during these four years the sign of the resurrection of the dead will appear. But this doctrine seems to be in contradiction with the reference to the fifty-seven years of Sōšāns (XLIII 46), which is the period of the raising of the dead, according to the present text and many others (see Jackson 1928).

Antonio Panaino

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INDIAN STUDIES

Hermann Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften, Teil 3,* herausgegeben von Hans-Peter Schmidt. Glasenapp Stiftung, Band 34. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1993, VIII-1571-2121 pp.

The book consists of the anastatic reproduction of three studies (pp. 1571-1847), two papers (pp. 1848-92), and sixteen reviews (pp. 1893-2103) written by Hermann Oldenberg between 1880 and 1919. Two useful indexes, one of names and subjects (pp. 2105-11) and the other of words and verb roots (p. 2112), have been included together with a list of the principal texts quoted from ancient Indian literature (pp. 2112-21).

A brief description of the most important contributions follows: 1) *Vedaforschung* (Cotta, Stuttgart-Berlin 1905), which comprises an introduction, some diagressions of lexical and exegetical character (on *dhenā*, *sumeka*; Ṛ̣V I 87, 4; I 95, 3; IV 29, 3), and ten brief chapters dealing with linguistical, philological, grammatical, religious, and mythological questions. 2) *Indien und die Religionswissenschaft* (Cotta, Stuttgart-Berlin 1906). This study is divided into two parts (originally two independent conferences). The first is an examination of ancient Indian religion in the general context of the science of religion. Included in this examination are some reflections on Indian religion in the Indo-European and Indo-Iranian context and the relationship between ethnology and Indian religion. The second part discusses the role of the grace of God and the human effort in ancient Indian religion. A particular reference is made to the *Vedas*, the concept of transmigration, Buddhism as faith in human force, and the *bhakti* in Hinduism. 3) *Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der prosaisch-poetischen Erzählung* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse Nr. 6, 1917). The first and second parts of this study examine the prose and the combined prose and poetry narrative drawn from Vedic literature, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the Epic, and from some Pāli Buddhist texts.

The titles of and the original bibliographical information on the two papers are: 1) 'Über das geographische Verhältnis der vedischen und buddhistischen Kultur' in *Buddha. Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (Wilhelm Hertz, Berlin 1881). 2) 'Indisch' in *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung gestellt von Theodor Mommsen* (Duncker und Humblot, Leipzig 1905) (pp. 1868-74 contain the question of T. Mommsen).

Francesco Sferra

V(ardhman) K(umar) Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (AD 1000-1300)*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi 1990, xvi-303 pp.

This contribution to the study of India's internal and international commerce in the 11th to 13th centuries deserves attention both for its accuracy and scope. In fact the Indian Council of Historical Research has seen fit to support it financially.

Those who have read the fascinating novel by Amitav Ghosh entitled, *In an Antique Land* (1992), will certainly read between the lines of this book which is very different, in that it is absolutely academic, nevertheless it also provides a vivid slant on the reality of that lost world in which the geographical and cultural distances seem to have been less onerous than today.

After a chapter on the 'Geographical Setting and Agrarian Economy' (pp. 10-34), which shows how an improved knowledge and the implementation of agrarian economy and irrigation systems enabled Western India to produce a considerable surplus, the author tackles the subject of 'Internal Trade' (pp. 35-70) and of 'Foreign Trade' (pp. 71-108). The following chapters deal with the 'Trade Routes' (pp. 109-36), the 'Market System' (pp. 137-69), 'Commercial Taxes' (pp. 170-89), 'Credit and Banking' (pp. 190-208), the 'Trading Community and Merchant Corporations' (pp. 209-32), and the 'Role of Merchants in State and Society' (pp. 233-49).

In a short closing chapter (pp. 250-53) the author summarizes the main conclusions he has drawn: 1) 'Western India witnessed unprecedented commercial activity during the eleventh-thirteenth century'; in particular, 'the region of

Gujarat and Rajasthan in this period experienced greater economic expansion than it ever had at any other period in ancient times'; 2) although the up-keep of the roads had not changed noticeably, the State authorities undertook to guarantee the safety of overland trade; 3) 'A novel feature of the period was the conversion of a portion of commercial revenue into religious grants' (this phenomenon had actually been introduced long before, but it now reached much greater proportions that were really 'structural'); 4) the period under review saw the expansion of a monetary economy: forced labour disappeared, taxes and services were paid in cash; in addition *huṇḍikās* or bills of exchange came into use, 'which could facilitate large-scale commercial transactions without handling much of currency'; 5) the development of trade and commerce and the great profits which resulted therefrom led to the formation of a rich class of merchants who also played an important role in the affairs of State.

A leading question the author asks in more than one place regards the participation of Indian merchants in international trade: 'Though there are not many references to Indian traders going abroad, our sources indicate that they had a close and intimate contact with the Arab traders who were staying in large number in almost all the important towns, marts and ports of western India [...]. Apparently, the lack of Indian participation in seafaring activity may suggest a decline in Indian foreign trade, but in actuality it was not so because the Arabs were primarily the carriers rather than the producers of goods. Their activities, therefore, could make no dent in the markets of Indian goods abroad' (pp. 252-53).

At the end of the book there is an ample bibliography (pp. 254-85) and an Index (pp. 286-303).

The author captures our attention through his use of plain, exact language, the breadth of the documentation and frequent references to particular historical-political situations, for example in the paragraphs: 'Arab Settlements in Western India', 'Attitude of Local Kings', and 'Arab Traders and Their Hold on Indian Trade', in the Chapter on 'Foreign Trade', which are particularly informative and clear.

The volume has been produced with great care both from the editorial and typographical aspects. There are very few misprints. I shall only indicate one which might cause some confusion — on page 106, 'innumerable kinds of medieval herbs' should read '*medicinal* herbs'.

Maurizio Taddei

Carol Radcliffe Bolon, *Forms of the Goddes Lajjā Gaurī in Indian Art* (Monographs on the Fine Arts sponsored by College Art Association, XLIX), The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, Pennsylvania 1992, xiv-91 pp., 130 figs. in 70 unnumbered plates.

The 'shameless woman' often compared to far-away iconographic conceptions such as the Roman Baubo, is a fairly widespread type of image in India, which does not find an adequate and clearly defined place in the hierarchy of Hindu gods. Carol Radcliffe Bolon, Assistant Curator of South and Southeast Asian Art at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, has chosen the name Lajjā Gaurī out of a large number of names designating the same 'shameless' goddess in the various Indian languages. She describes this type of icon carefully and rightly emphasizes some particular traits, such as its variants, its connection with Śaiva (or other) cult places, and its distribution throughout India. She ultimately discusses at length the meanings which are possibly conveyed by the icon in its various forms.

An important assumption is made at the very beginning, in the description of the goddess who 'is almost always made to lie on her back, supine': 'The toes of the recumbent figure', Bolon writes, 'are tensely splayed as if she is in the act of giving birth, yet there is no indication of pregnancy. Some scholars have concluded, however, that [...] the pose indicates sexual receptiveness. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, although some do give birth miraculously, Indian goddesses are never pregnant in imagery or myth. The pose of Lajjā Gaurī is ambiguous, but probably intentionally so since the pose of sexual receptivity and the pose of giving birth are the same. The human form and the intercourse/birth pose are used as a metaphor for creation. In turn human parturition is used in this image as a metaphor for divine creation' (p. 5). I wonder whether it is correct to speak of 'metaphors' in a context where one would rather expect to find symbols, but the passage quoted sounds quite stimulating if not entirely convincing.

The book is very neatly constructed — a pithy Introduction (including a section dealing with previous studies on Lajjā Gaurī, outstanding among them being those by S. Kramrisch 1956, H.D. Sankalia 1960, J.N. Tiwari 1971, 1985, and R.C. Dhere 1978) is followed by four chapters, I. Forms, II. Lajjā Gaurī in Multifigured Plaques, III. Related Forms, IV. Names, and a Conclusion.

In Chapter I, the author describes the various specimens and distributes them in four groups — Form I, *Uttānapad* pot; Form II, Lotus-headed without arms; Form III, Lotus-headed with arms; Form IV, Anthropomorphic. The very order in which these categories are listed reflects the postulate that they are to be conceptualized 'as progressing from a minimally anthropomorphic form toward a completely anthropomorphic goddess' (p. 11). In this Bolon agrees with the typology proposed by F.H.P.M. Janssen, 'On the Origin and Development of the So-Called Lajjā Gaurī', in A.J. Gail & G.J.R. Mevissen, eds., *South Asian Archaeology 1991*, Stuttgart 1993, pp. 457-72.

The neat map reproduced on p. xiv actually gives us an idea of the distribution of Lajjā Gaurī images over the Indian Subcontinent — one immediately sees that the Indus-Ganges regions (with the exception of a considerable number of specimens from the Bhita, Jhusi and Kausambi area) and the extreme South have yielded almost no Lajjā Gaurī, while the greatest concentrations are found in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka. It is also to be stressed that the various Forms are unevenly distributed — e.g., Gujarat (and Rajasthan) knows only Form IV, while Form II is only known from Kausambi, Sanchi, and Maharashtra (Paunar-Mahurjhari area, Alapur, Ter), and the greatest concentration of Form I is to be found at Ter, while Form III is more evenly spread throughout the area, though not in Gujarat (nor Rajasthan).

As to the chronology, it is clear that the various Forms overlap one another. The author tries to substantiate her own chronology by resorting to the postulate of a progression 'from a minimally anthropomorphic form toward a completely anthropomorphic goddess'. She writes, 'Form I was the major early type of Lajjā Gaurī popular in the south in the third and fourth centuries and was not made thereafter nor was it made elsewhere. Forms II and III seem to have succeeded it, but the lotus flower "head" they include, must be understood partially in reference to the pot bearing a lotus flower of Form I which symbolizes abundance of life. Although the torso of Forms II and III is no longer a pot but a human torso, the lotus culmination is retained with the same meaning as in Form I'.

Form II does not seem to be earlier than the 4th century and most of the images belonging to this category are not later than the 6th century; Form III appears to be later, as most of these lotus-headed figures with arms are to be dated between the 7th and the 9th centuries, except the specimen from Nagarjunakonda of the early 4th century which is cautiously attributed by Bolon to Form III because of the presence of a *channavīra* (a piece of jewellery), though most of the upper part of the figure including the arms (if there were arms) is lost.

Form IV is attributable, in the author's opinion, to the 6th to 7th century, which seems to contradict the succession from a minimally anthropomorphic to a fully anthropomorphic form, but it must be borne in mind that, as we have seen, Form IV is distributed over a comparatively restricted area, i.e. Gujarat (and Rajasthan), besides few sites in Uttar Pradesh (Mathura), Maharashtra (Ellora, Elephanta), and northern Karnataka. In any case, local traditions seem to have played a role of great importance.

On the whole, the chronology and classification of images suggested by Bolon appears to be quite reasonable.

This book is the largest corpus of Lajjā Gaurī images collected so far — by itself a great contribution to our studies, for which we must be grateful to the author. It is also a well documented attempt at providing an iconological explanation of Lajjā Gaurī in her numerous variants.

The author avails herself of the contributions made by earlier scholars, not only those we have referred to above, but also those who have dealt with the symbolism of the lotus, namely A.K. Coomaraswamy (1928-31), F.D.K. Bosch (1960), A. Roșu (1966), and G. Liebert (1976). Bolon rightly remarks that 'an appreciation of the symbolism accrued to this flower [...] is essential to an understading of Lajjā Gaurī's nature'. It is surprising — she adds — that 'a satisfying essay on this subject does not exist' (p. 51). This is true, but I would like to point out that the essay by S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume: Eine ägyptische Kosmogonie und ihre weltweite Bildwirkung*, Ascona 1954, has been perhaps unjustifiably ignored by Bolon.

The interpretation suggested by Bolon is substantially related to the idea of fertility and fecundity, which prevails through the analogical process of the 'primitive' human mind in its approach to nature as a system of symbols. On the other hand, the development from semi-aniconic to fully anthropomorphic is convincingly explained by hypothesizing a process of 'Brahminization'.

A very thought-provoking section of Chapter III is the one dealing with the *śrīvatsa*, though Bolon goes perhaps too far in suggesting similarities between vegetal decoration and *śrīvatsa*, e.g. in the case of a medallion from the Bharhut *stūpa* (fig. 122). Nevertheless, the comparisons she suggests are extremely useful and in the end suggest that there was a continuous interchange of vegetal and human forms in various traditional Indian symbols or *maṅgalas*. Perhaps Bolon might have taken into consideration the possibility that Lajjā Gaurī is in some way connected with the *nandipada* as well, independently or not of the *śrīvatsa*.

The reviewer has only to point out a surprising oversight which nevertheless does not affect any conclusion — the slab from Kesasapalli (Andhra Pradesh) decorated with a pool of lotuses (fig. 121; in my opinion a dedicatory stele, even if re-used for paving purposes, rather than a 'shrine doorstep', p. 55), is certainly not to be dated 3rd century A.D. 'by the paleography of its inscription', but 1st century B.C., on the grounds of both style and paleography, as it was rightly suggested by Vidya Dehejia ('Early Activity at Amaravati', *AAA*, XXIII, 1969-70, pp. 41-54) — the date 3rd century A.D. is referred to by Dehejia (p. 48) for the enlargement of the *stūpa* at Kesanapalli, not for the slab under discussion.

Bolon's book is magnificently illustrated and enriched by a Glossary (pp. 77-80), a Select Bibliography (pp. 81-86), and an Index (pp. 87-89). Out of the 130 figures, 109 reproduce images of the goddess, the others contain comparative material.

This is the kind of book we would like to see published also on other subjects, thus covering the extremely rich field of Indian religious symbolism.

Maurizio Taddei

N.R.V. Prasad, ed., *Epigraphia Āndhrica — Volume VI*, Epigraphical series No. 22, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad 1994, vi-120 pp., 24 pls.

The latest issue in the epigraphical series published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh is volume VI of *Epigraphia Āndhrica*. The Preface gives a brief summary of the contents of the articles. The volume contains fourteen articles of which eleven present newly discovered inscriptions and three discuss inscriptions published earlier. In this review of the volume an attempt is made to examine all the articles.

The first article, 'Racchamaṟi Grant of Vikramāditya I', by Dr N Mukunda Rao (pp. 1-5), deals with a set of copper plates acquired by the Department. This Charter was issued by Anivārita Vikramāditya I (656-681 A.D.) of the Bādāmi Chāḷukya family, during the eleventh year of his reign, and its object is to register a gift of land measuring fifty *nivartanas* of the village (*grāma*) Racchamaṟi by Vikramāditya in favour of the Brāhmana Rēvasvāmi of the Kapisa-*gotra*, who was well versed in the *ṣaḍaṅgas* and proficient in performing the *ṣaṭkarmas*. Clear photographs of good rubbings are provided. The photograph of the seal, however, is out of focus.

The second article, namely 'Kokkarachēdu Inscription of Kṛṣṇa II Akālavarṣa, Śaka 817', by Dr S.J. Mangalam (pp. 7-11) gives the reading and interpretation of an inscription engraved on a red sandstone slab erected in the temple of Āñjaneya in the village of Kokkarachēdu, Kurnool district. The inscription is dated Śaka year 817, the sixth year of Akālavarṣa's reign, i.e. Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, corresponding to 895 A.D. The importance of this date lies in the fact that for the first time his regnal year is mentioned. It is on account of this inscription that the accession of Kṛṣṇa II can be stated to have taken place in 889-890 A.D , ten years later than the date suggested by Altekar (*Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, Poona 1967^2, p. 91). The poor quality of the impression published reflects the weathered condition of the inscribed stone.

The third article, 'Boṇḍāda Grant of Chāḷukya Vishṇuvardhana', by Dr P.V. Parabrahma Sastry (pp. 13-17), concerns a set of three copperplates that has no recorded find-spot. The inscription deals with a gift of land made by Viṣṇuvardhana of the Eastern, or Veṅgi, Chāḷukya family. No date is given here and there are no plates to illustrate them.

'Kollipaṟa Plates of Arikesari I', by Dr K. Suryanarayana (pp. 19-26), is the next article. It is a reassessment of an inscription edited by N. Venkataramanayya and the historical problems involved regarding the indipendence of the Vemulavāḍa Chāḷukya branch (ruling over Telingana in the 9th-10th century A.D.) from the Bādāmi family.

Next is an article by the late D.C. Sircar, 'Kāmagiri Inscription of Jagaddeva, Śaka 1051' (pp. 27-36), corresponding to 1128 A.D. It states that a worthy person, a devotee of Śiva, built a Śaiva temple and installed a Śivalinga therein; then, a number of persons are mentioned who ḥad arranged a *devavṛtti* for the maintenance of worship of the *liṅga*. The author correlates other inscriptions of Jagaddeva found in the region.

The sixth article is on the 'Saidāpur Jaina Inscription of Jagadekamalla I, Śaka 956', by Dr G. Jawaharlal (pp. 37-42). Its main feature is the evidence that *śāstracikitsa* (surgery) as a branch of the Āyurveda śāstra (*āyurveda vidaṁ*, in the text) was practised during the eleventh century A.D. The article is provided with three plates clearly illustrating the text on each side of the pillar

The article that follows is the 'Narasingāpuram Inscription of Trailokyamalla', by Dr N.S. Ramacandra Murthy (pp. 43-54), regarding an inscription engraved on all four sides of a heavy granite pillar. It bears the date: Śaka year 974 which corresponds to 1052 A.D., and appertains to the Western Chāḷukya King Āhavamalla Someśvara I (1042-1068) and records a gift made to the temple of the god Trailokya Nārāyaṇa. Unfortunately, the original slab on which the inscription was engraved is submerged in the lower Maneru Reservoir, so that only a fine set of impressions have been utilised for the study.

The eighth article, 'The Linear Representation of a Temple on a Lithic Record', by Dr Y. Gopala Reddy (pp. 55-60), deals with the inscription engraved on a polished black basalt stone slab in the temple of Rāmaliṅgeśvara, which is undated. Even though the article focuses on the linear representation of the temple at the very beginning of the record, it is regrettable that no plate is provided. Indeed, this kind of record arouses the interest of epigraphists as well-as of art and architecture historians. In view of a more comprehensive analysis a plate should have been included.

The following article is entitled 'The Kandukūru Epigraph of Kākatīya Pratāparudra's Time', by Dr P.V. Parabrahma Sastry (pp. 61-69), concerning another inscription on a stone pillar. It stands near the old Śiva temple in Kandukūru village, Nalgonda district. The record is dated in the Śaka year 1238, corresponding to 1316 A.D., and furnishes information about the system of taxation and the mode of diverting the whole or part of the income, originally due to the royal exchequer, to the local temple. It is interesting to note that the procedure is very similar to that of the present *pañcāyati* system.

The next article on 'The Bezawāḍa Stone Inscription of Parāṅtaka Chōḷa', by Dr M. Krishṇa Kumari (pp. 71-76), seeks to study this inscription in detail and to discuss fully the various problems arising from the record. The inscription had already been published in the fourth volume of *South Indian Inscriptions*, no. 737. Its historical importance lies in the fact that this is the earliest stone record of Vikrama Choḷa in Āndhradeśa after the successful restoration of the country from the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, dated 1124 A.D.

Then comes the article on 'Two Inscriptions From Piṭṭagaḍḍa', by Dr C. Somasundara Rao and N. Markandeya Sarma (pp. 77-86). It covers two inscriptions on pillars casually unearthed near the Bhīmeśvara temple in the village of Piṭṭagaḍḍa, Visakhapatnam district. Both the inscriptions its extension to "lower" peoples or social groups').

In such a work there are inevitably a few inexactitudes which should be pointed out:

p. 13. Agvan Dorǧiev (or Dorjieff) is arbitrarily identified with Georg Ivanovič Gurǧiev (better known in the West as Gurdjieff): the first refers to the late Buryat scholar and diplomat who died in prison near Ulan-Ude in 1940 (cf. N. Poppe, *Reminescences*, Western Washington University, 1983, pp. 130-31); while the latter was an Armenian adventurer and esoteric master who died in France in 1949.

p. 31. '[...] The Scandinavian god, Cernunnos [...]'. In fact, this is a Celtic deity.

p. 69. 'The term "shaman" is derived from the Tungus-Mongol [...] *šaman*, which is constructed from the Indo-European verb-root *ša-*, meaning "to know"'. This is a surprising affirmation, given that such an Indo-European verb-root is inexistent. It does however derive from a Tungus root — *šaman*, 'he who knows'.

p. 92. 'According to the Mongols this mount transports him to the side of the celestial seat of Bai Uelgaen'. Bay Ülgen is the supreme celestial being of the Turkish people of Southern Siberia, who has nothing to do with the Mongols.

p. 163. '[...] Mainly, the Samoyeds, the Voguls, and the Ket of the Yenisei River [...] make up the Ob-Ugrians [...]'. The Ket really belong to the Paleo-Siberian ethno-linguistic family.

p. 215, note 44. The Lamut people do not belong to the 'Palaeo-Siberian Culture Area', but to the Tungus people.

Ugo Marazzi

Hartman Walravens & Manfred Taube, *August Hermann Francke und die Westhimalaya-Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992, 531 pp.

The present volume is a complete monograph on the life and work of A.H. Francke (1870-1930), the famous Moravian missionary and one of the best known pioneers of Tibetan studies.

The volume's various sections are indicated by the letters of the alphabet from A to R, (note repetition of A2 and of P in P1-P2). It also has an index divided into eight parts in addition to the 281 photographs which reproduce texts, documents, drawings and show important figures and places.

Sections A and A2 cover the biography of A.H. Francke and Theodora Francke with a contribution by M. Hahn (pp. 23-35) dedicated to the work of Francke, but surprisingly (p. 28) no mention is made of L. Petech's '*A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*', Calcutta 1939, with regard to the continuation of the studies in the perspective opened by Francke's work.

Section B treats the bibliography on the missionary, while Section C is a chronological index of his writings.

Sections D-H provide detailed information on the patrimony Francke left the Prussian State Library in Berlin and to the Leipzig Archives, Brüdergemeine, in the British Library and India Office Library, London, and in the Völkerkunde Museum of Munich.

Sections I-M deal respectively with the material used in the translation of the Bible into Tibetan and give lists of the books printed in Tibetan kept in various archives.

In Sections N to R there is information regarding the mission, the missionaries, the bibliography relative to their works and detailed news-briefs, with an index (Q-R) of titles and the names of people.

In the appendix there is another translation of the *Ge-sar* saga, correspondence and information about other Tibetan manuscripts. It is an ample catalogue and a reliable reference work for anyone seeking information on the life, work, and background of this pioneer of Tibetan studies, at times debated and challenged, but whose generosity in sharing the discovery of a branch of knowledge, which was novel in his time, should certainly be recognised.

Elena De Rossi Filibeck

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CHINESE STUDIES

Maurizio Scarpari, *Avviamento allo studio del cinese classico*, Cafoscarina, Venezia 1995, 200 pp.

More than ten years after the publication of

Raymond Dawson's book *A New Introduction to Classical Chinese* (New York 1984) we see the publication of this introduction to the study of classical Chinese by Maurizio Scarpari, professor of Chinese Language and Literature at the University of Venice. The book is divided into two parts: part one makes a thorough examination of the linguistic units of Chinese (word, syntagma, sentence); the second contains anthological texts of the latter part of the Chou dynasty (*Meng-tzu, Chuang-tzu, Mo-tzu, Hsün-tzu, Han Fei-tzu, Tso-chuan, Lun-yü, Lao-tzu*). The book is completed with a number of appendices: the first of these consists of a list of bibliographic references of all the examples cited, with cross-references mainly to the concordances of the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series; the second is a reproduction of the comparative table of the *pinyin* and Wade Giles systems of transcription; the third is a useful analytical index of the function words. In a period in which more time is being devoted in Western universities to the study of modern Chinese than to the classical language, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of this book, which was conceived as a teaching tool. Although this is a book for which the need was felt in Italy it will certainly be appreciated also by non-Italians interested in learning ancient Chinese.

Lionello Lanciotti

Der Abbruch des Turmbaus. Studien zum Geist in China und im Abendland. Festschrift fur Rolf Trauzettel, herausgegeben von Ingrid Krüssman, Wolfgang Kubin und Hans-Georg Müller, Steyler Verlag, Nettetal 1995, 314 pp.

Volume XXXIV of the *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series* includes this book dedicated to Rolf Trauzettel on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. There are seventeen contributions in honour of the Bonn University sinologist, plus a rich bibliography of his writings edited by Ingrid Krüssmann. It is often embarrassing to talk of books like these. Merely to list the authors' names and article titles is meaningless, while it cannot be overlooked that the whole of German sinology (from Wolfgang Kubin to Wolfgang Bauer, from Herbert Franke to Ulrich Unger, from Ralf Moritz to many others, without neglecting the Bratislava sinologist Marian Galik) were desirous of paying homage to this eminent scholar. The various contributions have been divided into four sections: individual and society, individual and religion, the problem of modern times, literary genius. Stimulating subjects of interest to sinologists such as the idea of tolerance in ancient and modern China, the symbolism of evil in classical China, studies on modern literature and so on are accompanied by essays of equal interest such as that by Josef Simon *Der Abbruch des Turmbaus* (The destruction of the tower of Babel) which is used as the title for the whole *Festschrift*. Overall it is a book of great interest.

Lionello Lanciotti

Flora Blanchon, ed., *Asie III. Savourer, goûter*, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris 1995, 405 pp.

In this series, the first two volumes of which *Donner et recevoir* (1992) and *Aménager l'espace* (1993), were quite successful, are now followed by the third devoted to food in those regions of Asia that stretch from China to Japan. Of course it is not just a book of Asian cooking recipes, nor have the authors of the thirty or so contributions to the volume merely written a history of Asian cuisine. The articles all deal with taste and flavours in eastern Asia, some from a quite technical viewpoint, while others are intelligent but presented with levity.

The first part of the book, 'Heavenly Kitchen', groups together the contributions on ritual food offerings, as described in the ancient religious texts. The second, entitled 'Eating and drinking, from West to East' documents the aspects of culinary art in several different countries, its evolution in time, as well as examining its terminology. The third 'To eat it to exchange', above all analyses the relationship between food and environment in eastern Asia, without however neglecting the interchange with the West in this sector.

Lionello Lanciotti

VARIA

Corolla Torontonensis: *Studies in Honour of Ronald Morton Smith*, ed. by Emmet Robbins & Stella Sandahl. Published with the assistance of the Centre for Korean Studies, University of Toronto. TSAR, Toronto 1994, xix-275 pp.

This is a collection of essays contributed by the colleagues of Professor Ronald Morton Smith, a Sanskritist and scholar of the religion and philosophy of India. He is a Scot who moved to Canada, and a highly regarded contributor to numerous scientific reviews. Indeed, on more than one occasion our own has had the honour of publishing some of his brilliant essays, the most recent of which appeared in vol. 38, 1988, pp. 93-105. *East and West* therefore gladly joins in fêting Professor Smith by drawing its readers' attention to this *Festschrift*.

It comprises eighteen essays on widely diverse subjects, however many of them adopt a comparative approach which, although handled differently, represents the common inspiration running through the collection. They are grouped according to geographical criteria, from West to East, from Ireland to Korea; but the chronological setting is as varied as the geographical one. It would take too long to enter into the merits of each article individually. However, it will help the reader to give a list of the works and a few very brief explanatory notes about the contents: A. Dooley, '*The Adventures of Conlae*: An Irish Conversion Myth' (pp. 1-12); T.D. Barnes, 'Derivative Scholarship and Historical Imagination: Edward Gibbon on Athanasius' (pp. 13-28); E. Robbins, 'The Divine Twins in Early Greek Poetry' (pp. 29-45); J.Wm Wevers, 'How the Greek Exodus Rationalized the Text' (pp. 47-57); G. Frame, 'A Bilingual Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I' (pp. 59-72); A.K. Grayson, 'Studies in Neo-Assyrian History II: The Eighth Century B.C.' (pp. 73-84); R.F.G. Sweet, 'A New Look at the "Sacred Marriage" in Ancient Mesopotamia' (pp. 85-104); A.M. Watson, 'Botanical Gardens in the Early Islamic World' (pp. 105-11); M.E. Marmura, 'A Medieval Islamic Argument for the Intrinsic Value of the Moral Act' (pp. 113-31); E. Birnbaum, 'The Questing Mind: Kātib Chelebi, 1609-57: A Chapter in Ottoman Intellectual History' (pp. 133-58); G.M. Wickens, 'Central and Farther Asia in Medieval Persian Literature, with Special Reference to Alexander the Great and "China" according to Niẓāmī' (pp. 159-72); R.M. Savory, 'The Shī'ī Enclaves in the Deccan (15th-17th Centuries): an Historical Anomaly' (pp. 173-90); R. Lefeber, 'Ambā' (pp. 191-97); S. Sandahl, 'A Good Story Spoiled: Tulasīdāsa's Rendering of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*' (pp. 199-224); K. Bhattacharya, 'Some Observations on the Sanskrit Epigraphy of Cambodia' (pp. 225-28); W. Schlepp, 'Cinderella in Tibet' (pp. 229-46); Eung-Jin Baek, 'Sanskrit in Fifteenth-century Korean' (pp. 247-52); D. Waterhouse, 'Shaman, Artist, and Free Spirit: The Strange Case of Jung Kwang' (pp. 255-69).

For the reader's convenience we would point out that the inscription examined by G. Frame is a fragment of a cylinder belonging to the Sippar Collection in the British Museum; the transcription, translation and commentary are followed by an Appendix containing the 'Historical-Literary Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar I'. The article by A.K. Grayson contains two brief studies: one on, 'Shamsi-ilu', the other on, 'Shamash-resha-usur and Ninurta-kudurri-usur'. M.E. Marmura takes into careful consideration one of the arguments in favour of the doctrine of the intrinsic value of the moral act, which was discussed by 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 1025), an outstanding Mu'tazilī theologian of the School of Basra. The enclaves studied by R.M. Savory are represented by 'The 'Ādilshāhīs of Bijapur (1490-1686)', 'The Quṭbshāhīs of Golconda (1512-1687)' and 'The Niẓāmshāhīs (1491-1633)'. 'Ambā' by R. Lefeber contains a graceful English translation of the *Mahābhārata*, 5.187.18-5.188.18. K. Bhattacharya suggests some corrections to the current interpretation of the inscription of King Rājendravarman at Pre Rup (A.D. 961), the East Mebon inscription (A.D. 952) of the same king, and another inscription published by G. Coedès. W. Schlepp examines the eleventh tale in the second volume by C. Damdinsürüng, ed., *Töbed mongγol siditü kegür-ün üliger*, Ulanbator 1964, which contains an interesting combination of themes which are also familiar to the Western world ('Cinderella', 'Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein, Dreiäuglein'): first the author gives a very detailed summary of the Tibeto-Mongol version, followed by a comparative section and lastly 'an outline of the motifs in an order and form convenient for reference' (with number of Aarne-Thompson classification in most cases).

The Preface to the volume is by the editors (pp. vii-viii) and there is an Introduction by P. White (pp. ix-xi), followed by a Bibliography of Professor Smith (pp. xiii-xix). At the end of the volume there is an Index of Selected Names and Subjects.

The cover is illustrated by a fine Chola image from South India (9th-10th century A.D.) from the Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, belonging to a group which was studied by the late J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw ('Mother Goddesses in Ancient India', in her *Folia Indica* [Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe], Naples 1990, pp. 3-22). Curiously, in the caption on page iv and in the Preface (p. viii) the figure is referred to as 'Brahma', whereas the generous bosom of the *mātṛkā* proclaims on first sight that it portrays Brāhmī (or Brāhmaṇī).

Maurizio Taddei

Acculturation and Domination in Traditional Asian Medical Systems, ed. by Dorothea Sich & Waltraud Gottschalk, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 160, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1994, vii-107 pp.

The volume consists of seven of the twelve papers presented at the 'Symposium on Acculturation and Domination in Asian Medical Systems' organised by a group of anthropologists and physicians on the occasion of the 'Third International Congress on Traditional Asian Medicine' (ITCAM), Bombay 1990, out of the conviction that '[h]ealth care systems should be considered as cultural systems of meaning embedded in the cosmology of cultural groups, akin to language, religion and kinship' so that they 'should be studied by anthropologists as functional systems of culture' (p. 1), and that '[s]ystematic research on acculturation and domination in medical systems is mandatory' (p. 5).

Essentially the seven papers present and analyse cases of contact between traditional Asian medical systems and 'modern' health care. The 'Introduction', by Dorothea Sich (pp. 1-5) is followed by: Annemiek Richters, 'Linkages between Modernization and Women's Health in South East, Asia: Impacts of Development in Indonesia' (pp. 7-33); Norbert Kohnen, 'Anemia, Beriberi and Rheumatism among the Cabuntogueños of Siargo Island (Philippines)' (pp. 35-40); Christine Loytved, 'Midwives in between: Some Thoughts on the Training of Traditional Birth Attendants in Samoa, Tonga and Fiji' (pp. 41-51); Martin Gaenszle, 'The Shaman and the Doctor: Conflicting Systems of Interpretation and Diagnosis in East Nepal' (pp. 53-60); Alice S. Kuhn, 'Ladakh: A Pluralistic Medical System under Acculturation and Domination' (pp. 61-73); Ludger Albers, 'Can Culture-Bound Syndromes Be Regarded as Functional Syndromes of Psychosomatic Medicine?' (pp. 75-79); Eduard Bonsel, 'Medical Anthropologists and the Study of Otherness' (pp. 81-101). A general 'Index' ends the book (pp. 103-7).

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